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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME LX

PAGE

Goldstein, J S, The Literary Source of Hawthorne's *Fanshawe* 1
Bullitt, John and Bate, W J, Distinctions between Fancy and Imagination in Eighteenth-Century English Criticism 8
Buhler, C F, The Kelmscott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan Manuscript 99 16
Walpole, R N, The Source MS of *Charlemagne and Roland* and the Auchinleck Bookshop 22
Haugen, Einar, Scandinavian for War and Peace 26
Cohon, B J, A Catullian Echo in George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* 29
Smith, R M, Macbeth's *Cyme* Once More 33
Smith, R M, Chaucer's "Castle in Spain" (*HF* 1117) 39
Smith, R M, Lawman's *Gernemuðe* 41
Miller, E S, The Christening in *The Three Estates* 42
Miller, E S, "Magnificat Nunc Dimittis" in *Misogonus* 45
Whiting, B J, Troilus and Pilgrims in Wartime 47
Baldensperger, Fernand, Notes sur deux noms propres de la *Comédie humaine* 50
Spitzer, Leo, Fr *mievre* 52
Allen, D. C, Two Annotations on Donne's Verse 54
Hillway, Tyrus, A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven 55
Clark, W D, A Quotation by Hazlitt from Rousseau 57
Malone, Kemp, Good Anglo-Saxon 57
Bergel, Kurt, Rilke's Fourth Duino Elegy and Kleist's Essay *Über das Marionettentheater* 73
Benkovitz, Miriam J, Some Notes on the "Prologue of Demon" of *Ludus Conventriae* 78
Bethurum, Dorothy, Shakespeare's Comment on Mediaeval Romance in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* 85
Loomis, Laura Hibbard, The Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* and the *Short Chronicle* 94
Malakis, Emile, The First Use of *Couleur locale* in French Literary Criticism[?] 98
Salvan, A. J, The French of Klaus Mann's *André Gide* 99
Stearns, M W, A Note on Henryson and Lydgate 101
Sturtevant, A M, Gothic Syntactical Notes 104
Utley, F. L, Wyatt as a Scottish Poet 106
Strathmann, E A., An Epitaph Attributed to Ralegh 111
Bowers, Fredson, Evidences of Revision in *The Faerie Queene* III, i, 11 114
Parr, Johnstone, A Note on Jonson's *The Staple of News* 117
Svendsen, Kester, Milton and *Malleus Maleficarum* 118
Ward, C E, An Unpublished Letter of Sir Robert Howard 119

PAGE

Marsh, Philip, Freneau and the Bones of Columbus 121
Siler, H D, A French Pun in "Love's Labour's Lost" 124
Storer, M E, Bibliographical Observations on Foigny, Lahontan and Tyssot de Patot 143
Kurrelmeyer, W, German Lexicography, Part IX 157
Lancaster, H C, The Château de Richelieu and Desmaretz's *Visionnaires* 167
Rhodes, S A, Note on Gerard de Nerval's *Octavie* 172
Seeber, E D, Diderot and Chief Logan's Speech (*Frontieres de Virginie*) 176
Livingston, C H, Old French *Herlun* 178
Bradner, Leicester, Spenser's Connections with Hampshire 180
Mack, Maynard, A Manuscript of Pope's Imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace 185
Albrecht, W P, Hazlitt and Malthus 215
Sanders, C R, Lytton Strachey's Revisions in *Books and Characters* 226
Carrière, J M, Unnoticed Translations of Balzac in American Periodicals 234
Hillmann, Sister Mary Vincent, Some Debatable Words in *Pearl* and Its Theme 241
Bressie, Ramona, Modern Textual Corruption in MS Cambridge Additional 3470 248
Bentley, Norma E, 'Hudibras' Butler Abroad 254
Case, A E, Swift and Sir William Temple—a Conjecture 259
Ames, A C, Early Criticism of Pope's "Night Piece" 265
Schmitz, R M, Dr Johnson and Blair's Sermons 268
Thayer, Mary Rebecca, Keats and Coleridge "La Belle Dame sans Merci" 270
Wiley, A N, Wordsworth's "Travelling Cripple" 272
Davis, Kathryn, A Note on the *Spectator* 459 274
Fucilla, J G, A Classical Theme in Lope de Vega and G B Marino 287
McNulty, J B, Wordsworth's Tour of the Wye 1798 291
Blume, Bernhard, Das Motiv des Fallens bei Rilke 295
Kirschbaum, Leo, *The Faire Maide of Bristow* (1605), Another Bad Quarto 302
Gravely, W H, Jr, An Incipient Libel Suit Involving Poe 308
Mabbott, T O, The Sources of Poe's "Eldorado" 312
Hall, R A, Jr, Notes on British Solomon Islands Pidgin 315
Livingston, C H, Old French *esverré* 319
Baldensperger, Fernand, Une Nouvelle française peu connue sur le machinisme menaçant 321
Austin, H D, An Inheritance of Magic? 324
Kuhl, E P, Chaucer's Madame Eglantine 325
Allen, D C, A Note on Lyly's *Midas* 326
Dunkin, P S, The Authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance* 328
Clark, D L, An Unpublished Shelley Letter 330
Reichart, W A, Baron von Gumppenberg, Emily Foster, and Washington Irving 333

PAGE

Leisy, E E, Francis Quarles and Henry D Thoreau 335
Ward, W S, Was Henry Kirke White a Victim of the Review Press? 337
Wenger, C N, Sources of Mill's Criticism of "Pauline" 338
Summers, Montague, Mrs Gordon Smythies 359
Kurrelmeyer, W, German Lexicography Part X 364
Zeydel, E H, On the Two Minor Poems in the Hrotsvitha Codex 373
Baum, P F, Chaucer's "Glorious Legende" 377
Carpenter, Nan Cooke, A Note on Chaucer's Mother 382
Koller, Kathrine, Falstaff and the Art of Dying 383
Shaaber, M A, "A Living Drollery" (*Tempest*, III, iii, 21) 387
Oliver, L M, Rowley, Foxe, and the *Faustus* Additions 391
Smith, Roland M, Spenser and Milton an Early Analogue 394
Allen, D C, John Donne's "Paradise and Calvarie" 398
Lancaster, H C, *Avant, de* Plus the Infinitive 401
Chambers, F. McM, Completion of a Text of Raimbaut d'Aurenga 404
Deen, F H, A Comparison of Simms's *Richard Hurdis* with Its Sources 406
Gibbens, V E, Hawthorne's Note to "Dr Heidegger's Experiment" 408
Kurrelmeyer, W, An Early Schiller Letter 410
Galway, Margaret, Chaucer's Hopeless Love 431
Robertson, D W, Jr, The *Manuel des Péchés* and an English Episcopal Decree 439
Hall, Vernon, Jr, The Preface to Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem* 447
Weatherly, E H, Possible Additions to the Churchill Canon 453
Crawford, Charlotte E, Edward Young and the Wycombe Election 459
Vordtriede, Werner, Direct Echoes of French Poetry in Stefan George's Works 461
Beall, C B, Cristóbal de Mesa and Tasso's *Rime*. 469
Krappe, A H, O Sôpro de Deus 472
Chambers, F. McM, Old Provençal *bederesc* 475
French, W H, *The Franklin's Tale*, Line 942 477
Cline, Ruth Huff, Four Chaucer Saints 480
Hornstein, Lillian H, Some Chaucer Allusions by Sir Edward Coke 483
Parr, Johnstone, Chaucer and *Partonope of Blois* 486
Parr, Johnstone, Cresseid's Leprosy Again 487
Savage, Henry, *Lote, Lotes* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 492
Davis, C R, A Note on Ælfric's Translation of Job I, 6 494
Prescott, Joseph, Not in the Dictionaries 495
Gilbert, A. H, Milton Quotes from Petrarch? 496
Havens, R D, A Misprint in *The Awkward Age* 497
Pyles, Thomas, A New Meteorological Theory of Stress 497
Spitzer, Leo, Anglo-French Etymologies 503
Livingston, Charles H, Old French *raqueer, recorer, recoi* 522
Czoniczer, Elizabeth, Stendhal, Joinville et un conte arabe 525
Merrill, Robert Valentine, Du Bellay's *Olive* CXII and the *Rime diverse* 527
Fess, G. M, Maupassant Borrows from Himself 530
Austin, H D, A Suggestion as to the Origin of *sundae* 534
Malone, Kemp, Some Linguistic Studies of 1941-1944 535

PAGE

REVIEWS

F H Wagman, Magic and Natural Science in German Baroque Literature [*Ludwig Edelstein*] 58

G Bohnenblust (ed), Vom Adel des Geistes Gesammelte Reden [*Eduard Berend*] 61

A Closs (ed), *Tristan und Isolt* A Poem by Gottfried von Strassburg [*Carl Selmer*] 63

J W H Atkins, English Literary Criticism The Medieval Phase [*G H Gerould*] 65

Essays and Studies by Members of the Department of English, University of California [*Robert Shafer*] 67

Clarence Gohdes, American Literature in Nineteenth Century England [*H N Smith*] 69

Leland Schubert, Hawthorne the Artist [*S T Williams*] 71

T W Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke [*Tucker Brooke*] 125

A C Sprague, Shakespeare and the Actors The Stage Business in His Plays (1660-1905) [*Harley Granville Barker*] 127

M F Moloney, John Donne, His Flight from Medievalism [*Theodore Spencer*] 131

W S Lewis, A D Wallace, C H Bennett, and E M Maitz (eds), Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecilia Seton [*R K Root*] 133

Wolfe, D M (ed), Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution Foreword by C A Beard [*William Haller*] 135

S C. Wilcox (ed), Hazlitt in the Workshop The Manuscript of "The Fight" [*S P Chase.*] 136

Joseph Campbell and H M Robinson, A Skeleton Key to *Finnegans Wake* [*Joseph Prescott*] 137

L S Hall, Hawthorne Critic of Society [*Randall Stewart*] 138

H F Fletcher (ed), John Milton's Complete Poetical Works, Vol. I [*Maurice Kelly*] 188

L T. More, The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. [*A M Witherspoon*] 192

E de Selincourt (ed), The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth [*R D Havens*] 195

Henri Peyre, Writers and Their Critics. [*René Wellek.*] 196

Jessie Lemont (tr), Rainer Maria Rilke Poems [*Ernst Feise*] 197

Eleanor Ruggles, Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life [*Leo Kirschbaum*] 199

Gladys I Wade, Thomas Traherne, H. R Hutcheson (ed. and tr), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Laici*, Bergen Evans and G R Mohr, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton. [*D C. Allen*] 201

C L Johnson, Professor Longfellow of Harvard. [*Lawrance Thompson*] 203

Rae Blanchard (ed), Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele. [*A D McKillop.*] 204

J D Bennett, Baudelaire: A Criticism. [*Margaret Gilman*] 274

PAGE

E P Shaw, Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792) [*G R Havens*] 276

Ruth Whittredge (ed), *La Nativite et Le Geu des Trois Roys* [*Raphael Levy*] 277

H H Adams, English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 [*Willard Farnham*] 278

F E Mineka, The Dissidence of Dissent *The Monthly Repository*, 1806-1838 [*Miriam M H Thrall*] 280

F A Lea, Carlyle Prophet of To Day [*C F Harrold*] 281

William Braswell, Melville's Religious Thought, W E Sedgwick, Herman Melville The Tragedy of Mind [*Tyrus Hillway*] 339

F O Matthiessen, Henry James, R N Foley, Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James, 1866 1916 [*R E Spiller*] 341

B H Bronson, Johnson and Boswell [*R L Greene*] 343

Blakemore Evans, The Passion Play of Lucerne [*E H Sehrt*] 344

H T Swedenberg, Jr, The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 [*Robert Shafer*] 345

F E Ratchford (ed), Letters of Thomas J Wise to John Henry Wrenn [*C J Weber*] 347

B C Heyl, New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism [*I A. Richards*] 349

G H Ford, Keats and the Victorians [*C M Cuyler, S S*] 350

Max Schoen (ed), The Enjoyment of the Arts [*Katharine Gilbert*] 352

Douwe Kalma (tr), Kening Finn, *De Pearel* in Visioen ut it Middle Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij-Frysk [*F P Magoun, Jr*] 353

G F Sensabaugh, The Tragic Muse of John Ford [*O J Campbell*] 411

G E Bentley, Shakespeare & Jonson, their reputations in the seventeenth century compared [*Alfred Harbage*] 414

George Gordon, Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies [*M A Shaaber*] 417

Hardin Craig (ed), Machiavelli's *The Prince*, An Elizabethan Translation [*A H Gilbert*] .. 418

A E Morgan, Edward Bellamy [*W F Taylor*] . 420

F L Utley, The Crooked Rib [*Haldeen Braddy*] . . 421

E S Le Comte, Endymion in England [*D T Starnes*] . 423

Mark Longaker, Ernest Dowson [*Arthur Mizener*] 424

Sister Mary Chrysostom Diebels, Peter Markoe (1752?-1792) A Philadelphia Writer [*L M Miner*] 425

G M. Kahrl, Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist [*L L Martz.*] 499

John Butt (ed), The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope Vol v The *Dunciad*, edited by James Sutherland, J E Tobin, Alexander Pope A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1944 [*L. I Bredvold*] . 501

Elisabeth Edrop Bohning, The Concept 'Sage' in Nibelungen Criticism The History of the Conception from Lachmann to Heusler [*Carl Selmer*] 569

PAGE

Alexander Herman Schutz (ed), The Romance of Daude de Pradas called *Dels Auzels Cassadors* [*Frank McMinn Chambers*] 571

Frederick L Jones (ed), The Letters of Mary W Shelley [*Carl Grabo*] 572

BRIEF MENTION

D C Allen (ed), *The Owles Almanacke* [*G C Taylor*] 206

H H Clarke (ed), Thomas Paine Representative Selections [*H M Jones*] 283

French Learned Journals [*H C Lancaster*] 283

Gilbert Chinard (ed), *La Jeune Indienne*, Comedie en un acte et en vers Par Chamfort [*H C Lancaster*] 426

J W Beach, A Romantic View of Poetry [*M H Abrams*] 427

J W Spargo, Juridical Folklore in England [*Kemp Malone*] 502

Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard, The Voice of Norway [*Kemp Malone*] 574

Modern Language Notes, General Index of Vols LI-LX, 1936 45 574

CORRESPONDENCE

Josephine Waters Bennett, The *Variorum* Spenser 140

Henry L Savage, " Chrestiens de la Saincture "—A Friendly Rejoinder 206

G Levi Della Vida, Reply 210

Henry L Savage, Second Rejoinder 211

Leo Spitzer, G Bonfante " The Romance Desiderative *se* " 211

W D Paden, Tennyson and Persian Poetry Once More 284

Leo Spitzer, Anglo-Latin *Buzones* 285

Lawrence Poston, Jr , French Syntax List 354

J H Whitfield, Petrarch and the Renascence 356

Charles S Singleton, Reply 356

Mario A Pei, Scandinavian for War and Peace 356

John S Kenyon, Shakespeare, Sonnet CXI. 12 357

Thomas O Mabbott, John Donne and Valeriano 358

Ernst Feise, Zu Oskar Seidlins " Das Etwas und das Nichts " 428

Eduard Berend, Gerhart Hauptmann 429

NECROLOGY

Bert John Vos. [*W Kurrelmeyer*] 430

Errata, Vols LIII-LX 574

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THE LITERARY SOURCE OF HAWTHORNE'S *FANSHAWE*

Before going to Bowdoin, Hawthorne was reading omnivorously all the romantic novels on which he could lay his hands. He writes to his sister, on September 28, 1819 "I have read 'Waverley,' 'The Mysteries of Udolpho,' 'The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom,' 'Roderick Random,' and the first volume of 'The Arabian Nights.'"[1] At this time too, he was reading Hogg's *Tales, Caleb Williams, St. Leon* and *Mandeville,* as well as all of Scott, whom he admired more than he did Godwin When he went to Bowdoin he naturally had less time for reading, but he did not give up the romances which he liked so well.[2]

It appears likely, as Manning Hawthorne concludes, that "if Hawthorne was writing a novel while he was in college, Fanshawe was probably the one"[3] A novel written—or at least started—at this time, when the writer was impressionable and susceptible to literary influences, would in the ordinary course of events be likely to show the influence of his immediate reading or his own personal experience, or both. Such is indeed the case with *Fanshawe* George T Little has pointed out the elements in the novel which can be ascribed to Hawthorne's experience at Bowdoin[4] He identifies the stream, the old oak tree and the trout pool beneath, the president's garden, the wooden chapel, the inn, and the college bed-maker. He

[1] Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 105.

[2] *Ibid*, p 107

[3] Manning Hawthorne, "Nathaniel Hawthorne at Bowdoin," *New England Quarterly*, XIII, 275-6 (June, 1940)

[4] "Hawthorne's 'Fanshawe' and Bowdoin's Past," *The Bowdoin Quill*, VIII, 179-186 (June, 1904)

also says that Dr Melmoth suggests President Allen and his predecessor, President Appleton, and that *Fanshawe* is in part based on Gorham Deane, second scholar of the class, who died of over-work, but he is forced to the conclusion that "many of the details of the scene, as well as most incidents in the story, do not apply to our Alma Mater. . ."[5] Ellen Langton, he says, is probably drawn from contemporary romance

The only scholarly attempt to trace the literary genesis of *Fanshawe* has been made by G H. Orians, in "Scott and Hawthorne's *Fanshawe*"[6] He points out a number of similarities between *Fanshawe* and Scott's novels and shows that the tone of the entire work is such as one would expect from a young writer who has saturated himself in the romances of Scott.

It still remains for us, however, to discover the source of the bulk of the incident in *Fanshawe* and more specific models for the main characters than have thus far been suggested If all these could be found in one work, it would be a safe presumption that we would then have the immediate quarry from which Hawthorne took the materials for *Fanshawe* Fortunately, Hawthorne himself has supplied the necessary clues.

The name "Melmoth" is a very rare one and immediately suggests its having been chosen by Hawthorne from the neo-Gothic romance of Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, published in 1824 and immensely popular in its day. This supposition becomes almost a certainty when we note that the headpiece for Chapter VIII of *Fanshawe* is a quotation from Maturin's drama, *Bertram*[7] Since Hawthorne was addicted to the Gothic novel, it is likely that he read *Melmoth the Wanderer*, which made so great a stir in 1824 and for several years afterward, precisely the period in which *Fanshawe* was being written Investigation reveals that Maturin's novel contains almost all the major plot elements and character portraits that went into Hawthorne's first important work.

Melmoth, consisting of several interlocking tales, contains enough material for a dozen stories, but that part which bears a close relationship to *Fanshawe* is the one called "The Tale of the Indians,"

[5] *Ibid*, p 180

[6] *New England Quarterly*, XI, 388-394 (June, 1938)

[7] Charles Robert Maturin, *Bertram or The Castle of St Aldobrand* (Philadelphia, 1822), pp 13-14

which takes up almost a third of the entire work. "In this tale," says a biographer of Maturin, "—and only here—the Wanderer is the real hero and it is, so far, the central and most important part of the book."[8] This tale is most suitable, too, to a young writer who is projecting a story of New England, for though not laid in America "the scene of action is removed from subterranean recesses and noxious vapors far away amid flowers and sunshine."[9]

"The Tale of the Indians" concerns a girl who, having been cast away on a tropical island in infancy, grows up as a child of nature, and then falls in love with Melmoth, who is in search of someone miserable enough to yield up his soul for the one that Melmoth has bartered to the devil Melmoth renounces her temporarily, but when she has been restored to her family in Spain, he marries her secretly and brings her to ruin, after which he takes his own life.

Both *Melmoth* and *Fanshawe* concern themselves with the trials of an innocent maiden Immalee (later called Isidora) is a child of nature in the Rousseau tradition; Ellen Langton is simple, unspoiled, sceptical of intellectualism Immalee knows nothing whatever of the difference between the sexes, to Ellen, considerably more worldly, "the difference of sex did not occur . . . as an objection"[10] Both girls are dark-eyed and beautiful, both are described repeatedly as surrounded by flowers, indoors and out. Indeed, both authors employ flowers and flower-imagery as an important symbol in their stories

In each story we find the designing villain who approaches the simple maiden with the motive of seduction. In each case the relationship is conducted clandestinely: there are secret meetings in the garden, hushed conversations between the girl on the balcony and the villain below. Isidora secretly and imprudently "continued to permit her mysterious visitor to frequent the garden at night, and to converse with him from the casement,"[11] while Ellen also took nobody into her confidence. Both girls were unwillingly se-

[8] Nilo Idman, *Charles Robert Maturin, His Life and Works* (Helsingfors, 1923), p 234

[9] *Ibid*, p 234

[10] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1937), p 9

[11] Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer* (London, 1892), III, 1.

creative at the specific behest of the villains Both affairs culminated in a midnight flight in a storm

Both fathers are merchants, both had early suffered great losses and both had travelled in order to recoup, both had been successful Both were detained unseasonably by business which endangered both girls. Both fathers came in contact with the villain in distant parts Aliaga does not see his daughter from the time of her infancy until the night before her death, Mr Langton has seen just as little of Ellen Isidora, beset by difficulties, has no expectation of sympathy or help from the stern Spanish father she is soon to meet, while Ellen "shrank with something like dread from the idea of meeting her father,—stately, cold, and stern as she could not but imagine him" [12]

In both stories, the climax of the plot turns upon letters written by the fathers concerning their return

In each case, when the villainy has come out, the perpetrator is challenged by a rash young man who is patently unequal to the task he has set himself. (Edward Walcott is saved by Hugh Crombie, but Isidora's brother is less fortunate and dies at Melmoth's hands.)

In *Fanshawe* the daughter is warned by the villain concerning her father, in *Melmoth* the father is warned by the villain concerning the safety of his daughter.

Melmoth has a secret, stunning word which makes his victims quake, Butler whispers a word to Ellen which is terribly upsetting. Melmoth's eye, with its penetrating, unearthly lustre, is capable of transfixing and even killing with a glance. Hawthorne ascribes something like this power, not to the villain, but to the hero, Fanshawe, who at the first meeting between Ellen and Butler, "turned calmly, and fixed his eyes on the stranger 'Retire, sir,' was all he said," while "Ellen almost shuddered, as if there were a mysterious and unearthly power in Fanshawe's voice. . . ." [13] Perhaps in *Melmoth* Hawthorne found the idea of the mesmeric glance which he used so frequently in his later work [14]

An essential element in the plot of each tale is the reappearance of one who has been believed lost at sea. Both stories, too, concern

[12] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *op cit*, p 61

[13] *Ibid*, p 21

[14] See Arno L Bader, "Those Mesmeric Victorians," *Colophon*, III, 334-353 (Summer, 1938)

themselves with the details of a long journey from a seaport to an inland town which is made by both father and villain Both villains, each frustrated in his own particular design, come to an end at the foot of a cliff—Melmoth having hurled himself over, and Butler having slipped in trying to reach the top In each tale we find an unmotivated renunciation of the girl after love has been won—in one case by Fanshawe and in the other by Melmoth, although the latter subsequently changes his mind

Hawthorne deviated from his model in two important ways. He evolved a happy ending for Ellen, while Isidora dies with her child in a dungeon of the Inquisition, and he divided the characteristics and actions of Melmoth between two of his own characters, Butler and Fanshawe. In his preference for the happy ending, Hawthorne was even more faithful to the tradition of Gothic romance than Maturin himself, and in choosing for his central character a romantic youth like Fanshawe, modelled upon the hero-villain Melmoth, he was placing himself in a dilemma which could be solved only by the creation of another character His problem is well expressed by Einar Railo—who is not writing of Hawthorne in this instance—when he says of the young hero of romance

> It is characteristic of the type that in spite of all the authors' efforts to raise these heroes to the position of chief character in their works they are nowhere successful The youths are too pure and move too much in the light to be truly romantic It is for this reason that the hero's future is less assured than that of his dark-complexioned enemy, to whom he is finally driven to secede some of the most significant traits of his outward appearance.[15]

Hawthorne solved his problem by drawing upon Maturin's hero-villain for the portraits of his own hero and his own villain.

For the character of Butler, Hawthorne took the dark, awesome appearance of Melmoth that suggested evil to the beholder—evil done in strange lands and climes Thus does Butler appear to Fanshawe "The glow of many a hotter sun than ours has darkened his brow, and his step and air have something foreign in them, like what we see in sailors who have lived more in other countries than in their own." [16] And to Hugh Crombie, too, Butler appeared

[15] Einar Railo, *The Haunted Castle, A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism* (London, 1927), p 40.

[16] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *op cit*, p 16

as a wanderer. This was precisely the impression that Melmoth gave. Both he and Butler are thoroughly evil and unregenerate The former glories in his crimes, while the latter, in answer to Ellen's supplication for mercy, asks "By what claim can either man or woman henceforth expect mercy from me?"[17]

For the delineation of the character of Fanshawe, Hawthorne took other attributes of Melmoth. Both are solitary, unworldly seekers after knowledge, Melmoth having bargained away his soul for the youth with which to attain it and Fanshawe busily occupied in spending his short life in its pursuit. Melmoth is thoroughly disillusioned with knowledge and wanders in search of an end to his bad bargain. "To Melmoth," Maturin wrote, "'nothing was new under the sun.' Talent was to him a burden. He knew more than man could tell him, or woman either. Accomplishments were a bauble—the rattle teased his ear, and he flung it away."[18] Fanshawe's attitude is essentially the same:

> The books were around him which had hitherto been to him like those fabled volumes of Magic, from which the reader could not turn away his eye till death were the consequence of his studies . He called up in review the years, that, even at his early age, he had spent in solitary study, in conversation with the dead, while he had scorned to mingle with the living world, or to be actuated by any of its motives He asked himself to what purpose was all this destructive labor, and where was the happiness of superior knowledge He had climbed but a few steps of a ladder that reached to infinity he had thrown away his life in discovering, that, after a thousand such lives, he should still know comparatively nothing. He even looked forward with dread—though once the thought had been dear to him—to the eternity of improvement that lay before him[19]

Both are lonely and loveless, until temporarily regenerated by the love of the heroine. Melmoth, loving Immalee, feels, for a brief moment, that he is not entirely hopeless, not utterly lost. Fanshawe's feelings on finding himself in love with Ellen are essentially the same.

> . he had seemed to others and to himself, a solitary being, upon whom the hopes and fears of ordinary men were ineffectual
>
> But now he felt the first thrilling of one of the many ties that, so long as we breathe the common air, (and who shall say how much longer?)

[17] *Ibid*, p 69

[18] *Melmoth the Wanderer*, II, 97

[19] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *op cit*, pp 13-14

of the old Bennett catalogue and the manuscript had been previously designated as no. 99. In Seymour de Ricci's note on the manuscript in the *Census*,[6] there is no mention of the fact that Morgan 99 contains any English verse

Rather more serious than these minor slips are the results that derive from the Kelmscott edition of the poem. Mr. Ellis' method of transcription is somewhat confusing Typographical considerations—which in this case, of course, were of paramount importance—led him to print "th" for "þ" and "gh" or "y" for "ȝ"; thus "heiȝþe" appears as "heighthe" and "ȝeuyþ" as "yevyth." For the same reason, expanded contractions were not italicized; in addition, modern usage of "u" and "v" was followed without regard for the manuscript reading and on only one occasion does the original ampersand appear in the printed volume. All these are, of course, inconsequential details and such variants will not be taken into consideration However, Ellis frequently emended the text without giving any indication of it, though he three times enclosed added words in brackets. On the other hand, readings which demanded perfectly obvious corrections were, in several instances, left as they appear in the manuscript.

On comparing the manuscript with the Kelmscott edition, it was found that there were well over a hundred instances—most of which are (or may be) of dialectal importance or of value for the metre—where the printed edition was at fault. Such errors as these, particularly unmarked corrections, may (and, in this case, do) have serious consequences, though it must be borne in mind that the Kelmscott edition was not intended for the scholarly market In Dr. Day's edition of the poem, she expressly stated that she made use of the printed edition and not of the manuscript, an expedient for which World War I appears to have been responsible. However, on no fewer than eight occasions, marked below with a star (*), Dr. Day emended the text of the Wheatley manuscript from that of the Kelmscott edition, though this volume gives no indication that these are *not* the readings of the manuscript but are solely emendations made by Ellis. The obvious result is that these eight corrections (however good they may be) have not the authority of the Morgan

[6] *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1935-40, II, 1384.

manuscript behind them.[7] Three stanzas lacking in the Wheatley manuscript were supplied by Dr Day from the Kelmscott edition, in each case, fortunately, the differences in the readings are largely orthographical ones In illustration of this we may compare the two versions of stanza 36 [8]

KELMSCOTT EDITION

Thei stode afer that where me nygh
Thei strenghed hem that my sowle sought
The world was fals the fend was slygh
The flesch dide so that me forthought
Therfor to godde than y fleygh
With lowly herte and him besought
To yeve confort fro hevene an heegh
Of weikis that i hadde myswrought

MORGAN MANUSCRIPT

þei stode a-fer þat where me ny3
þei strenghed hem þat my sowle sou3t
þe world was fals þe fend was sly3
þe flech dide so þat me forþou3t
þer-for to god þan y fley3
Wiþ lowly herte and him be-sou3t
To 3eue confort fro heuene an hee3
Of werkis þat i hadde mys-wrou3t

I have listed below every major instance where the Morgan manuscript differs from the Kelmscott edition By using the edition with the present list of corrections, the reader will have the original text as it appears in Morgan 99 before him, save for the purely orthographical considerations of which I have already spoken

[7] I should not wish the reader to infer that I am criticizing Dr Day's splendid edition of this poem With each of the eight emendations I thoroughly agree However, it must be pointed out that these readings do not occur in the manuscript itself, though Dr Day could hardly have deduced this from the Kelmscott edition This does nevertheless demonstrate the necessity of consulting the original source wherever possible—and how dangerous it may be not to treat any such edition as this with the utmost caution

[8] Since Dr Day supplies an introductory stanza from MS Digby 18, this is stanza 37 of her edition The other two stanzas supplied by Dr Day from the Kelmscott edition are nos 83 and 84 (or 84 and 85 of her text)

Kelmscott edition Page, stanza and line	Dr Day's text Line	Kelmscott	Morgan MS 99	Notes
1 1 8	16	Spar	Spar*e*	
3 1 4	44	Wheras	Where	compare Day's text
3 2 4	52	My	Mı	
4 2 3	67	fayne	fayn	
5 1 1	73	herkened	herkned	
5 1 8	80	drawe hym	drawe	compare Day's text
6 1 1	89	whos	wos	
6 1 3	91	underfong	vnderfou*n*g	
6. 2 1	97	whom	wom	
7. 2 2	114	weıs	was	*
7 2 5	117	two	twoo	alsoo woo twoo · soo
8 1 3	123	breff	sreft	variant form of "shrift"
8 2 3	131	lovlı	lowlı	
9 1 Latın		opportuno	oportuno	
9 2 Latın		dıluvıo	dıluuıo	scrıbal error ın MS.
9 2 2	146	schul thei	sc*h*ul	*
9 2 3	147	noght that	no*3*t	
10. 1 Latın		trıbulacıone	trıbulacıone mea	
11 2 1	177	bernacle	benacle	scrıbal error ın MS
11 2 5	181	world	word	
12. 1 4	188	side	a-side	
12 2 2	194	rıghtful	rı*3*thful	
12 2 6	198	angelis	angelelıs	scrıbal error ın MS
12 2 8	200	syghte	sy*3*th	scrıbal error ın MS
13 1. Latın		neque	(*omıtted*)	
13 1 2	202	Uptak	Vntak	scrıbal error ın MS.
13 1 3	203	Tho	þou	
13 1 6	206	a werk	awek	scrıbal error ın MS.
13 2 3	211	a man	man	compare Day's text
13 2 4	212	wıthy	y[s] þe	compare Day's text
13 2 7	215	conforte thu	conforte	
13 2 8	216	forth	for	O E "feor," *eo* rounded to *o*
14 1 1	217	flesch[1]	flech	*sch*>*ch* ın S W Mıdland
14 2 Latın		et	(*omıtted*)	
"		gravate	grauatı	scrıbal error in MS
14 2 3	227	me	my	*
14. 2 7	231	Never	Ne*þ*er	scrıbal error ın MS
15 2 Latın		contrıstatus	*con*strıstat*us*	scrıbal error ın MS
15 2 1	241	were	wexe	compare Day's text
16 1 Latin		me	mei	

[1] so also 16 1 2/250 and 18 2. 4/292, "flesĉhly" ın 16. 1 4/252 and 24. 1. 6/382

Kelmscott edition Page, stanza and line	Dr Day's text Line	Kelmscott	Morgan MS 99	Notes
16 2 5	261	eke	ek	
17 2 Latin		conturbatum est	*con*turbatum *est* in me	
17 2 6	278	blynde	blynd	
18 1 3	283	wisdom	widom	scribal error in MS
18 2	stanza 37			[see above]
19 1 4	300	Thei thoughte	þe þouȝt	
20 2 Latin		me	(*omitted*)	scribal error in MS.
20 2 7	327	sitteth	sit	*
21. 2 Latin		sum	(*omitted*)	scribal error in MS
21 2 3	339	not	God	see Day's note
21 2 6	342	dethe	deþ	
21 2 8	344	Waters	Wa*tur*	compare Day's text
22 2 Latin		confirmati	firmati	scribal error in MS.
22 2 2	354	myghtili	mytȝli	
23. 1. 7	367	schal al	schal	*
23 2 6	374	it	hit	
24 1 1	377	helpynge	helpyng	
24 2 6	390	Goode	Good	
24 2 6	390	graunte me	graunte	error in MS
25 1 4	396	mi	my	
25 1 5	397	strynge	stryng	*
26 2 Latin		vincas	uimcas	scribal error in MS
26 2 3	419	wordis	werkis	see Day's note
27. 1 7	431	no	no*n*	
27 2 1	433	the ryght	ryȝth	
28 1 1	441	sprinke	stringe	Day gives "spryng"
28 1 8	448	hath	haþ he	see Day's note
29 2 Latin		et	(*omitted*)	
29 2 2	466	gost in	god yn	
31 1 1	489	thi weies	þe weies	*
31 1 8	496	stroke	strok	
31 2 Latin		exsultabit	exaltabit	
31 2 6	502	wesche	wesch	
32 1. 2	506	mi	my	
32 2 1	513	had	y-had	
33 1 2	522	goste	gost	
34 1 8	544	from	fro	
34 2 6	550	That	þer	see Day's variant and note
34 2 8	552	unspedely	unspedly	
35 1. 1	553	Turn	Turne	
35 1 7	559	y	(*omitted*)	scribal error in MS
36 1 7	575	brist was broke	brest was brokyn	

Kelmscott edition Page, stanza and line	Dr. Day's text Line	Kelmscott	Morgan MS 99	Notes
36 1 8	576	thrist	frist	scribal error in MS
37 1 1	585	voice	vois	
37 1 5	589	thefe me scornynge	þef me scornyng	see Day's note
38 2 6	614	(and) ye	ye	see Day's text
39 1 5	621	sithe	siche	
39 1 6	622	rybbe	ryb	
39 1 8	624	had suffred	hadde suffed	
40 1 3	635	as	af	scribal error in MS
40 1 4	636	tras	cras	scribal error in MS
40 2 5	645	Thi	þe	
40 2 8	648	materie	matiere	mistake by Ellis
41 1 7	655	eschewe	enchewe	scribal error in MS
41 1. 8	656	ye most hertely	þe most hertly	
41 2 6	662	(alle) men	men	see Day's text
42 1 3	667	pryde	pryce	scribal error in MS
43 1 7	687	starke	stake	
43 2 6	694	flesch	flecsh	scribal error in MS
43 2 8	696	ne be	ne	compare Day's text
44 1 7	703	agaynst	a-gaynes	
44 1 8	704	on yn	onyd	see Day's text
44. 2 4	708	weren	were	
44 2 4	708	dedly	ded	
45 2 Latin		ut	(*omitted*)	scribal error in MS
46 2 7	743	knowest	knowist	
47 2 3	755	All	Alle	
48 1 Latin		opertorium	oportorium	
48. 1 1	761	keverlite	keruerlite	scribal error in MS
48 2 2	770	worlde	world	
48 2 6	774	(we) have	haue	
49 1 4	780	pite	pyte	
49 1 5	781	and mi	and my	
49 2 4	788	thu	(*omitted*)	compare Day's text
50 1 2	794	who	wo	
51 2 8	824	schal be	schal	scribal error in MS
52 1 6	830	frith	fryȝt	scribal error in MS.
53 2 3	851	sight	syȝt	
54 2 2	866	As	&	
55 1 4	876	Him	Hym	
55 2 8	888	might	myȝt	compare Day's text
57 1 4	908	all	alle	
57 1 5	909	that	þu *altered to* þat	compare Day's text
57 2 4	916	awey	a-wey sone	
58 1 1	921	from	fro	

Kelmscott edition Page, stanza and line	Dr Day's text Line	Kelmscott	Morgan MS 99	Notes
58 1 2	922	yfled	fled	compare Day's text
58 1 3	923	for to	to	compare Day's text
58 1 4	924	For	ffo	scribal error in MS
58 1 7	927	thi	þe	compare Day's text
58 2 2	930	the	(*omitted*)	
59 1 2	938	mi	my	
59 1 8	944	be	(*omitted*)	

CURT F. BUHLER

Pierpont Morgan Library

THE SOURCE MS OF *CHARLEMAGNE AND ROLAND* AND THE AUCHINLECK BOOKSHOP

Since Professor Laura Hibbard Loomis proposed her well-founded theory that the Auchinleck MS. was compiled in a London bookshop of 1330-1340,[1] the study of that famous volume can be continued from new and advantageous points of view. We see the master of the bookshop dispensing source texts for translators, poets and copyists Under his guidance and supervision they work together, adapting their material to the forms in public demand, and eking it out with mutual borrowings taken in free collaboration with each other Thus do we witness, at Professor Loomis's beckoning, the stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* of the Auchinleck MS. being joined to the *Guy* in couplets that preceded it, the stanzaic *Reinbroun* being wrought out of material extracted from the source text of *Guy*, and the author of the Auchinleck *Amis and Amiloun* cribbing abundantly from the author of the stanzaic *Guy*. Similar teamwork under supervision in this same bookshop I discern in the systematic fragmentation of the English cyclic work on Charlemagne, *Charlemagne and Roland*, which survives only in the separate romances *Roland and Vernagu, Otuel and Roland*.[2] More

[1] "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), pp 595-627

[2] *Charlemagne and Roland A Study of the Source of Two Middle English Metrical Romances, Roland and Vernagu and Otuel and Roland. Univ. of Cal Publ in Mod Phil*, XXI (1944), p 429

evidences of such collaboration are sure to come to light as the Auchinleck texts are searched for signs of interborrowings It is not, however, my present purpose to go digging in the mine of unquarried information, to use Professor Loomis's phrase, that lies hidden within the leaves of the Auchinleck MS I turn again to the matter of sources, to the materials, therefore, which the master of the bookshop had gathered on his library shelves [3]

I have shown elsewhere that the source of *Charlemagne and Roland* was a redaction of the Old French Johannis translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and that "we have very good reason to think" that the actual text used by the English translator was the one contained in Brit Mus Add MS 40142 [4] Let me now express my conviction that Add MS 40142 undoubtedly was the Englishman's immediate source, and add that, round about the year 1330, it was, with a number of other precious manuscripts still extant, in the possession of the master of our London bookshop

[3] It does, however, seem timely to add a note on this topic Professor Loomis herself has further revelations See her article, already cited, p 621, including note 75 See too her article on the important passage borrowed by the author of *Roland and Vernagu* from the Auchinleck text of the *Short English Metrical Chronicle* (*MLN*, Feb, 1945) Miss Mary O'Sullivan found that the Auchinleck *King of Tars* owes much to the Fillingham *Otuel* (*Firumbras and Otuel and Roland, EETS Or Ser* 198, pp lxvii-lxix) This *Otuel* I presume to have been written in the London bookshop (*Charlemagne and Roland*, p 429) Mr Robert J Geist strengthens Miss O'Sullivan's theory (*JEGPh* xlii, 1943, pp 266 268) Here apparently is another clear case of the same sort of collaboration as contributed to the making of other Auchinleck romances I might add a reference to a further passage in *Roland and Vernagu* which seems to be borrowed from yet another Auchinleck text *RV* (ed Herrtage See below, note 6) vv 692-694 has a reference to the harrowing of hell quite foreign to the French source the author was using Compare these verses with vv 177-179 of the Auchinleck *Harrowing of Hell* (ed Hulme, *EETS Ex Ser*, 100)

RV vv 692 694	*HH* Auch MS vv 177-179
& fet out adam and eue	Knawe me, lord, ich am eue
and mo þat were him leue	adam & ich ware þe so leue
Fram helle for soþe to say	þou 3ave ous to 3eme paradis

The identical rhymes strongly suggest that the author of *Roland and Vernagu* borrowed this passage from the Auchinleck *Harrowing of Hell*, which he doubtless found close at hand as he worked

[4] *Charlemagne and Roland*, pp. 406-409.

Of the twenty-four manuscripts preserving the Old French Johannis tradition of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, all but Add MS. 40142 can be eliminated as possible sources for the English translation because of their date, or because they are incorrect or incomplete at points where the surviving English romances maintain the true reading. What evidence is there to help us decide whether the English translator used Add MS. 40142 or some very similar manuscript now lost to us? In the first place, there is striking and particular agreement between MS. 40142 and the English romances in the form of certain place-names. Secondly, the English rendering obviously reproduces at one point an erroneous reading proper to Add. MS. 40142 alone among the French texts.[5] These are the elements affording what I have called "the very good reason" to think that Add. MS. 40142 was the source manuscript of the English *Charlemagne and Roland*. Let me now add such further details as I have been able to cull from yet another collation of Add. MS. 40142 with the romances *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*. First, there is no reading at all in the English romances belonging properly to some other Johannis manuscript than Add. MS. 40142. That is, there is no evidence against the theory of direct derivation from this manuscript. Secondly, there is a further item on the positive side. *Roland and Vernagu*[6] describing Charlemagne reads, v. 431:

Tventi fet he was o lengþe

Corresponding to the *tventi fet*, Add. MS. 40142 has *vint pez* (f 9). All the other texts of the redaction have *huit piez*, reproducing the *.viii. pedibus* of the Latin *Turpin*. I know how inconclusive numeral readings can be in the deciding of textual relationships. Here, however, Add. MS. 40142 has *vint* in full letters whereas the most nearly related manuscripts have *.viii.* or *wit* or *uth*. It is certainly much more likely that the translator read *vint* properly than that he misread one of the forms of *huit*. In combination with the other pieces of evidence this item must be given full weight. The immediate derivation of *Charlemagne and Roland* from Add. MS. 40142 is, therefore, only to be gainsaid by the gratuitous assumption that an exact copy of this manuscript was

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 407-409.

[6] Ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, *EETS Ex. Ser.*, 39, 1882.

used by the English translator. It is surely legitimate to proceed from here to the conclusion that Add MS. 40142 was available to those engaged in the manifold process of transforming the Johannis *Turpin* into a cycle of English romances, that, in other words, Add MS. 40142 was once on the shelves of the library in the Auchinleck bookshop

Add. MS. 40142, whose 14 vellum leaves contain nothing but the Johannis *Turpin* and the genealogy of French kings usually attached to this *Turpin*, once formed part of a large volume owned by Sir Henry Hope Edwardes[7] After the sale of Sir Henry's library in May 1901, some of the items of which this particular volume was composed were removed and severally bound Little by little they have been finding their way to the British Museum, so that the original composition of the Edwardes MS is now fairly established. Items 3-7 have been recovered. Item 3 is a French *Gui de Warewic*, now Brit. Mus. Add MS. 38662, item 4 is the famous *Chançun de Willame*, now Brit Mus Add. MS. 38663, item 5 is the Johannis *Turpin*, now Brit Mus. Add MS 40142, items 6 and 7 include a *Vie de Sainte Marguerite* and a *Vie de Sainte Catherine*, the former ascribed to the thirteenth century, the latter to the fourteenth. The handwriting of items 3, 4 and 5 appeared to J. A. Herbert to be that of one and the same thirteenth-century scribe. Though Professor Ewert is less certain about the handwriting, there is no uncertainty as to the date, so that there can be no doubt that all of these texts except the last, perhaps even this one too, were written and assembled in the Edwardes MS. well before 1330.[8]

Now, the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* is based on a French *Gui de Warewic* "very close" to the text of Add. MS 38662, MS E of

[7] For the Edwardes MS see J A Herbert, "Two newly-found Portions of the Edwardes MS," *Romania* XXXVI (1907), pp 87-91 He has earlier partial descriptions in *Romania*, XXXV (1906), pp 88-81 and *Romania*, XXXII (1903), pp 394-396

[8] A Ewert, "On Textual Criticism, with Special Reference to Anglo-Norman," *Arthuriana*, II (1929-30), p 56 Professor Ewert says of the scribe who copied E (i e. Add MS 38662) that he may well have had a better metrical sense than the poet himself (p 64) I have noted (*op cit*, p 408) that the scribe of Add MS 40142 was scrupulously careful throughout his transcription His erroneous reading referred to above is really a conscientious effort to make sense of an obscure passage in his original.

Professor Ewert's edition.[9] I do not know just how far a thoroughgoing collation of MS E and the Auchinleck *Guy* would go to clinch the theory of the direct derivation of the latter from the former, already suggested by the revealing comparison set out on p 614 of Professor Loomis's article. But apart from the now indisputable facts that we have in Add MS 40142 the very text which served as source of the English *Charlemagne and Roland,* and that the English cycle of Charlemagne romances was the result of the corporate activity carried on in the Auchinleck bookshop, we can be sure that Brit Mus Add MS 38662, along with Brit Mus. Add. MS 40142 and their companion texts of the Edwardes MS, was, about the year 1330, lodged on the shelves of this London bookshop as one of the treasured source-books of the Master, that purveyor of romance for users of the common English tongue

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SCANDINAVIAN FOR WAR AND PEACE

One section of Mario A. Pei's *Languages for War and Peace* (New York, 1943) is devoted to "The Scandinavian Tongues" (pp. 88-109). Unfortunately the useful material in this section is vitiated by a not inconsiderable amount of misinformation, due in part to inexactness of statement and in part to unfamiliarity with the subject

Thus the author has chosen to combine Danish and Norwegian under one heading, on the plea that "Danish, with some variations, may be described as one of the official and literary languages in Norway" (p 88) Actually, the most widely used written norm of Modern Norwegian, the *Riksmål* or *Bokmål,* is a distinct language, which derives its present-day standards from the speech of the Norwegian people, and not at all from Danish That some forms of Danish origin are still prevalent in the speech of the educated classes, and consequently in the written language, does not make his statement true, and could be sufficiently indicated by

[9] Laura Hibbard Loomis, *op cit*, pp 610, 614 A Ewert, *Gui de Warewic Roman du XIII^e siècle Cfrma,* 2 v Vol 1 (1932), pp x-xi

calling the language "Dano-Norwegian." The great majority of its forms differ from those of Danish, in pronunciation, spelling, and grammar. Much confusion and inaccuracy could have been avoided, had this simple fact been recognized Thus the author's principle forces him to present the Norwegian forms as "variants" of Danish forms Very often he forgets to add the Norwegian form. E. g., one is led to believe that Norwegian uses *I* and *jer* for "you," plural (instead of *dere*), *-ede* in the weak preterite (*-et*), *bliver* "becomes" (*blir*), *af* 'of' (*av*), *stole* 'chairs' (*stoler*), etc.

It is further stated that "popular spoken Norwegian (*Landsmål*) diverges considerably, mainly in the direction of Swedish" (p 88) But *Landsmål* is not "popular spoken Norwegian", it is a written norm, based on the dialects of the interior valleys and western fjord regions, which seeks to reestablish a broken linguistic tradition from the ancient kingdom of Norway, before the union with Denmark, and is to-day one of the two official written norms Some of its divergences from Danish happen to coincide with those of Swedish, but it would be more accurate to say that they diverge in the direction of Old Norse (and Icelandic). It is marked above all by such features as the Old Norse diphthongs and a feminine gender, neither of which occurs in Swedish.

Gender it is scarcely accurate to say that "Swedish, Danish and Norwegian combine masculine, feminine and common nouns into a single 'gender' form" Written Norwegian has now reestablished the feminine form, which has always been used in speech throughout the country (except in Bergen). Besides, the term "common" in the above statement is meaningless. There were once feminine and masculine nouns in all Scandinavian; in Danish, Swedish, and older Dano-Norwegian these were combined into a form generally known as "common," or sometimes as "gender" nouns To say that the distinction of gender "is based mainly on natural gender" (p 88) is also misleading and is immediately contradicted by the statement that either class may include persons, animals, or things.

Declension it is said that these languages "have no true declensional scheme" (p. 88). Just when is a declensional scheme "true" and how many forms are required to make it so? The declensional scheme of these languages includes at least six different forms: possessive and non-possessive, singular and

plural, definite and indefinite (e. g. *gutt* 'boy,' *gutts* 'boy's,' *gutten* 'the boy,' *guttens* 'the boy's,' *gutter* 'boys,' *guttenes* 'boys') If it is the author's intention to say that its declension is not identical with that of some other language, Latin, German, or what have you, he has certainly not bothered to say so.

One nowhere learns what the phonetic value of the vowel symbols is in these languages, under Danish one is referred back to Swedish, only to find that the treatment is limited to the non-standard vowels (a, o etc) The alphabetic notation is said to be "as in English," except for these vowels But one could hardly say that the consistent use of *a* to represent sounds like those of *father* or *water* was the usual thing in English, or that Norwegian *o* and *u* are like English. The vowels, it is said, may be long or short, but we are nowhere informed of the important fact that they are long only in stressed, open syllables (i e before one consonant or none). *R* is said to be trilled, but nothing is said as to how it is trilled, whether by the tongue or the uvula Before front vowels *k* is said to be pronounced like *ky* in English *back-yard*; I do not know how the author pronounces the latter word, but no speaker of English I have ever heard pronounced it with anything like this Swedish (or Norwegian) sound. The Swedish sound is an affricate much like *t* plus German *ch*, while the most common Norwegian one is like German *ch* in *ich*

It is stated that Norwegian "often uses the Swedish symbols, å, a, o" (p 98, note 20). I am not aware of any use of the two latter symbols in printed material, some use o in writing, but never a. The declensional forms given are those of Danish, with general neglect of the Norwegian. Such an impossible form as *husets taket* "the house's roof" (instead of *husets tak*) is presented. "Singular verbs" are referred to in footnote 22, page 100; but no examples of plural verb forms (which are limited to Danish) are given in the appropriate place, page 101 The statement that "the musical pitch is strongest in Swedish (and parts of Norway, notably Bergen), weakest in Danish" (p. 102) reflects so many inaccuracies that it would take some discussion to straighten it out. An approximately true statement of similar length would be that "musical patterns as a means of distinguishing otherwise identical words are found in Swedish and Norwegian, but not in Danish" and one might go on to add that a

glottal catch takes their place in the latter language In the list of common forms on page 103, *till* is given as Norwegian for "to", it should be *til*. Also, one does not say "vær så god og" when politely asking someone to do something, one says "vær så snill å," for the other form sounds like a command *Snakker De svenske* 'do you speak Swedish' should be *svensk*

The Icelandic section appears to be a degree more reliable than the others But even here we find a statement like this "vowels bearing the accent mark are either long, or pronounced as diphthongs," p. 105 The fact is that an accented vowel appearing before two consonants is regularly short. The accent has nothing to do with length, it is the mark for a certain quality of vowel pronunciation.

Professor Pei's difficulties are perhaps only to be expected in such an omnibus; but this section bears the marks of hasty and inadequate preparation. It does not promote confidence in his analyses of other languages. Nor is this confidence strengthened by the almost total lack of bibliographical references to extant grammatical literature. What an aid such references might have been to the student who wished to pursue a language beyond the scanty outlines provided by this volume!

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A CATULLIAN ECHO IN GEORGE CHAPMAN'S *THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS*

The following speech in George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* has long attracted the attention of editors of George Chapman's plays:

> And besides
> That all things have been liken'd to the mirth
> Us'd upon stages, and for stages fitted,
> The splenative philosopher that ever
> Laugh'd at them all, were worthy the enstaging
> *All objects, were they ne'er so full of tears,*
> *He so conceited that he could distill thence*
> *Matter that still fed his ridiculous humour.*
> *Heard he a lawyer, never so vehement pleading,*

He stood and laugh'd Heard he a tradesman swearing
Never so thriftily selling of his wares,
He stood and laugh'd Heard he an holy brother,
For hollow ostentation, at his prayers
Ne'er so impetuously, he stood and laugh'd
Saw he a great man never so insulting,
Severely inflicting, gravely giving laws,
Not for their good, but his, he stood and laugh'd
Saw he a youthful widow
Never so weeping, wringing of her hands,
For her lost lord, still the philosopher laugh'd
Now whether he suppos'd all these presentments
Were only maskeries, and wore false faces,
Or else were simply vain, I take no care,
But still he laugh'd, how grave soe'er they were

(I, i, 351-74)

For many years editors have been trying to discover the source of this passage. R H. Sheperd, in his 1873 edition, footnotes the passage as follows "The splenative Philosopher was Democritus, and the twenty lines that follow are paraphrased from a passage in Juvenal's Tenth Satire (l. 35-55)"[1]

Frederick S Boas, in his 1905 edition of the same play, also identifies the splenative philosopher as Democritus,[2] and of the remainder of the passage writes. "These lines are suggested by Juvenal's Satire, x, ii 33-55, but they diverge too far from the original to be merely a paraphrase, as they are termed by the editor of the 1873 reprint"

Finally, Thomas Marc Parrot, in his 1910 edition, writes "This passage may have been suggested by Juvenal, *Satire* x, ii. 33-53:

Democritus could feed his spleen, and shake
His sides and shoulders till he felt 'em ache,
Tho' in his country town no Lictors were,
Nor Rods, nor Ax, nor Tribune did appear,
Nor all the foppish gravity of show
Which cunning magistrates on crowds bestow

He laughs at all the vulgar cares and fears,
At their vain triumphs and their vainer tears,
An equal temper in his mind he found,
When Fortune flatter'd him, and when she frown'd

Dryden translation

[1] *Chapman's Dramatic Works*, ed R. H Sheperd (London, 1873), II, 410.
[2] *Bussy D'Ambois and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Boston, 1905), p 299

The elaboration of the idea, with the instances of the lawyer, the tradesman, the hypocrite, and the widow, is Chapman's own work." [3]

Although all three of the editors have correctly identified the "splenative philosopher" as Democritus,[4] there is a possibility that they have been mistaken about the source of the remainder of the lines. Unquestionably there is some similarity between Juvenal's passage and Chapman's lines, but I believe that the following passage from one of the *carmina* of Catullus reveals a far more striking similarity

> *Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes,*
> *Renidet usque quaque Si ad rei ventum est*
> *Subsellium, cum orator excitat fletum,*
> *Renidet ille Si ad pii rogum fili*
> *Lugetur, orba cum flet unicum mater,*
> *Renidet ille Quidquid est, ubicumque est,*
> *Quodcumque agit, renidet* [5]

It is clear that Chapman has not only borrowed much of the content of Catullus' lines, but what is even more important, he has imitated the structure of Catullus' passage Notice that the Latin author begins his passage by explaining the nature of Egnatius' "malady";

> *Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes,*
> *Renidet usque quaque*

Chapman, although he ignores the phrase *quod candidos habet dentes,* which he could not possibly have applied to Democritus, begins his passage, nevertheless, in a similar fashion.

> All objects, were they ne'er so full of tears,
> He so conceited that he could distill thence
> Matter that still fed his ridiculous humour

[3] *The Poems and Plays of George Chapman,* ed Parrot (New York, 1910), I, 579.

[4] Tradition has long identified the "splenative" or "laughing" philosopher as Democritus

[5] Cat *Carm* 39 1-7 "Egnatius, because he has white teeth, is everlasting smiling If people come to the prisoner's bench, when the counsel for the defense is making everyone cry, he smiles if they are mourning at the funeral of a dear son, when the bereaved mother is weeping for her only boy, he smiles whatever it is, wherever he is, whatever he is doing, he smiles" F W. Cornish translation, Loeb Classical Library.

Catullus then gives his reader an example of the effect of Egnatius' "malady",

Si ad rei ventum est
Subsellium, cum orator excitat fletum
Rendet ille

Chapman, in almost a direct translation of these lines, applies them to Democritus

Heard he a lawyer, never so vehement pleading,
He stood and laugh'd

Catullus' second example of the effect of Egnatius' "malady,"

Sed ad rei ventum est
Lugetur, orba cum flet unicum mater,
Rendet ille

has also been adapted by Chapman.

Saw he a youthful widow
Never so weeping, wringing of her hands,
For her lost lord, still the philosopher laugh'd

It is fairly evident that Chapman merely substituted his "widow" for the *mater* of Catullus.

The closing lines of Catullus' passage reiterate the nature of Egnatius' "malady".

Quidquid est, ubicumque est,
Quodcumque agit, rendet.

And similarly with Chapman

Now whether he suppos'd all these presentments
Were only maskeries, and wore false faces,
Or else were simply vain, I take no care,
But still he laugh'd how grave soe'er they were

If the reader will now turn back to Chapman's passage, he will note that I have italicized those sections the immediate origin of which we have already detected in Catullus. Although the subject matter of the entire middle unitalicized section of the passage is not to be found in the Latin author's lines, even a brief examination will show that Chapman has merely added, for the sake of emphasis, the examples of the "tradesman," the "holy brother," and the "great man" to those of the "widow" and the "lawyer." In other words, he has expanded Catullus passage, *retaining all the*

while the structure which Catullus employed. Note especially that as the examples of the "lawyer" and the "widow" end with "he stood and laugh'd," imitating Catullus' *renidet ille,* so the added examples of the "tradesman," the "holy brother," and the "great man" terminate in the same fashion. I believe that the most compelling similarity between the two passages, apart from the subject matter, is just this skillful way in which Chapman has duplicated the rhetorical force and structural position of Catullus' *renidet ille* with his own equally effective "He stood and laugh'd."[6]

Thus far I have dealt only with the contents of the passages themselves, however, my argument is strengthened by the fact that *in this same play* there is another passage[7] (too long to quote), the origin of which is *unquestionably Catullus.* As Professor Parrot has written. "The whole passage . . is an adaptation of Catullus, XXII."[8]

The presence of this unquestioned adaptation of Catullus in the same play that contains the 'splenative philosopher' passage not only indicates Chapman's acquaintance with Catullus, but shows conclusively that Chapman had recourse to the Latin author when he was writing *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*; the presence of this adaptation also reduces the possibility, ever present in cases of literary parallels, that Chapman's passage was an entirely independent creation.

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MACBETH'S *CYME* ONCE MORE

In a note in this journal[1] on the First Folio reading *Cyme* (*Macbeth* v, iii, 55-6).

> What Rubarb, Cyme, or what Purgative drugge
> Would scowre these English hence

Mr. Dunlap has made as plausible a case as possible for emending

[6] *Renidet ille* may be rendered either "he smiles" (*vide* note 5) or "he laughs"

[7] II, i, 184-92

[8] Parrot, *op cit*, p 581

[1] A R Dunlap, "What Purgative Drug?", *MLN*, LIV (1939), 92-94 *NED* lists no other occurrence of *Cyme* in this sense

Cyme to *Tyme* (= *thyme*). But Mr. Sullivan,[2] resisting emendation, prefers to see in *Cyme* Shakespeare's spelling of *sium*, "wild parsley" Although Mr. Sullivan's assertion that "the most erudite emendation rests on much less secure foundations of *possible* existence than the *actually* existing text" is sound enough, his arguments against reading *Tyme* are more convincing than his own identification of *Cyme* with *sium*, an identification which is, as he himself admits, open to several objections These two articles between them succeed in making it reasonably certain that *Cyme* was not intended by Shakespeare for the *senna* of our present-day texts of the play[3] In the absence of a drug named *Cyme*, editors have been faced with the necessity of finding for *Cyme* the closest substitute they can.

It has been further suggested that *Cyme* may stand for *cumin*, well known to the herbalists for its carminative powers.[4] The OE form of *cumen* was *cymen*. But since under French influence *cymen* was written *comyn* as early as 1300, there is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare was familiar with a form *cymen*, or that he had any form of the word in mind in this passage. (Nor need we assume that OE *cymen* ever dropped its final *n* except through the inadvertence of the scribe.)

A fourth name for a purgative which resembles "Cyme" has so far escaped notice This is *Ocyme*, defined in *NED.* as "*Obs.* [ad L. *ocimum*, a Gr ὤκιμον, basil] The plant Basil, *Ocymum basilicum*"[5] As in the case of *Cyme*, only one occurrence of the

[2] Frank Sullivan, "Cyme, A Purgative Drug," *MLN*, LVI (1941), 263-4 For *sium* in Middleton's play *The Witch*, see Furness, Variorum *Macbeth*, 2d ed, p 370, line 9

[3] The change from *Cyme* to *Coeny* in the Second Folio (1632) apparently represents the earliest effort to explain what was at that date a puzzling word. (Cf Nicholson, *N&Q*, 21 Feb 1880 · "It is clear that the editor of F_2 thought 'Cyme' an error") The eventual change to *senna* is readily explained by the association of that herb with rhubarb; see, for example, *Letters of Chesterfield*, ed Bonamy Dobrée (1932), v, 1933 "take some little easy preventive purge, . . such as chewing a little rhubarb when you go to bed at night, or some senna tea in the morning"

[4] N E Eliason, "Shakespeare's Purgative Drug *Cyme*," *MLN*, LVII (1942), 663-65

[5] John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597), p 547 "Basill is called in Greeke ὄκιμον, and ω in the first syllable ὤκιμον in Latine *Ocimum* It differeth from *Ocymum* which we haue called *Cereale*."

word is listed in *NED*, from the well-known work by Shakespeare's contemporary Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. After deriding those who scorn native herbs and "fetch their drugges a farre off *Sen*[*n*]*a, Cassia* out of *Egypt, Rubarbe* from *Barbary* . . ." [6] Burton mentions a small number of the "800 simples, which *Galeottus* reckons vp," [7] among them Marjoram, Basil, Dodder of Thyme, and Parsley. Then comes the passage cited in *NED* "To these I may adde Roses, Violets, Capers, Fetherfewe, . . . Saffron, Ocyme, sweete Apples, Wine, Tobacco, Sanders, &c" That Shakespeare may have had in mind or even written *Ocyme*, will appear possible from a perusal of the context in *Macbeth*.

When Macbeth, who has long since murdered sleep, utters his thoughts in Act v, Scene 3, "in a state of delirium produced by insomnia," those thoughts gradually turn from a consideration of the sufferings of Lady Macbeth to his own, from his wife's "thick-comming Fancies" to the scorpions in his own mind. He is probably thinking of their common torments of mind when he realizes, like a true Scot,[8] the powerlessness of the physician to cure disorders like theirs with even so powerful a drug as Ocyme:

> Can'st thou not Minister to a minde diseas'd,
> Plucke from the Memory a rooted Sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the Braine,
> And with some sweet Oblivious Antidote
> Cleanse the stufft bosome, of that perillous stuffe
> Which weighes vpon the heart? [9]

To "pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow" and to "feele no paine at all" [10] was, as we shall see, precisely the well-known function of Ocyme.

In 1853 one who subscribed himself Eirionnach,[11] contributing

[6] Part II, Sec 4, Member 1, Subsection 2 (2d ed., 1624, p 298, 3d ed., 1628, p 339).

[7] *Ibid*, Subsection 3

[8] Cf Boece's comment on the "small vse of physicke" in the Scottish Isles, quoted below, and note 20

[9] *Macbeth*, v, iii, 40-45

[10] Quoted from Gerard; see note 16 below.

[11] It seems likely that "Eirionnach" (the Irish word for "Irishman") was Dr. George Sigerson, who used this *anim clerte* or "pen name" (see R I Best, *Bibliography*, I (1913), 196, 209, Risteárd de Hae and B Ní Dhonnchadha, *Clár Lámhscríbheacht na Nua-Ghaedhilge* (Dublin, 1938), I, 163-4)

"Notes on Serpents" to *Notes and Queries*,[12] observed "It is hard to stumble on a plant that is not an antidote to the bite of serpents Our old herbals were compiled, however, almost entirely from the writings of the ancients, and from foreign sources. The ancients had a curious notion relative to the plant Basil (*Ocimum* [sic] *basilicum*), viz, 'That there is a property in Basil to propagate scorpions, and that by the smell thereof they are bred in the brains of men.'[13] Others deny this wonderful property, and make Basil a simple antidote" The writer cites further from Sir Thomas Browne, the London *Entertainer* for 1717,[14] and Pliny to establish the currency of the belief that basil, or Ocyme, if chewed or squeezed vigorously, will produce scorpions. Gerard's *Herbal* makes a distinction between *Ocimum* and *Ocymum*[15] and states further of basil (p. 548)

> The iuice is good against inflammations, and the stinging of venemous beasts
>
> The seed drunke is a remedie for melancholicke people
>
> There be that shunne Basill and will not eate thereof, because . it ingendreth wormes
>
> They of Africke do also affirme, that they who are stung of the Scorpion and haue eaten of it [basil], shall feele no paine at all
>
> The latter writers, among whom *Simeon Zethy* is one, do teach, that the smell of Basill is good for the hart and for the head That the seede cureth the infirmities of the hart [cf Macbeth's lines 43-45 above], taketh away sorrowfulnesse which commeth of melancholie, and maketh a man merrie and glad[16]

[12] First Series, VIII, 40

[13] The brief quotation is from Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors* (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*), Book II, Ch VII, § 9

For the relation between *basil* and the serpent *basilisk*, see *NED*, s. v *Basil*. "In Lat [*basilicum*] seems to have been confused with *basiliscus*, on the supposition that it was an antidote to the basilisk's venom"

[14] The story of Francis Marcio and the Duke of Milan in *The Entertainer* was available to Shakespeare in Thomas Cogan's *Haven of Health*, edd London, 1584, 1596, 1605

[15] See note 4 above

[16] Gerard, *op cit*, "Of Basill," pp 546 51 Later instances of the belief could be multiplied Its influence is to be seen in two well-known nineteenth-century works Keats's tale from Boccaccio (*Decam* IV, v *di questi ne' quali si pianta la persa o il basilico*) of Isabella and her "two brothers and their murder'd man," and George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, which contains almost at the end an illuminating comment upon Lydgate and Dorothea "He once called her his basil plant, and when she asked for an explanation,

That Shakespeare was thinking of this "curious notion" concerning the power of Cyme to "propagate scorpions bred in the brains of men" is strongly suggested by Macbeth's exclamation.

O, full of Scorpions is my Minde [17]

It is conceivable that the idea of associating the popular belief regarding Cyme with Macbeth's mental anguish occurred to Shakespeare while reading in his source, Boece's *Historie* in Holinshed, of the "maruellous great woonder" of the two scorpions [18] Likewise Macbeth's attitude towards physic, which he expresses eight lines before he mentions "Cyme"—

Throw Physicke to the Dogs, Ile none of it [19]

may have been suggested to Shakespeare by Boece, who says of the Isles of Orcades, "There is herevnto small vse of physicke for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreame age in sound and perfect health. . " [20] Macbeth's spurning of physic would doubtless have earned the commendation of Burton, who appears to agree with physicians who "refraine from the vse of Purgatiues, or els sparingly vse them." [21]

said that basil was a plant which had flourished wonderfully on a murdered man's brains"

E. Topsell, *Historie of Serpents* (London, 1608) "And when as one had planted the herbe *Basilica* on a wall, in the roome or place thereof hee found two Scorpions And some say that if a man chaw in his mouth fasting this herbe Basill before he washe, and afterward lay the same abroade vncouered where no sun commeth at it for the space of seauen nights, taking it in all the day time, hee shall at length find it transmuted into a Scorpion, with a tayle of seauen knots

"*Hollerius*, to take away all scruple of this thing, writeth that in Italy in his dayes, there was a man that had a Scorpion bredde in his braine, by continuall smelling to this herbe Basill, and *Gesner* by relation of an Apothecary in Fraunce, writeth likewise a storie of a young mayde, who by smelling to Basill, fell into an exceeding headach, whereof shee dyed without cure, and after her death beeing opened, there were found little Scorpions in her braine"

[17] *Macbeth*, III, ii, 36 It is significant that in the play almost every mention of "mind" or "brain" as the seat of reasoning or the imagination comes from the lips of Macbeth himself

[18] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, ed 1587, p 294 a 10-14

[19] *Macbeth*, V, iii, 47

[20] Holinshed, ed 1587, p 18 a 33-36, ed 1577, p 14 b 43-47 Macbeth, be it noted, puts far more confidence in "wizzards" (Holinshed, ed 1587, p 174 b 7) than in physic

[21] *Anatomy*, 2d ed (1624), p 297

E. K. Chambers has remarked that "*Macbeth* is doubtless printed from a prompt-copy"[22] We shall never know what Shakespeare himself actually wrote. But it seems a reasonable surmise that the line of the First Folio containing *Cyme* ran (disregarding Shakespeare's spelling):

What rhubarb, cyme, or what purgative drug[23]

NOTE After this article was submitted for publication, my colleague Professor T. W Baldwin called my attention to the note in Aldis Wright's edition of Shakespeare (1892), VII, 363: "*ochyme* Seager conj" But I find no mention of "ochyme"—the spelling is noteworthy—in Seager's *Natural History in Shakespeare's Time* (London 1896), and the "Seager conjecture" was ignored by Furness in the second edition (1901) of the Variorum *Macbeth*, pp. 323-4, which restored the reading *cyme* in place of *senna* in the first edition (1873). I have been unable so far to track down Seager's "ochyme."

My own conjecture on the identity of "Eirionnach" (note 11 above) is established beyond a doubt by the same writer's "Notes on Ireland, No. 1 Notes on Ireland's Freedom from Serpents," *N&Q*, III (1851), 490, *et seq.*

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[22] *William Shakespeare*, I, 471.

[23] *Cyme* was accented on the first syllable; see note 5 above

This line offers the only instance of the word *purgative* in Shakespeare *NED.* cites no other instance in poetry before 1701, when Defoe's line in *The True-Born Englishman*, I, 230,

The Civil Wars, the common Purgative,

shows the accent on the first syllable Levins' *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) has *Púrgatus*, col 153, line 38 (not cited in *NED.*) See E E T S. Orig. Ser, No 27, ed. Wheatley, 1867 But as Wheatley points out (Preface, pp. v-vi), the pronunciation and accentuation are by no means trustworthy. Did Shakespeare place the accent in *purgative* on the second syllable? If so, he may have written the line

What rhubarb, cyme,—what purgative drug

and the scribe, not recognizing in *cyme* an acceptable word, or mistaking the *e* for *or*, placed *or* after *cyme*, as we have it recorded today But until there is evidence for stressing *purgative* on the second syllable, this can only be conjecture

CHAUCER'S "CASTLE IN SPAIN" (*HF* 1117)

When Chaucer, set down by the eagle, is free to give his whole attention to the House of Fame, he promises to describe both "hous and site" of "thys place"

> That stood upon so hygh a roche,—
> Hier stant ther non in Spayne[1]

Not until later (lines 1161, 1176, 1185, etc.), to be sure, does Chaucer refer to the "hous" as a "castel." Skeat offered no comment on this passage, but Chaucer's latest editor remarks: "The reason for the mention of Spain, unless it was for the rime [with *payne*], is not apparent."[2] However, the reason for the reference to Spain becomes obvious in the light of a passage from one of Chaucer's chief sources—the *Roman de la Rose*[3]

Whether or not Chaucer wrote the so-called "B fragment" of the English *Romaunt*,[4] his familiarity with the entire poem has been pretty thoroughly established. Lines 2437-47 of the French poem, written by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1240,

> Tel foiz sera qu'il t'iert avis
> Que tu tendras cele au cler vis
> Entre tes braz trestoute nue,
> Ausi con s'el fust devenue
> Dou tot t'amie e ta compaigne,
> Lors feras *chastiaus en Espaigne*
> E avras joie de neient
> Tant con tu iras foleiant
> En la pensee delitable
> Ou il n'a que mençonge e fable
> Mais poi i porras demorer,[5]

[1] F N Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Cambridge edition, "The House of Fame," Part III, p 343, lines 1116-17

[2] *Ibid*, p 893

[3] See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (Chaucer Society, 1907), pp 117-121, 127-28, Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* (New York, 1914), especially pp 152, 255 Fansler, like Robinson, fails to note the source of *HF* 1117 in *Romaunt* 2573 (= *RR* 2442)

[4] For the theories of Brusendorff and others, see Robinson, pp 988-89.

[5] *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed E Langlois, II (Paris, 1920), 124-25 Langlois (II, 318) cites a parallel passage from Thibaut de Champagne, ed Tarbé (1851), p 16, see now the edition by A Wallensköld (Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1925), p 99, lines 33-40

are rendered by the English poet

> And wite thou wel, withoute were,
> That thee shal seme, somtyme that nyght,
> That thou hast hir, that is so bright,
> Naked bitwene thyne armes there,
> All sothfastnesse as though it were
> Thou shalt make *castels* thanne *in Spayne*,
> And dreme of joye, all but in vayne,
> And thee deliten of right nought,
> While thou so slombrest in that thought,
> That is so swete and delitable,
> The which, in soth, nys but a fable,
> For it ne shall no while laste [6]

The *Roman de la Rose* thus affords not only the earliest extant instance of the proverbial phrase "castles in Spain," but an excellent "working definition" as well As for the "castel" in *The House of Fame*, it is clearly a *château aérien* rather than a *château* (geographically) *en Espagne*, and even more lofty What more magnificent apparition could a dreamer expect to find crashing about his ears? Certainly our modern figure "to totter like a house of cards" is ineffectual by comparison It may be that Chaucer was indebted to Nicole de Margival for the "roche of yse" [7] upon which his castle was founded, but in its appropriateness the idea of such a "feble fundament," it may be remarked in passing, would surely not be beyond the power of Chaucer's own invention Investigation into the history of our phrase, which has been traced, as Professor Robinson (p. 993) observes, by Morel-Fatio in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* (Paris, 1913), I, 335-42,[8] still leaves much to be desired.

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[6] Robinson, p 689, lines 2568-79

[7] See *HF* 1130 (with Robinson's note, p 893), and Sypherd, *op cit*, pp 114 *ff*

[8] "Guillaume de Lorris est-il l'inventeur de la locution devenue si célebre ou avait-elle cours avant lui? . . . Il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable d'admettre qu'au temps de Guillaume de Lorris la locution avait déjà une valeur proverbiale, qu'elle avait pénétré dans le langage courant et que nul n'hésitait sur le sens à lui donner" (Morel-Fatio, p 340) For later occurrences in English see *NED.*, s. v *Castles in the air*, Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p 84.

LAWMAN'S *GERNEMUÐE*

The reason for Mr. Blenner-Hassett's recent rejection[1] of Great Yarmouth as Lawman's *Gernemuðe*, in favor of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, is given in a single sentence "There is no island near Great Yarmouth (Nf) and this place is hopelessly off any route from Ireland to Britanny" In view of what Mr. Blenner-Hassett calls Lawman's "demonstrably inaccurate knowledge of the south coast of England," it is not surprising to find Madden assuming that Lawman had Great Yarmouth in mind, the second half of Blenner-Hassett's statement would thus appear to be less valid as an argument than the first half Unfortunately, however, the claim that there is, or was, "no island near Great Yarmouth" is inadmissible. As Palmer's edition of *Manship's History of Great Yarmouth* "from the original manuscript written in the time of Queen Elizabeth" states. "The verye seate of that Towne [Greate Yermouthe], that ys to saye, the place and grounde whereuppon the Towne is buylded, and nowe dothe stand, was percell of a greate sande, lynge within the mayne sea . . "[2] See also Palmer's note, p 48. "It is plain that the site of this town was under water at such time as the Romans possessed this part of England . ." Nall further states "This large sheet of water began to disappear as early as the fifth century, the sand collected at its entrance forming under the action of the waters *an island*, which gradually extending to the main land, became the peninsula on which Yarmouth is built."[3]

This it would appear that Madden's comment (III, 425) re-

[1] *MLN*, LVII (1942), 179-81

[2] Charles J Palmer, *A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of Great Yermouthe* (Great Yarmouth, 1847), p 5 See further Palmer's 1854 edition of *Manship's History*, p 5, which cites Camden's *Britannia*, fol 477 (ed 1610) "*Iernemutha urbs Quae cum sit sita inter duo flumina salsa* . Which I thus English,—The City of Yarmouth which although it be seated between two Salt floods " The discussion by Camden, which, though too long to be quoted here, should be read in this connection, appears in the first (ed 1586, pp 266-7) and all subsequent editions of the *Britannia*

[3] *Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft* (1866), I, 13 See also the early history in later guide-books, e g, Ward-Lock & Co's *Great Yarmouth and the Broads*.

ferred to by Blenner-Hassett, p. 181, still holds, and that Lawman, with his notoriously hazy notions of geography, was probably thinking of the better-known *Gernemuðe* (= Great Yarmouth in Norfolk) [4]

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THE CHRISTENING IN *THE THREE ESTATES*

Three Vices in Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* employ the usual ruse of changing names and disguising themselves. Dissait becomes Discretion, a nobleman, Falset becomes Sapience, a doctor of divinity, and Flattery becomes Devotion, a monk. They perform the transition by christening one another [1]

Falset Cristin me, and I sall bapteiss the
Dissait Be god and thairabowt mot it be,
How will thow call me I pray the tell?
Falset Mary; I wat not how to call my sell
Dissait Bot 3it anis name the bairnis name
Falset Descretioun, descretioun, a goddis name
Dissait I neid not now to cair for thrift,
Bot quhat salbe my godbairne gift?
Falset I gif the all the divillis of hell
Dissait, Na, bruder, hald *that* to thy sell
Now sit doun, lat me bapteiss the.
Bot 3it I wat not quhat to call the
Falset I pray the, name *the* bairnis name

[4] *Manship's History of Great Yarmouth*, ed Charles J Palmer (Great Yarmouth, 1854), p 198. "Some have supposed [Yarmouth to have been called "Great"] to distinguish the town from one of the same name in the Isle of Wight " The late date at which "Great" was prefixed to the name of Yarmouth would suggest that in Lawman's time its inhabitants were perhaps unaware of the very existence of the Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight. It cannot be assumed, of course, that Lawman never heard of either Yarmouth, he may have known of both

[1] Change of names among Vices occurs in a dozen early Tudor plays In only one other of these, however, is there reference to a christening ceremony In *Respublica*, after much fun over the new names they will take, Avarice becomes Policy, Oppression becomes Reformation, and Adulation becomes Honesty. Oppression says to Avarice, "Thowe muste newe christen vs" (l 377), but other than this line there is no indication in the text that any mock rite was performed.

Dissait Sapience, Sapience, a goddis name
Flattery Bruder dissait, cum bapteiss me
Dissait Than sit doun lawly on thy kne
Flattery Now bruder, name the bairnis name
Dissait Devoticun, in the divillis name
Flattery The divill ressaif the, laidroun loun,
Thow hes wat all my new schevin croun [2]

Now baptized, the Vices join in a drink. Hamer says the ceremony is not stated clearly.[3] The reason is only that the reader cannot distinguish visibly among the characters in the text. On the stage, however, where the audience saw as well as heard them, the disparity but similarity between their actions and those of priest, infant, and sponsor in the sacrament must have made the parody very clear.

There are more points of parody upon the sacrament than Hamer annotates The first of these points derives from the incongruity of Vices' being priest, infants, and sponsors. The second derives from their functioning simultaneously as priest and infant, as priest and sponsor. Dissait, who is baptized first, is his own priest in one line, yet in the next has Falset for both priest and sponsor; and similarly Falset, who is baptized second, and Flattery, who is baptized third, are their own priests, yet immediately have Dissait for both priest and sponsor. The extent of incongruity is shown by comparison of this and the real ceremony. In the real, the priest asks the infant's name of the sponsor, who gives it. Then the priest repeats the name and says, "*Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*" [4] But here Dissait, the infant in the fact of being baptized in the next line, is also the priest in

[2] Ll 1858-77 (Bannatyne text), *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed. Douglas Hamer (Scottish Text Society, 1931-4), II.

[3] *Ibid*, IV, 182.

[4] *Breviarium Romanum* (Ratisbonae, 1923), I, 1 (appendix). See also J. W Legg, ed, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916), p 131 Cf. *The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth* (London and New York, [1910], p 240). In the Middle Ages the formula of baptism was said in English as well as in Latin Mirk states that

Englysch or latyn, whether me sayþ,
Hyt suffyseth to the feyth,
So that þe wordes be sayde on rowe

Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc, ed. Edward Peacock, EETS, O. S, XXXI (1868, revised 1902), 5

saying ' name the bairnis name " Falset is the sponsor in giving the name, " Descretioun, descretioun " Yet these very words constitute also the name as repeated by the priest, since they are followed in the same line by the same speaker by " a goddis name," which corrupts the formula *Ego te baptizo*, etc. In the line " Descretioun, descretioun, a goddis name " Falset is, therefore, both sponsor and priest Identically this confusion exists in the baptism of Falset and Flattery also, except in the last Dissait says, not " a goddis name," but " in the divillis name."

From this slightly climactic device, from Falset's giving Dissait " all the divillis of hell," from Dissait's retorting, " hold that to thy sell," and from Flattery's saying to Dissait, " The divill ressaif the " derives the third point of parody. For these imprecations reflect distortedly the triple renunciation of the devil by the infant through the sponsor before the actual baptizing.[5] The fourth point is that the phrase " a goddis name " not only corrupts the essential *forma* of the sacrament[6] but also puns upon the oath *in God's name.* The fifth is that, as shown by Flattery's line, " Thow hes wat all my new schevin croun," the Vices actually use water, the essential *matera* of the sacrament. As well as liturgy, this mock christening reflects non-liturgical customs connected with the real, as, for example, the gifts by the sponsors[7] In the Vices' joining in a drink, it reflects the feast after the ceremony[8] And as well as the liturgical renunciation of the devil, the imprecations, especially Flattery's saying, " The divill ressaif the," may reflect the old Scotch custom of passing the newly baptized infant over a flame and saying, " The flame receive thee now or never."[9]

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[5] Legg, *op cit*, p 130 "*Abrenuncias sathane R Abrenuncio Et omnibus operibus ejus. R Abrenuncio Et omnibus pompis eius R Abrenuncio*" See also W G Henderson, ed, *Manuale et Processionale Ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, LXIII (1874), 16, 153* Cf *First and Second Prayer-Books*, p 240

[6] See W H W Fanning, " Baptism," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907-14), II, 262-3

[7] See John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1908), II, 83-5

[8] See *ibid*, pp. 80-1, 85

[9] See *ibid*, p 77

"MAGNIFICAT NUNC DIMITTIS" IN *MISOGONUS*

In *Misogonus*, II, IV, the "saunce bell" calls the priest, Sir John, to service while he is gambling, but he will not go, as he is losing. Though some of the servants urge him to go, lest he be "bonably curste," their master, Misogonus, and the prostitute, Melissa, coax him to play on. The clerk enters and tells him that the "gaffers be all come a prety while since" This suggests to Misogonus and Melissa that the clerk himself take the service, and Sir John agrees, "as longe as tis not ye holy tyme of lent." He gives instructions·

> Fayth Jake its no matter an all thy lessons be lackinge
> Say a magnificat nunc dimittis and even end wth the crede
> *Orgelus* What shall he leaue out ye saumes and his pater noster
> What good will ye crede doe without thos and his avy [1]

Trying to identify the service, Bond points out [2] that matins and prime begin with the paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed. The fact is irrelevant. The service here is in the evening, as indicated by Sir John's having said that his parishioners will be content "to misse service one night so they knowe I am well occupied." [3] And between them vespers and compline as well as matins and prime contain the paternoster, the Ave Maria, and the creed [4] The slipshod priest does not care what the clerk does.[5] He is made to prescribe a slipshod service that is neither the Roman vespers or compline on the one hand nor the Anglican evensong on the other. Bond suggests [6] that Orgelus, one of the servants, is "of the old persuasion," since he would have the Ave Maria, which was omitted from the First Prayer Book, and psalms, which were

[1] Ll 242-5, R W Bond, ed, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911)

[2] *Ibid*, p 314

[3] L 220

[4] That it is the "saunce bell" which has rung does not invalidate the interpretation of an evening service Though originally the bell rung at the Sanctus in Mass, the saunce bell had come to mean any bell that summoned the people to church See *NED*

[5] For proper duties of a clerk at an evening service, see J W Legg, ed, *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, Henry Bradshaw Society, XXV (1903), XIX, XXVII, 58, 63, 66, 77, 91

[6] *Op cit*, p 314

reduced in number. But not all the timely innuendo is in his remonstrance.

Equally topical is what Sir John says. He tells the clerk to "say a magnificat nunc dimittis" This tag, neither Romish nor reformed, is a hybrid of the Canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Canticle of Simeon—the *Magnificat* of vespers (*Magnificat anima mea Dominum* .)[7] and the *Nunc Dimittis* of compline (*Nunc dimittis servum tuum* . . .)[8] Two offices, vespers and compline of the Breviary, were abridged and telescoped into one service in the Prayer Book, and the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, which had been in separate offices in the Breviary, were now in the same service and were separated by only a lesson[9] Although the canticles themselves are in English in the Prayer Book, the rubrics retain the Latin *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. The topical significance of Sir John's prescribing "a magnificat nunc dimittis" is that, by splicing two Latin rubrics of the new evening service, he is carrying *ad absurdum* the tendency of the Prayer Book to abridge and combine Roman rites. He tells the clerk even to end with the creed. That is how compline ends.[10] He means that, for all he cares, the clerk might as well butcher the new service and go back to the old The new and old were both controversially fresh in the minds of the audience. They must have known what Sir John meant as clearly as if he had said it flatly rather than shown an attitude incidentally through words that make, on the surface, merely a liturgical jumble. And they must have found the topical significance the more amusing for their having realized it themselves rather than been flatly told.

Parody of the new Anglican service is counterbalanced by ridicule, at a remove, of the old Catholic offices. For the allusions are put

[7] *Breviarium Romanum* (Ratisbonae, 1923), I, 24

[8] *Ibid*, p 29

[9] *The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth* (London and New York, [1910], pp 28-9) Cf pp 356-7

[10] Evensong in the First Prayer Book does not contain the Apostles' Creed It ends with the Athanasian Creed in "*the feastes of* Christmas, Thepiphanie, Easter, Thascencion, Pentecost, *and upon* Trinitie *Sonday.*" All other times it ends with Benedictus *Ibid*, pp 29-31 In the Prayer Books of 1552 and 1559 it contains the Apostles' Creed, but not at its end See *ibid.*, p 358, W K Clay, ed, *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society (1847), p 65

into the mouths of a servant who is negligible in plot and characterization and of a priest who is himself ridiculed in every line spoken by or to him Somewhat the same ironical effect is achieved as when Bale satirizes popery by making a Vice praise it; only with Bale the object is serious propaganda for a cause, but here fun at the expense, not of liturgy, but of the priest And the ridicule of him is conventional rather than seriously topical. For, as Bond points out,[11] Sir John is simply a particularly lively specimen of the literary type often exemplified, as by the priests in Heywood's *John John*, the *Prodigal Son* fragment, ballads, and jest books.

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TROILUS AND PILGRIMS IN WARTIME

Professor Magoun has pointed out the existence of a literary tradition for the disguise as a pilgrim which Troilus contemplated in order to see Criseyde once more.[1] Troilus's specific aim, of course, was to take advantage of the latitude which medieval custom, the custom, to be sure, which Troilus knew best, ordinarily allowed pilgrims even in time of war. War, especially the often desultory medieval variety, could not extinguish the instinct for pilgrimage nor stop its practice. In general, the only pilgrims interfered with by any given power were those who were nationals of its immediate opponents Two actual events, or what purport to be actual events, may be brought forward to illustrate what must have occurred on innumerable occasions, and which suggest that Chaucer might just as well have been inspired by commonplace events as by a migratory motif

Our two instances are well spaced in time. The first is part of the personally expounded saga of Giraldus Cambrensis. Few who profess the Middle Ages are unaware of his lengthy struggle to gain for himself the bishopric of St. David's. In the summer of 1203 Giraldus left Rome for the third and last time, having been once more futile and prolix in his own behalf, and having at least brought Innocent III to immoderate mirth by the clever if un-

[11] *Op cit*, pp cxii-cxv

[1] F P. Magoun, Jr, "'Hymselven lik a pilgrym to desgise': *Troilus*, v, 1577," *MLN.*, LIX [1944], 176-178.

seemly way in which he had cleared himself of a charge of horse-stealing His journey home was first vexed by the importunities of his creditors and then by the adventure which concerns us

Transmensis itaque primo Lumbardia et postmodum Alpibus, longas et hispidas Burgundiæ dietas mensurantes cum Franciæ finibus appropinquaremus, quia nunquam sola venire solent sicut nec scandala sic nec infortunia, cunctis gravior cæterisque periculosior casus accidit Cum enim Castellionem super Sequanam jam prope et in conspectu haberemus, exiens a castello præpositus cum sequela sua ut ducis Burgundiæ senescallum adiret, nos et palmiferos, in quorum comitatu fuimus, minerantes forte fortuito ex directo obvios habuit qui cum peregrinos nostros præcedentes jam præterissent, archidiaconum ultimo venientem, ut moris habebat, ultimus ipsorum juvenis, scilicet uxoris præpositi frater, sub filtro pluviali ipsum attentius intuens, quæsito statim nomine ipsius et audito, dixit ei, quod parumper expectaret Et revocatis sociis præpositus accelerans, quæsivit quisnam esset Et cum responsum esset, quod de Wallia, quia de terra regis Angliæ fuit, qui Francorum regem infestabat, jussit eum et alios omnes causa ipsius capi et Castellionem duci, quod et factum fuit Anxius igitur existens archidiaconus de captione sua, magis etiam anxius quod ejus occasione capti fuerunt socii et impediti, qui pace gaudere deberent peregrini, gravi premebatur utrinque dolore Erant autem omnes fere Normanni et de partibus Rothomagi Dicebant tamen se de Gisortio et partibus illis esse, quos tunc temporis rex Franciæ detinebat occupatos, quoniam de terra regis Angliæ, nec peregrini, nec clerici, nec monachi, vel ordinis cujusquam præterquam Cisterciensis, in Francorum regno, propter guerram inter reges, pacem habebant Fuit autem inter palmiferos presbyter unus revera Francus et non Normannus Hic audacius accedens ad præpositum, et officioso propter sociorum liberationem utens mendacio, dixit et asseruit ipsos de Gisortii partibus esse, et palmiferos omnes, et Sepulchri Dominici peregrinos, prætei archidiaconum solum, quem de Roma venientem Papiæ primo repererant Quod quidem postremo dictum verum fuerat Hoc tamen absque mendacio præmisso nihil eis ad liberationem valuisset. Quibus auditis et fidem adhibens dictis, cunctos præter archidiaconum et suos jussit præpositus liberari [2]

In the end, however, Giraldus is released and departs with the added pleasure of knowing that John of Tynemouth, the arch-foe who had given warning of his coming, was still in custody.

The second instance is found in one redaction of Froissart and concerns an episode in the campaign in Guienne of 1345. The French under the count of l'Isle were besieging the English stronghold of Auberoche in Périgord The defenders found themselves in a bad way and tried to get a plea for help through to Henry of

[2] *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae,* in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* ed J S Brewer (Rolls Series, London), III [1863], 291-292

Lancaster, then earl of Derby, the English leader in those parts. The messenger was captured and thrown back into Auberoche by a catapult with results immediately fatal to himself and apparently equally disastrous for the fortress, but

En ce prope jour ceste avenue vint dou varlet et de la lettre, passèrent parmi l'oost pelerins de Flandres, liquel retournoient de Saint Jaque en Galise On ne lor fist nul mal, mais toute courtoisie pour l'amour dou pelerinage, et orent à boire et a mengier en la tente dou conte de Laille, car ce fu uns moult vaillans preudoms, et qui moult amoit saint Jaque Chil pelerin oirent parler dou varlet et de la lettre, et conment par un enghien il l'avoient renvoiiet en la ville on ne se donnoit garde de euls Qant il orent beu et mengie, il passerent oultre et vinrent ce soir jesir à Pellagrue qui estoit englesce On ne lor demandoit partout riens, pour tant que il estoient pelerin de Saint Jaqueme La chapitaine de Pellagrue lor demanda des nouvelles, pour tant que il avoient passet parmi l'oost devant Auberoce Chil pelerin, qui nul mal n'i pensoient, li recorderent tout ce que il avoient veu et oi, et qant il li orent dit, il prist congiet a euls [3]

The news was brought to the earl of Derby and an apparent reverse was speedily turned into a smashing English victory.

From the foregoing we see how easy it was for a pilgrim, especially if he could allow himself to be a little untruthful on occasion, to move through enemy lines and from one hostile camp to another. Troilus would not have thought of presenting himself to the Greeks as a *Trojan* pilgrim, but rather as one from the out-lands of Asia Minor who had been in Troy to make his devotion to, let us say, the Palladion. If his assumed character were accepted he could expect a decent welcome, entertainment and a friendly exchange of information and gossip, in the course of which he might easily hope to see Criseyde. The remaining lines of the stanza are all too characteristic of Troilus's fatal flaw:

> but he may nat contrefete
> To ben unknowen of folk that weren wise,
> Ne fynde excuse aright that may suffise,
> If he among the Grekis knowen were,
> For which he wep ful ofte and many a tere (v, 1578-1582).

As so often before, he could not bring himself to take a chance, and this time there was no one to lead him "by the lappe."

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[3] *Chroniques*, ed S Luce (Société de l'Histoire de France), III [1872], 286 (Ms de Rome).

NOTES SUR DEUX NOMS PROPRES DE LA *COMÉDIE HUMAINE*

On sait toute l'importance des noms propres pour Balzac D'accord avec L Sterne, il voyait dans ces sortes d'étiquettes sociales des "indices" aussi caractéristiques que les autres marques de la personnalité, et, comme romancier systématisant le monde moderne, il ne laissait à l'aventure aucun de ces détails d'un état-civil qu'il jugeait plus réel que l'onomastique hasardeuse de la réalité Forgé de toutes pièces, un patronymique attribué à un personnage de la *Comédie humaine* portait malheur à celui-ci, comme un épiderme mal ajusté à une figure vivante Inversement, un nom existant pouvait être appliqué à l'un de ses héros—tel Z Marcas—en dehors de toute convenance autre que la principale la création d'individus fictifs, mais doués de leur microcosme intégral

Cette sollicitude quasi mystique fait regretter que le *Who's Who* de la *Comédie humaine*, ce *Répertoire* préfacé par Paul Bourget qui en faisait un de ses livres de chevet, se soit contenté de retracer la carrière "balzacienne" des figurants en question. Il serait intéressant, en effet, de rechercher l'origine probable de noms qui signifient tant de choses au gré de leur metteur en œuvre—et qui doivent, dès lors, comporter tant de sens pour les lecteurs eux-mêmes

"La Fosseuse" est, dans *le Médecin de campagne*, le nom d'une pauvre fille un peu simple, mais spontanée au point de vivre comme un être primitif jusqu'au jour où le Dr Benassis s'efforce de ramener à la normale la petite sauvagesse—qui pourrait bien être le produit d'une présence moscovite dans les vallées savoisiennes en 1806. La Fosseuse devrait ce nom au fait que son père supposé est un fossoyeur. Mais Balzac a certainement lu, pour son étude de *Catherine de Médicis*, la *Collection* Petitot *des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, tome XXXVII (Paris, 1823). Les *Mémoires* de Marguerite de Valois, ou Marguerite de France, tiennent la plus grande place dans ce volume, et dès la page 168 une fantaisie du roi de Navarre, son volage époux, met en évidence le nom de Françoise de Montmorency, future baronne de Saint-Mars, et alors âgée de quatorze ans, dite "Fosseuse"

Le Roi mon mari commença à s'embarquer avec Fosseuse, qui était plus belle pour lors, toute enfant et toute bonne . . .

Cette ingénue deviendra grosse et accouchera en 1581 d'une enfant mort-née, et il ne semble pas que la fille de Catherine de Médicis, elle-même assez rancunière pourtant, tienne la moindre rigueur à cette petite suivante qui " dépendait d'elle " et " se maintenait avec tant d'honneur et de vertu." Sans que cette jeune personne, bien XVIe siècle à sa façon, puisse être donnée comme le prototype de la paysanne balzacienne de plus tard, une sorte de spontanéité pourrait bien avoir passé, avec le nom lui-même, de l'une à l'autre.

C'est au contraire l'un des plus inquiétants aventuriers de la *Comédie humaine* qui semble devoir son nom à une autre lecture du grand romancier, lecteur omnivore comme on sait, et feuilletant du pommeau de sa fameuse canne les volumes les plus hétéroclites Ferragus XXIII est l'un des *Treize*, et sous ce nom qui déguise celui de Bourignard, autrement bourgeois, il est le chef de l'Ordre des Dévorants (*Les Treize, La Fille aux yeux d'or*) A ce titre, il est probable que ce personnage a une progéniture plus ou moins inattendue, et que la conception de quelques affiliés, dévoués l'un à l'autre dans leurs entreprises, tenant en leurs mains quelques activités importantes d'une société centralisée, a plus ou moins inspiré Napoléon III quand il n'était encore qu'un aventurier, et plus tard d'autres " arrivistes " de plus ou moins de mérite

Le nom de Ferragus est assez impressionnant, et bien fait pour désigner un chef de bande en costume ordinaire, avec une redoutable douzaine d'associés, prêts à répondre à son appel et à entreprendre sur tel point donné cette lutte contre l'état social que le radicalisme de Vautrin en ces matières s'efforce de justifier avec tant de force satanique Or il est probable que les vicissitudes de la légende, puis de l'imprimé, rattachent ce nom, tout de dureté, aux brumeuses traditions du Nord. Dans Ossian, Fergus est un neveu de Fingal, au IIIe siècle, le roi légendaire Fergus fait passer les Scots d'Irlande en Ecosse Enfin, sir Fergus, chevalier du roi Mark, est un ami de Tristan, et l'Arioste avait dûment fait une place, dans l'*Orlando furioso*, à un preux dont le nom dérive de celui-là. Bien que Balzac semble devoir la désignation de son *Gambara* à des rencontres avoisinant ce poème italien, Ferragus a tout l'air de procéder d'ailleurs, sous cette forme elle-même Balzac n'a jamais été attiré, comme tant de ses contemporains plus ou moins renseignés, par le moyen âge, et des œuvres telles que *Clotilde de Lusignan* ne témoi-

gnent guère de curiosités directes Au contraire, la forme de Ferragus se rencontrait en toutes lettres dans une "histoire philosophique," préromantique s'il en fut, dont le modernisme du grand romancier a dû prendre connaissance pour comprendre les dispositions de l'âme française à la veille de la Révolution. Il s'agit des deux petits volumes de Loaisel de Tréogate, *Dolbreuse ou l'Homme du siècle ramené à la Vérité par le Sentiment et par la Raison* (Paris, 1785) Cette autobiographie, due à une plume qui bien souvent annonce en menu la grande manière de Chateaubriand, met en scène un baron et un comte vivant par imagination dans des temps à jamais abolis

Ils croyaient aux incroyables exploits des Roland, des Ferragus et des Renaud de Montauban (I, p 10)

C'est ainsi, par une indéniable "alchimie," que deux appellations caractéristiques du passé servaient à designer des figures, fort différentes, de l'incroyable galerie destinée à présenter à eux-mêmes, et en plus clair, l'emmêlement des temps nouveaux

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FR *MIÈVRE*

The etymology of this word is still unknown; Gamillscheg's etymological dictionary has come the closest to offering a final clarification

MIÈVRE 'ausgelassen,' 'affektiert höflich'
13 Jhdt, wird zuerst von der Ziege gebraucht,[1] ist heute als 'anspruchsvoll,'

[1] As concerns the semantic development, Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étymologie fr* II, 334, writes as follows "*Mièvre*, s'est dit tout d'abord de la chèvre [Note· Comme en témoigne le plus ancien texte, le *Renart le Nouvel* du XIIIe siècle 'Se kievre ki par jovence estoit si *mievre*,' c'est-à-dire si faible, si chétive .] La finale du mot est celle de *chèvre*, et le vocable lui même a passé de la bête aux enfants [note On lit dans une des Lettres de Chapelain de 1663 . '*Mièvre* est un mot du menu peuple et signifie jeune fripon, hargneux, volontaire, faiseur de niches et de desordre' Et Menage affirme à son tour· 'Mièvre se dit des enfants qui sont remuants et qui font toujours quelque petite malice ou quelque petite friponnerie]"

'gekunstelt,' 'geziert' Modewort, s Richter, ASSL[2] 136, 271, vgl dazu sav *muivre* 'von Tieren, die gefangen oder an einen neuen Ort gebracht, die Nahrungsaufnahme verweigern böse dreinschauen,' frz Schweiz *mauro* 'furchtsam, schwach,' 'schlecht gezahmt,' St Pol *miev* 'lebhaft,' 'sturmisch,' norm *mievre* 'zart,' 'furchtsam,' u [nbekannter] H [erkunft] Mit norm *mievre* 'lebhaft,' das Ménage als normannisch-mundartliche Form fur *mièvre* angibt, aus skandinavisch *snêver* 'lebhaft,' 'geschickt,' Vising, *AR* 2 28, ist lautlich nicht moglich

The form *muivre* in Savoy, a form evidently the closest to the original, reflects a *-ui-* (cf *muira* 'saumure' < Lat *muria*, Fr *mu(i)re*) of which the alternate forms in *-ie-* and *-e-* must be secondary developments It is astonishing that Gamillscheg, who has worked through the whole Germanic part of the French vocabulary, fails to mention our word in his *Romania Germanica*, in my opinion it is clearly a representative of the MHG *murwe*, OHG *mur(u)wi*, NHG *murbe* 'tender, soft, weak, brittle' (akin to O. Ir *mevrb* 'soft,' Gr *μαραίνομαι* 'to fade') a *murwi* would have to become **muivre*, with the attraction of *-i-* into the stem, cf **blari* > *blaire*, **dulli* > *doille*, **masi* > *mais* (*Language* XIX. 157) The *-ui-* cluster[3] should give in mod Fr either *-i-* (*vuide* > *vide*) or *-u-* (*muivre* > (*sau*)*mure*), perhaps we may be allowed to assume the first development *mivre*,[4] and than the other development to *mièvre*, as in cases of *r* + cons (*virge* > *vierge*, Meyer-Lubke, *Hist Gr* l. 88) As for the metathesis *-rv-* > *-vr-*, this is similar to that illustrated by *narwa* (< NHG *Narbe*) > Fr *nafrer*, *navrer* The *n-* form in Norm. *nièvre* may be compared with *nèfle* < mes-

[2] This writer misjudges the semantic kernel of the word when she states that the word developed from 'lebhaft ausgelassen, nutzlich' to 'anspruchsvoll' *and then* to 'gekunstelt' Littré's translation 'en parlant de style, maniéré, prétentieux, efféminé' must be taken as a whole *mievre* is all these three at one time, and therefore nearly untranslatable into other languages There is embodied in this word a typical reaction of the French against cheap sentimentalism (many things German appear to them as *mièvre*): in this reference, Spanish has an equivalent in *melindroso*, American English in *mushy*, or *namby-pamby* Alexander von Villers, in his 'Briefe eines Unbekannten' (1887), has pointed out the singularity of this French word The semantic shift must have started from 'wanton, wayward, sickly' (said of children).

[3] "The diphthong *ui* is in O Fr notably unstable," says T A. Jenkins, Word Studies in French and English, p. 21

[4] I see this **mivre* in the *miverie* (= mièvrerie) of the *Mistere du Vieil Testament* (15th cent ; Sainean comments 'mot d'argot *bagatelle*').

pilus, *natte* < *mappa* The development from Germ. *-w-* to Fr. *-v-* is the same as that of **hasu i* > *hâve*.[5]

LEO SPITZER

TWO ANNOTATIONS ON DONNE'S VERSE

I

In "A Valediction of my name, in the window," Donne, after descanting on this signature scratched in the glass, says to the woman of the poem

> Thine eye will give it price enough, to mock
> The diamonds of either rock

The image is clear enough, but the last line of the couplet has never been correctly explained. What are "the diamonds of either rock"? The answer to this question may be found in Anselmus Boetius de Boot's *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, a treatise first printed in 1609 and the most authoritative work on minerals in the Jacobean period. Here we find the diamond classified according to Donne's definition.

> Alii enim de rupe veteri, alii de rupe nova nominantur, neque duritie, neque colore, omnes conveniunt, omnes tamen tincturam recipiunt, quod illis proprium est, nulli aliae gemmae conveniens[1]

Donne's line means then "all diamonds known to man" and sets the value of the lady's viewing of his diamond inscribed name.

II

The *Third Satyre* has these lines:

> though truth and falshood bee
> Neare twins, yet truth a little elder is (72-3)

The interest of these lines is pointed by Samuel Butler's subsequent adversative lines

[5] The MHG *murwe* was also used, among other things, of the 'tender' bodies of women

[1] *Op cit.* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1636), p 120 Grosart glosses this as diamonds from the East or West Indies

Truth can be no older then
The first original of men
But Lying is much Antienter
Ever since the Fall of Lucifer
Who, b'ing the Patriarch of Lys,
Then Raisd those older Family(s) [2]

Philosophically, I should hesitate to decide which poet was right, but I am sure that Donne's statement was the more conventional. It turns up in various places during his century. Samuel Bochart, the geographer, remarks, "Necesse enim est ut veritas sit prior mendacio, cum mendacium nihil aliud sit quam curruptio veritatis" [3] The usual authority given for this statement is Tertullian, and in his "Adversus Praxen" we find what is probably the first version of this notion.

Quo peraeque adversus universas haereses iam hinc praeiudicatum sit id esse verum, quodcumque primum, id esse adulterum, quodcumque posterius [4]

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A NOTE ON MELVILLE'S LECTURE IN NEW HAVEN

The suggestion has been made [1] that Herman Melville cancelled his New Haven lecture, scheduled by the Young Men's Institute for December 30, 1857, because of an unfavorable editorial which was printed that morning in the New Haven *Journal and Courier*. If this were true, it would provide further corroboration of the theory that Melville after 1851 had become estranged from his public [2] We are indebted, however, to Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., for

[2] *Satires* (ed R Lamar, Cambridge, 1928), p 184

[3] *Opera omnia* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1712), II, 2

[4] *Opera* (ed, A. Kroymann, Lipsiae, 1906), p 229 Joseph Hall discusses this question, too, and gives Tertullian as his source *Works* (Oxford, 1863) V, 307.

[1] By A S P in *American Notes & Queries*, II, No 7 (October, 1942), pp 111-112 The editorial referred to is reproduced in the article

[2] William Braswell, for example, maintains that *Pierre* was written in a mood of bitterness occasioned by the adverse critical reception of *Mardi*

citing Melville's account book to show that a fee of fifty dollars was collected for the lecture and also for explaining the silence of the reviewers.[3] He points out what is clearly evident from a perusal of newspapers of a century ago, that they gave little space to reviews Melville's lecture,[4] which was prominently announced in the *Journal and Courier* and in the *Daily Palladium* but which evoked no retrospective eulogies until years later,[5] merely received the normal journalistic treatment of the day

Documentary proof of Melville's appearance on the lecture platform of the College Street church in New Haven is provided in an official report by the executive committee of the Young Men's Institute, dated May 19, 1858.[6] Here Melville's lecture is unequivocally recorded as having been delivered on December 30 of the preceding year.

So far as the "unfavorable" editorial of the *Journal and Courier* is concerned, its reference to Melville's "ordeal of misapprehension" seems to constitute not an attack upon Melville but a chivalrous effort to smooth his way In his history of the Institute, William Borden tells of difficulties which arose during the eighteen-fifties after certain lecturers had offended the conservative citizenry by speaking out on racial and religious issues The dispute was resolved, says Borden, when "the names of Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker were dropped from the list of lecturers ."[7] This, I think, throws light on the insistence of the *Journal and Courier's* writer upon the fact that Melville's lecture was to be "purely artistic, and of course [could] rouse no jealous solicitude in regard to any possible connection between it and questions of current politics, or the vexed questions of theological dispute." The admonitory tone of the editorial seems to me to be directed at the

and *Moby Dick* See his "The Satirical Temper of Melville's *Pierre*," *American Literature*, VII, No 4 (January, 1936), pp 424-438

[3] See *American Notes & Queries*, III, No 3 (June, 1943), pp 40-41

[4] As usual, on "Roman Statuary"

[5] William Alanson Borden, in his *An Historical Sketch of the New Haven Young Men's Institute* etc [New Haven, 1904], mentions Melville among the eight or ten outstanding lecturers of the Institute series (p 10)

[6] *Reports Submitted at the Annual Meeting, May 19th, 1858, by the Executive Committee* . etc. (New Haven, 1858), p. 14

[7] *Loc cit*

New Haven public rather than at Melville. The journalist, whose direct references to the lecturer are on the whole very favorable, was no doubt seeking to allay any fears which might exist with respect to the nature of Melville's topic.

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A QUOTATION BY HAZLITT FROM ROUSSEAU

In his essay, "On the Character of Rousseau"[1] Hazlitt makes his first use of the passage from Rousseau, "There are, indeed, impressions which neither time nor circumstances can efface" The quotation, in French, and in a fuller form appears later in "Mr Coleridge's Lay Sermon" and in "My First Acquaintance with Poets" Hazlitt has undoubtedly quoted from memory, for his French[2] is inexact and he has telescoped what is really a lengthy passage in Rousseau. P. P Howe, in his Centenary edition, refers to the quotation only as unacknowledged. It has been incorrectly assigned in a number of anthologies, for example, in Woods, *English Poetry and Prose of the Romantic Movement,* to *Confessions,* II, 7 The passage actually occurs in *La Nouvelle Héloise,* VI, 7, a letter from St Preux to Mde de Wolmar.

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GOOD ANGLO-SAXON

It is well known that *Anglo-Saxon* is a word of many meanings.[1] The following quotation, however, may nevertheless have some

[1] *The Round Table,* 24, April 14, 1816

[2] "Il y a des impressions que ni le tems ni les circonstances peuvent effacer Dusse-je vivre des siècles entiers, le doux tems de ma jeunesse ne peut renaître pour moi, ni s'effacer jamais dans ma mémoire"

[1] See my discussions in *RES*, V, 173-85, *MLN*, XLV, 178-9; *Anglia,* LV, 4-8, *English Journal* (College Ed), XIX, 639-51, and *Amer Speech,* I-V, *passim*

interest for the lexicographer, as additional evidence of current usage.

> Upon returning to the ship we found General Clarke waiting for us the pride he seemed to take in speaking English as though he had never seen the inside of a grammar school . But sometimes he would forget that he was supposed to be a 'regular guy,' and his speech would be good Anglo-Saxon, and grammatically flawless [2]

Here *Anglo-Saxon* obviously means, not 'plain English' but simply 'English.'

KEMP MALONE

REVIEWS

Magic and Natural Science in German Baroque Literature. A Study in the Prose Forms of the Later Seventeenth Century. By F. H. WAGMAN. Columbia University Press. 1942 178 pp. $2 25.

The author, in investigating the novel and the popular literature of the time between 1640 and 1700 (pp. 5 ff.), aims at "a presentation of the attitudes toward the natural phenomenon expressed in a cross-section of baroque literature" (p 5). In addition, he intends to explore "the transitional nature of German literature" of that period (p. 3) and its relation to the literature of the Aufklarung in Germany (p. 10, and in general ch I), at least as concerns this one particular aspect of the complex problem

Wagman first makes it clear that the pre-scientific world picture inherited from the past (ch. II) still was of considerable importance for the writers in question (ch III-IV). But then he proceeds to show that this "traditional material" (p. 51) does by no means form the major element in their explanation of events. The belief in the autonomy of God-created nature, or, to express it more terminologically, deism, was widely current among the literati (ch. V). Where pansophistic theories continued to hold sway, they appeared in a "modernized" form; sympathy and antipathy were considered not mysterious but natural powers (ch VI). Generally speaking, a search for rational causality made itself felt (ch VII), scepticism toward the supernatural, insistence on understanding

[2] James Norman Hall, *Lost Island* (Boston, 1944), p. 160

through one's own efforts were prevalent (p. 104). Finally, reliance on experience rather than on authority was advocated in regard to man's approach to nature (ch. VIII) and in regard to his comprehension of the social order and of social behavior (ch. IX)

These, in brief, are the results of Wagman's analysis which is wholly convincing in its careful and cautious interpretation of the testimony One must also agree with the author's claim that the literature under consideration, these dusty and now rarely opened books which he has scrutinized with patience and sympathetic understanding, indeed give evidence of the living thought of the Baroque. Deism was preached by philosophers and scientists of the day, confidence in what can be observed even where observation contradicts authority, was characteristic of the newly developing science But while I fully accept Wagman's thesis, I feel impelled to take issue with his evaluation of the intellectual forces which brought about the new attitude toward nature and life and which consequently should be responsible also for the stand taken in the novel and the popular literature (cf. especially ch. X).

The belief in the autonomy of nature, the fight against magic, are traced by Wagman to the ancients, to Renaissance philosophy, to Paracelsus Descartes is not even mentioned in this connection (pp 152 f , ch. V). Yet, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Germany was swept by Cartesianism—which was widely taught at the universities — and it was Descartes' physics that enthroned deism When Francisci compared nature to a clock (p 62), he was using the famous deistic simile first employed by the German Taurellus (1547-1606) and made popular through Descartes' theories and the discussion of his view [1] Again, in analyzing empiricism, Wagman rejects any thought of Baconian influence (pp 156 f., cf. p. 120) However, Bacon's philosophy exercised its charm over many of the German intellectuals. The young Leibniz stood in awe of Bacon Pufendorf gave credit to him for his share in "the more beautiful flowering of philosophy in our age." Daniel Morhof, the encyclopaedist, whose mentality so closely resembled that of the authors of the novels and of the popular writings, was an enthusiastic follower of Bacon [2] A general interest in Baconism follows with certainty from the fact that in 1654 some of the philosopher's treatises were translated into German (p 158, n 8) The baroque writers, who treated natural as well as social problems empirically and yet clung to a metaphysics of teleology

[1] Concerning Descartes' influence on Germany cf W Dilthey, "Studien z Geschichte d deutschen Geistes, Leibniz und sein Zeitalter," *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 1927, pp 22 f , H Hettner, *Geschichte d deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1928, pp 23 ff (I, 1, 1648-1720, "Die Einwirkung der fremden Philosophie")

[2] Cf St B L Penrose, Jr, *The Reputation and Influence of Francis Bacon in the Seventeenth Century*, Diss Columbia, 1934, pp 103 ff. (Later German interest in Bacon)

(pp. 56 ff.), were in accord with Bacon. They were also Baconians in explaining sympathy and antipathy by reference to the mediation of "Geisterlein" (pp. 73 f., 82 f.). It is hardly by chance that one of these men, Harsdorfer, mentions Bacon repeatedly (p. 158, n. 8). And Lohenstein's "thrust at the reliability of the testimony of the ancients in general"—for deceit and lies are just as old as truth (p. 128)—reads like a paraphrase of Bacon's criticism of antiquity.

On the other hand, Wagman emphasizes Jungius' significance for the intellectual life of the Baroque (pp. 158 f., 15). Yet even Leibniz, who profoundly admired Jungius, did not go farther than to maintain that Jungius would have been able to create a new system of science, had he lived later and had he found the support of others With due respect for Jungius' historical merit, he cannot be singled out as the inspirer of the new era. Moreover, as again Leibniz attests, Jungius' work was known only to a few in Germany, and I am not aware of any evidence for the assumption that Jungius' ideas were disseminated by those among his friends and pupils who held academic positions.[3] As regards Wagman's contention that the various societies of German intellectuals furthered scientific research (p. 158), one must retort that this was so at most in the first part of the seventeenth century. After 1650 they either ceased to exist, or they became, with one or two exceptions, *Sprachgesellschaften* in the literal sense of the word.[4] Nor can the communication between German scholars and foreigners of international prominence (pp 158 f.) have done more than accentuate the new ethos Not everybody corresponded with Gallileo, Campanella and Comenius The change in the outlook of a whole generation is scarcely to be accounted for by letter writing

It seems to me, then, that it was mainly the philosophies of Descartes and Bacon that worked as ferment in the disintegration of the old and in the constitution of the new. Or rather, the same forces that caused the acceptance of their systems among those bent on metaphysical and methodical enquiries, were likewise active in those who wrote for the general reader, expressing his thoughts and yearnings of the time. This hypothesis makes Wagman's own theory of the transitional character of baroque literature more plausible. For Bacon's achievement and that of Descartes formed the connecting link in the development from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. Furthermore, taking into account the influence of these two philosophies, one can understand better, I think, why in the novel and in the popular literature, as is clear from Wagman's

[3] For the work done in recent years in regard to Jungius, cf in general Beitrage zur Jungius-Forschung, *Festschrift d Hamburgischen Universität anlasslich ihres zehnjahrigen Bestehens*, ed A Meyer, 1929, Leibniz' relation to Jungius has been analyzed by E Cassirer, *ibid*, pp 21 ff

[4] Cf Dilthey *op cit*, pp 19 ff But cf. also Wagman, pp 113 ff, especially pp 117 ff.

analysis, rationalism and empiricism were not properly balanced. I do not mean to impute that Descartes was negligent of experience or that Bacon was oblivious of reason But each of these men stressed his favorite principle to the utmost. As far as Germany is concerned, the reconciliation of both was not attempted before Leibniz, in some respects it was not attained until later. Nor is it astonishing that the baroque writers were hazy in their views about the experiment (p 129) So was Bacon, much as he talked about the experimental method, and Descartes did not clarify the issue either It was the second half of the seventeenth century that witnessed the first steps in the direction of the controlled experiment, a fact not sufficiently stressed by Wagman (pp. 116 f.) Last but not least, from the vantage point of Cartesianism I should hesitate to see in the idealistic ethics of the courtly novel, its Stoic flavor, an unreal trait (p 137), and to extoll the merely empirical evaluation of moral attitudes in the bourgeois novel as progressive (pp. 148 f.) The Cartesians of that day trusted in generosity as the highest virtue, and their trust had no foundation other than in reason. The popular writings, in their rejection of an *a priori* ethics were one-sided, just as they were unmindful of the value of the then new mathematical approach to nature which, according to Wagman, is mentioned only once, and by Thomasius at that (p. 106).

To conclude. in the book under review unusually interesting material has been unearthed and lucidly presented. But the historical interpretation of the facts assembled, in my opinion, decidedly requires modifications

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Vom Adel des Geistes Gesammelte Reden von GOTTFRIED BOHNENBLUST Zurich Morgartenverlag (1943). 516 S.

Die Rede als Kunstform hat in der deutschen Literatur verhaltnismassig wenig Pflege gefunden Gegen das "Rhetorische" hat der Deutsche vielfach ein unberechtigtes Vorurteil und Misstrauen Den Akademiereden der Franzosen, den Parlamentsreden der Englander haben die Deutschen nicht viel Ebenburtiges an die Seite zu stellen Ausnahmen, wie etwa Goethes Logenreden, Schillers akademische Antrittsvorlesung, Jacob Grimms schone Rede uber das Alter, bestatigen nur die Regel

Es ist daher ein seltener Fall, dass ein Universitätsprofessor einen starken Band "Gesammelte Reden" vorlegt Aber der Verfasser, Gottfried Bohnenblust, Professor der deutschen Literatur an den Universitaten Genf und Lausanne, ist selber ein Ausnahmefall Gelehrter, Denker, Dichter und Musiker in einer Person, in germanischer wie in romanischer Sprache, Literatur, Geschichte

und Kultur gleicherweise zu Hause, und alle diese Elemente zu harmonischer Einheit verschmolzen. Die bei festlicher Gelegenheit gehaltene Rede ist offenbar eine seiner Eigenart besonders entsprechende Form, und ohne seinen übrigen Leistungen zu nahe zu treten, darf man sagen, dass er in jener sein Bestes und Wertvollstes gegeben hat. Es war daher ein glücklicher Gedanke des Zürcher Morgarten-Verlags, Bohnenblust gelegentlich seines sechzigsten Geburtstages zu einer abgerundeten Sammlung seiner Reden zu veranlassen. Und es hatte nicht erst der wohlverdienten Auszeichnung durch die Schillerstiftung bedurft, um diesem Bande auf eine weit über die Grenzen der Schweiz hinausreichende Beachtung Anspruch zu geben.

Die 36 hier vereinigten Reden erstrecken sich über einen Zeitraum von fast 25 Jahren, die früheste ist Bohnenblusts Zürcher Antrittsrede von 1919, die letzte eine Radio-Ansprache aus dem Sommer 1943. Sie sind aber nicht in chronologischer Folge angeordnet, sondern nach sachlichen Gesichtspunkten. In der Mehrzahl lagen sie bereits im Druck vor, teils in Broschurenform, teils in Zeitschriften. Sie wurden jetzt, wie eine Notiz am Schluss des Inhaltsverzeichnisses besagt, "auf Grund das gesprochenen Wortes wiedergegeben, aber so überarbeitet, dass sie heute verantwortet werden können." Viele von ihnen sind zuerst in der von Bohnenblust gegründeten, um das Schweizer Geistesleben sehr verdienten Genfer Gesellschaft für deutsche Kunst und Literatur gehalten worden, andere bei Universitäts- und Vereinsfeiern, zu Gedenktagen, Jubiläen usw.

Bohnenblust hat die Reden in drei Abteilungen zu je zwölf Stücken gegliedert. Die erste Reihe, "Grösse und Grenze des Menschen" betitelt, beschäftigt sich hauptsächlich mit ausserschweizerischen Geistesgrössen. Vier von ihnen sind Goethe gewidmet, dessen Beziehungen zur Schweiz Bohnenblust ja auch in einem eignen gehaltvollen Werk behandelt hat, je eine Bach, Beethoven, Matthias Claudius, Kant und Eichendorff. Die zweite Reihe bringt Reden über "Eidgenossen" der letzten zweihundert Jahre, drei über Spitteler, dem Bohnenblust noch persönlich nahegestanden hat, je eine über Lavater, Gotthelf, Keller, Meyer, Leuthold, Adolf Frey, J. V. Widmann, Meinrad Lienert und Maria Waser. In der dritten Abteilung, "Eidgenössischer Humanismus," werden allgemeine, besonders kulturpolitische Fragen vom Schweizer Standpunkt aus behandelt. An der Spitze steht hier die programmatische Abhandlung "Vom Adel des Geistes," die der ganzen Sammlung den Titel gegeben hat. Es folgen Reden über Eidgenössischen Humanismus, Von der Freiheit eidgenössischen Geistes, über Vaterlandsliebe, Autorität, Freiheit, Demokratie und Kultur, die Bedeutung der Universitäten für das geistige Leben usw. Den Schluss bilden einige geographisch orientierte Untersuchungen: Italien in der Dichtung der deutschen Schweiz, Genf und die

deutsche Schweiz, Genfs Weltwirkung, Lob der Waadt in deutscher Dichtung

Auf den Gehalt der einzelnen Reden kann an dieser Stelle naturlich nicht naher eingegangen werden. Die angefuhrten Themen zeigen ja bereits, wie weit der Rahmen zeitlich, raumlich und geistig gespannt ist. Wir mussen uns hier auf einige allgemeine Hinweise beschranken So verschieden die Reden nach Inhalt und Form sein mogen, so sind sie doch beredte Zeugnisse eines einheitlichen Geistes, einer fest in sich begrundeten, eigenwuchsigen Personlichkeit. Was ihnen vor allem den unverwechselbaren Charakter aufpragt, ist die alles durchdringende Ehrfurcht; —Ehrfurcht vor dem Geiste in jeder Form, vor dem Genie, vor den geschichtlich gewordenen Machten. Aber es ist die Ehrfurcht eines freien und reifen Geistes, der nicht kritiklos vergottert, sondern zu richten und zu sichten, zu messen, zu vergleichen und zu begrenzen weiss So wenig sich der Schweizer Standpunkt des Verfassers je verleugnet (bis zu gelegentlichen kleinen sprachlichen Helvetismen), so ist der Gesichtskreis doch nirgends durch die Schweizer Berge beengt; vielmehr dringt der Blick von ihren Hohen weit in die umliegende Welt hinaus. Man atmet uberall jenen echten, sympathischen Geist des Humanismus, dem Vaterland und Menschheit nicht Gegensatze, sondern konzentrische Kreise sind. Alles ruht auf dem Grunde eines gediegenen, weiten und tiefen Wissens, das sich aber nirgends pedantisch aufdrangt Die Sprache ist kernig, reich an geistreichen, schlagenden Formulierungen (mit Vorliebe fur Antithesen und Chiasmen), rhetorisch im besten Sinne des Wortes, zuweilen zu dichterischem Schwung gesteigert, wie z B in der hinreissenden Rede · "Was heisst Unser Vaterland"? Friedrich Theodor Vischers bekanntes Wort, dass eine Rede keine Schreibe sei, bewährt sich hier nicht: diese Reden geben dem Leser ebensoviel wie dem Horer. Mogen sie auch jenseits des grossen Wassers deren recht viele und aufmerksame finden!

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Tristan und Îsolt. A Poem by Gottfried von Strassburg. Edited with introduction, notes, glossary and a facsimile. By AUGUST CLOSS. Oxford · Basil Blackwell, 1944 (German Mediaeval Series, ed by H. G. Fiedler, Section A, Vol. III). Pp liv + 185.

By the courageous publication of his "German Mediaeval Series," Basil Blackwell of Oxford demonstrates fully that in spite of the war and the difficulties incidental to it, interest in the study of the German language and literature has by no means waned in the

English speaking countries. Bostock's *Der Arme Heinrich* (1941) and Gough's *Meier Helmbrecht* (1942) are now followed by Closs' *Tristan und Îsolt*, the third volume in a series of MHG texts supervised by H G. Fiedler. The chief merit of this edition lies in a masterful discussion of the history and literary value of this epic, presented in the introduction, combining in a condensed, comprehensive and scholarly way the results of old and recent research in this field and thus offering a short, thorough study of the Tristan saga in its various aspects After painting a broad and colorful background of medieval life in Aquitaine, Provence, England and France, the author points to Eleanor of Poitou as the central figure of courtly love and culture in the twelfth century. Connected with her marriage is the story of the *Urtristan* (c. 1150), which because of its unsolved and perhaps insoluble problems leaves the role of Bledhericus (Breri) as a transmitter of Cymric tales, his "Welsh" or "Bretonnized" Tristan-version and consequently Thomas' dependency on this *Urtristan* of necessity still open to further discussion. Another copy of this *Urtristan*, *Estoire* (c. 1180), served as a source for Eilhart von Oberge's (and Béroul's) fragmentary epic, written between 1180 and 1190, which in its turn was used by Ulrich von Turheim (c. 1240) and Heinrich von Freiberg (c. 1290), who continued Gottfried's unfinished work, thus introducing the saga to the German public at large (Hans Sachs) Gottfried's own source, however, was the Anglo-Norman epic Tristan by Thomas, written between 1155 and 1170 (but c. 1185 acc. to R S. Loomis). After elucidating the difference between the old saga and Thomas' version in contents and motivation, the author analyzes the tripartite structure of the story, *viz* the Môrolt-saga (David and Goliath parallel), the Quest of the Princess with the Golden Hair (dangerous journey to win a bride and the nephew's love for his uncle's bride), and Îsolt of the White Hands Slowly we see Gottfried's version growing out of Thomas' model with all its originality, its newer psychological approach, its moral philosophy (*morâliteit* = *kalokagathia*), his concept of *Minne* and use of allegory (magic potion). Finally the author investigates the formal problems involved in the tale, such as Gottfried's classic sense, his metre, style and language. It is only natural in comparing Gottfried with Wolfram that the editor should extol the former as the unexcelled master of MHG literature. In the chapter dealing with the popularity of the Tristan story in medieval Europe one would have welcomed an important reference furnished in the *Roman de Renart* (ed E Martin, Vs. 2389 ff), which quite surprisingly acknowledges its Breton origin, and together with the stories of Chèvrefeuille, Norton and St. Brendan, considers a knowledge of it a prerequisite to all education.

As to the presentation of the text, Closs' edition offers no problems. Since the present situation has made a comparative study and collation of the various MHG Tristan-MSS impossible,

the editor thought it best to use a recent text and reprinted R Bechstein's critical edition of 1923, which is based on MSS M (*cgm* 51) and H (*Cod Pal Germ* 360), disregarding the occasional good suggestions of the W-group, so cleverly used in Golther's edition Closs, however, preferred to shorten the MHG poem considerably. Out of a total of 19,416 verses comprising Gottfried s work, we are given all together about 7,000 lines in selected portions Rather uneventful chapters, such as *Heimfahrt und Rache* (6067-5870), *Marjodo* (13455-13676), and *List under List* (13677-14238) are excluded, while important chapters, such as the Accolade the Love-Potion, Brangaene, the Rotte and the Harp, Melôt. and particularly the final chapters are almost complete Wherever chapters are shortened, it is done without depriving the reader of important developments of the plot. Bechstein's edition, however, has frequently been ameliorated and cleared of misprints and errors. For the benefit of the English-speaking student, for whom the whole series is intended, difficult MHG idiomatic passages, phrases, and words are given in the footnotes in English, interspersed with German and MHG references and grammatical notes from other editions With reference to the well-chosen select bibliography, the war unfortunately has made it impossible for the author to use the latest contributions, particularly periodical literature after 1940 (Stolte, de Boor) The references to H Paul's article (p. xxiv) in the *Sitzungsberichte der Munchner Ak*, 1895, as well as S Singer's article (p xxii) in the *Abh der Berliner Ak*, 1918 need specifications as to section and page (*Bayer Ak der Wiss, philol, philosph und hist Cl*, pp 317-427 and *Abh der Preuss. Ak der Wiss, Philos-hist Klasse*. pp 1-19, respectively). The book is finished by a MHG-English glossary containing about 800 items (such words as *schapelekîn, ungebaere, itenuwe*, and *wildenaere* might have been included either in the glossary or the notes), followed, not as one might expect by an index of names, but by the thirty-one well-known Rules of Love from Andreas Capellanus' treatise *De Amore libri tres*, in Latin and English The author's inspiring presentation of the history of the saga, his thorough scholarship shown in the discussion of the problems and the practical arrangement of the text and notes make this book very desirable for class use in English speaking countries

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English Literary Criticism The Medieval Phase By J. W. H. ATKINS Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1943 $3 00

Professor Atkins has written an illuminating book about matters that greatly needed light. If he has not been able to clarify every

obscurity, he has at least made the dark places visible, and he has succeeded in mapping firmly the general course followed by literary critics in England from the eighth to the sixteenth century He was admirably prepared for the task by the studies to which we owe his two earlier volumes on *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* One of the most valuable chapters of the present book, indeed, which sketches the critical tradition inherited from Greece and Rome, could have been written by no one less versed than the author in classical and post-classical literature Of paramount importance to the later course of criticism, as he shows very expertly, was the narrowed scope of rhetorical thinking which was the result in part of political convulsions and in part of ecclesiastical influences Yet the break with the classical tradition was far from complete, else the literary history of England—on the outer edge of the world—could not have been what it was during the seventh and eighth centuries

To Bede and Alcuin Professor Atkins quite properly devotes a chapter, paying just tribute to the wide learning and intellectual vigor of the one and the quickening influence of the other at a critical period in the history of European thought. He is less happy, it seems to me, in his brief reference to events of the tenth and eleventh centuries Although such leaders of the Benedictine revival as Dunstan and Ælfric were "animated primarily by aims of a social or religious kind," they cannot justly be said to have neglected "the furtherance of literary culture" To forget the highly interesting activities of this period, with its renewed continental affiliations, is to see in false perspective the greater achievements of the twelfth century Of those achievements, exemplified in the work of John of Salisbury, Professor Atkins gives an excellent account, though he is somewhat less than consistent in arguing that the study of dialectic simultaneously checked and stimulated literary studies (pp 63-65) No thing but praise should be said, I think, of the discriminating analysis to which the works on poetics by Geoffrey of Vinsauf and John of Garland are subjected The importance of their treatises to an understanding of medieval poetry is perhaps more forcibly stated than by anyone heretofore Of great value, too, is the chapter on the cross-currents of the thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, which suffers only from its brevity.

In his final chapters devoted to writings in the vernacular Professor Atkins sketches the continuity of the critical spirit from Chaucer's time to the end of the sixteenth century, showing by abundant evidence how the medieval tradition retained its influence on the thought and the writing of the Renaissance These chapters are highly to be commended, even though in certain details the author interprets Chaucer somewhat oddly. The notion, for example, that Chaucer was addressing "a popular audience" rather than one of highly literate quality is surely erroneous. The manuscript

tradition indicates, to be sure, that his poems were appreciated by a relatively large number of persons, but not that he was writing for [illegible] restricted circle In *Sir Thopas* he was parodying not [illegible] rhyming romances of the day" (p. 152), but the truly "popular" verse which he and his kind must have thought both crude and absurd, aping with fatal differences as it did the French romances of an earlier day. One wonders, too, what Professor Atkins means by "the liberties in expression taken by the Franklin" (p. 156), the manner of whose tale has little relationship to the humorous apology by which it is prefaced It seems to me, furthermore, that there is no warrant for the statement that Chaucer used the words "poesye" and "poetrye" for "the works of the ancients alone (together with Dante and Petrarch), while reserving the native terms 'making' and 'makers' for vernacular efforts" (p 157) A survey of these words, which are less often used than might be expected, does not support the contention Surely, too, Chaucer must be exonerated from the charge of a lack of "aesthetic evaluation" in mentioning Dares and Dictys along with Homer, since they were mere names to him Finally, it is clear that Professor Atkins in reading *Troilus* has missed the ironic humor of the hero's first letter to Criseyde Pandarus tells Troilus how to avoid the banalities into which, being so deeply in love, he immediately falls The letter he writes is essentially the love-letter of all time and good evidence therefore of his being a true lover.

Such minor blemishes as I have been enumerating detract little, however, from the worth of a book which should be read by all students of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

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Essays and Studies. By Members of the Department of English, University of California Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press, 1943. Pp viii + 239. $2 00. (University of California Publications in English, Vol 14)

The thirteen articles here gathered together range from *Beowulf* to the Pacific Coast "in this year 1943"; from linguistic studies, through literary criticism, biographical sketches, and the history of science, to logic and mysticism, and from the important to the trivial—not to say the ridiculous. A. G Brodeur leads off, in every sense, with a full treatment of "Design and Motive in the Finn Episode," in *Beowulf*, wherein, amongst other things, he completes his attempt to demolish Kemp Malone's interpretation of this obscure and much discussed passage, begun in an earlier article

Brodeur writes confidently but not pontifically, and his judiciously used learning gives this study broader interest and value than its title suggests. Next in importance is Benjamin P. Kurtz's briefer article, "Coleridge on Swedenborg, with Unpublished Marginalia on the *Prodromus*." Kurtz is an accomplished scholar, and his article may stand as a model of good writing and orderly and full presentation and documentation without a wasted word. His conclusion is "When more materials are available, the loose statement that Coleridge was 'influenced' by Swedenborg's writings may be checked. At present it appears that Coleridge was influenced only in the sense that in Swedenborg, whom on the whole he greatly admired, he found some corroborations of his own theories, that he was sceptical of some of the claims to miraculous experience, and that he criticized what he thought were fundamental errors in Swedenborgianism." G. R. Potter's "The Significance to the History of English Natural Science of John Hill's *Review of the Works of the Royal Society* [1751]" is also important, though over-weighted with documentation, excessively laboured, and dubious in its conclusion. Potter does not disguise the fact that Hill was a pestiferous scribbler, seeking to discredit the Society because he had not been made a Fellow, he also makes good his claim that a portion of Hill's criticism of the *Transactions* of the Society was, nevertheless, warranted and well based; but he does not succeed in persuading this reader that Hill and his principal contemporary butt, one William Arderon, "were more significant than they ever knew" because "they mark the turning point between two eras in English natural science."

Significance is not easily achieved, today any more than in former times. But one can sympathize more readily with Potter's struggle to wrest it from his arduous investigation than one can with other efforts in this volume. B. H. Bronson goes far to demonstrate that he can be readable on any subject. In "Walking Stewart" he extracts what entertainment there is to be extracted from the career of one of the lesser English eccentrics, but Stewart's prophetic glance towards paternalism (otherwise socialism), and towards a world-confederation, cannot be anything except a source of embarrassment to the hopeful forward-lookers of our day. George Hand is on the right track in "Swift and Marriage," but neglects so much accessible and pertinent evidence, to be found in Swift's poems, as to rob his article of serious significance. Willard Farnham's competent presentation of "The Beast Theme in Shakespeare's *Timon*" is so scrupulously dispassionate and objective as to suggest, almost, an experiment in the desiccation of significance. J. S. P. Tatlock opens up the subject of "The Lunatic Lover" in Arthurian and other medieval romances; but this very eminent scholar's contribution is only a brief note, hastily thrown together from material left over after the writing of a comprehensive and more serious article for *Speculum*.

Space fails for individual mention of the remaining articles which fill out the volume. Space is crowded along the Atlantic coast, but apparently still plentiful along the Pacific Despite the watchful jealousy, however, with which the Editors of *MLN* husband their little space, one final remark must be hazarded With ample verge, the California *Essays and Studies* does not include one piece comparable with J. A Chapman's "Marching Song" in the latest slender volume of the English Association's *Essays and Studies* This brief, simple, and at times almost naive discussion of Shakespeare's sonnets carries its readers straight to the centre—leaves them "with the strong impression that the Sonnets *must* be read, that not to read them to a degree of knowledge imperishable until death were to neglect a cornerstone of poetry and wisdom" Poetry a source of wisdom? Poetry an unfailing support for humanized life in whatever climes, through all tragic disillusion even though chaos be come again? Chapman says it can be, if one really lives with it. And he does more, he shows how he has learned this anew by really living with the Sonnets while marching under the shadow of Himalayan mountains. Notwithstanding all the industrious and creditable activity of all the American professors, they may be burying under the dustheap our heritage of literature because they are digging around it instead of living with it.

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American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England By CLARENCE GOHDES New York: Columbia University Press, 1944 Pp. xii, 191. $2 50.

At the outset of his study Professor Gohdes asks, with sincere humility, "*Ubi ingenium par materiae*"? The matter is indeed vast, but by employing an exemplary strategy of selection the author has succeeded in making a short, neat, well-organized book in an area where a long and overstuffed treatise would still have come short of exhaustiveness

The first chapter demonstrates that conditions governing the booktrade were of primary importance in determining the British consumption of American literature. The absence of an international copyright arrangement during most of the century encouraged publishers of the "cheap books" whose vogue began in the 1840's to use much American writing, so that the middle and lower classes received a disproportionately large ration of American reading matter During many decades American titles accounted for one in twelve of the new books published in England.

A second chapter, devoted to periodicals, points out that similar influences were at work in the magazines Furthermore, American magazines designed for a middle-class rather than an aristocratic reading public served as models for the British magazines aimed at a similar audience which developed somewhat later As the century wore on, the American invasion reached the better English magazines with greater and greater force, although from the days of Irving the American author had been no stranger in British periodicals

After these "very broad surveys" (to quote the author's over-deprecatory phrase) comes a chapter on the British reception of American humor Professor Gohdes points out that while the humorists were recognized as refuting the charge that American literature was merely imitative, they seemed distressingly vulgar to critics with aristocratic standards, only Holmes and Lowell were entirely free from coarseness. But with the advent of Artemus Ward, Hans Breitmann, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte the earlier reservations diminished, and in the years following the Civil War the craze for American humor reached its height—perhaps because the frontier had always fascinated English readers

The fourth chapter selects Longfellow's English reputation for special study, in part because he was probably the most popular American author in England during the century, in part because his reception has been less fully examined than has the British attitude toward Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, or Whitman If Tennyson and Browning were cool toward Longfellow, and Lockhart had "a special contempt" for him, Wordsworth "spoke highly" of the American writer, the schoolboys of Harrow voted him the first poet of the age, and after he had visited Buckingham Palace Queen Victoria declared that "never had her servants and attendants exhibited such a peculiar interest in a distinguished visitor" With regard to actual circulation, the figures speak for themselves Down to 1901, more than seventy publishers had each brought out one or more books by Longfellow, and one house had sold more than a million copies of his works

Professor Gohdes's reflections on the general trends revealed by his careful researches are contained in his Introduction and in his last chapter, "Of Critics and Influence," which indicates a dozen interesting points of contact between American and British writers during the century In general, the study shows that the vogue of American literature in England was a symptom, and perhaps a cause, of the "rise of the common man" which gives to the nineteenth century its special character in the history of English-speaking peoples All the American writers were, in the British sense of the word, "radicals." With some justice, conservative British critics regarded the United States as a kind of trans-atlantic extension of the British middle class But as Britain

herself, toward the middle of the century, began to shoot Niagara, the hold of American writers on English readers became ever more secure Thus the role played by American literature in England during the century reveals very clearly what Professor Gohdes calls "the levelling of taste against the *aristos*, which is the chief aesthetic phenomenon of recent history"

Almost the only point open to criticism in this admirably clear and thorough book has to do with the analysis of trends in both British and American society in terms of class relationships Possibly Professor Gohdes has taken over with too little criticism the vague and emotionally charged terminology of the writers whom he studies In speaking of the class for which the American writers wrote and in which they found their most numerous English readers, he adopts Poe's phrase "the mass of mankind," Howells's allusion to "the humbler readers," and Mark Twain's blanket term, "the masses" These are taken as synonyms for "demos," "a young giant in the American earth" Although the general intention of the terms is evident, one may still wonder whether there is not some confusion in identifying "demos" with both "the masses" and "the middle class" Would it be at all profitable to distinguish a class lower than the middle?

An appendix contains a highly useful list of some six hundred "Representative Articles on American Literature Appearing in British Periodicals 1833 to 1901," classified according to the principal authors and according to such topics as "Humor," "Poetry," and "Fiction."

HENRY NASH SMITH

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Hawthorne the Artist. Fine-Art Devices in Fiction By LELAND SCHUBERT Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. x + 181 $3 50

The evaluation of one art-form by the criteria of another has always held for some critics a fascination, not without peril and this slender, provocative book, whose sub-title is so significant, appraises Hawthorne's short stories and novels by the technique of the fine arts Indeed, its author says "this study is *art* criticism, perhaps, rather than literary criticism." Here is the old familiar problem, which challenged writers so different as Lessing and Lanier (and others before and after them),—the problem of the essential identity of the arts Yet no mortal has ever, despite their apparent consanguinities, really broken down the fragile but firm walls between painting and literature or between music and literature, to cite only two of the tantalizing relationships Even if the underlying

esthetic is the same, the media of expression defy complete transposition

For this reason Mr Schubert's courageous effort to make us see Hawthorne in the roles of painter, musician, architect, or sculptor cannot, by the very nature of things, be wholly successful. First, the case for Hawthorne as primarily an artist whose medium happens to be prose varies greatly in different parts of his work, his use of color, for example, is far more demonstrable than his use of line I confess that to me much of what Mr Schubert elaborates as "prefiguration" or "rhythm" is merely the careful prose-narrator going about his business with the familiar, workaday techniques of prose. Second, Mr Schubert's frank exclusion of "meaning" and his concentration on Hawthorne as a technician is so dangerous a schism, that the book becomes a very special kind of examination In a sense it is Hawthorne without Hawthorne if we omit his exploration of the soul, the center of Hawthorne's life was, it is agreed, a passionate preoccupation with moral detail To this was subordinate even his consummate artistry I believe Mr Schubert is conscious of this dilemma, when, for example, he makes "the horror of loneliness" a recurrent "motif" in *The Scarlet Letter* This concept of loneliness or moral estrangement is not, in my opinion, to be drafted off as part of design or form, as a motif, it is rather, for its own sake, as Newton Arvin has shown, the primary driving force of Hawthorne's intellectual life

If, however, by its point of view, this book has limitations and even, from its zeal to prove too much, a kind of strain in its pages, it does illumine beautifully, page by page, with many illustrated passages, the craftsmanship of Hawthorne The best chapters are those on structure, colour, light and shade, and contrast All these sections enrich memorably the literature of the interpretation of Hawthorne

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RILKE'S FOURTH DUINO ELEGY AND KLEIST'S ESSAY *UBER DAS MARIONETTENTHEATER*

Among Rilke's Duino Elegies the fourth seems to have caused its interpreters especially great difficulties Since H Boris [1] pointed out the "Analogie" between the symbol of the *Puppenbuhne* and Kleist's essay *Uber das Marionettentheater*, some critics have tried to throw more light on the elegy by studying the relationship of Rilke's and Kleist's works Although E. C. Mason [2] has given the best and most detailed treatment of this problem, he cannot claim to have solved it The present writer, while trying to treat that relationship more comprehensively than his predecessors, is fully aware that in doing so he is giving only a contribution to the interpretation of the Fourth Duino Elegy, not the interpretation itself.

The 23-year old Rilke, on January 14, 1898, wrote a poem *An Heinrich von Kleist's wintereinsamem Waldgrab in Wannsee,* on which he commented almost sixteen years later

> Gott, ich kannte wenig von ihm und meinte seinen Tod, den seltsamen, weil ich nur das Seltsame verstand, jetzt aber meine ich sein Leben [3]

When Rilke asked Anton Kippenberg to send him a complete edition of Kleist's works,[4] the publisher sent him the edition of the Inselverlag, and on January 3, 1914, Rilke wrote to Kippenberg:

[1] H. Boris, "Tier, Mensch und Engel bei Rainer Maria Rilke," in *Die Schildgenossen*, July-August, 1929

[2] E C Mason, *Lebenshaltung und Symbolik bei Rainer Maria Rilke*, Weimar, 1939

[3] Letter of December 27, 1913—M v Thurn und Taxis mentions Rilke's reading of Kleist in her *Erinnerungen an Rainer Maria Rilke*, Munchen, 1933, p 74—See aso the letters of November 5, 1900, and December 30, 1913, and the reference to Kleist's letters in the essay of 1913, "Uber den jungen Dichter" (*Ausgewahlte Werke*, Leipzig 1938, II, 285).

[4] Letter of November 14, 1913

eine ganze Reihe hauslichster Abende hat er mir innig und grossartig gemacht, ich kenne nun jede Zeile

It is hard to say what stimulated Rilke's sudden interest in Kleist Since we know that he was reading H von Hofmannsthal's *Deutsche Erzahler* in the same year,[5] we may assume that *Das Erdbeben in Chili* contained in that anthology aroused his desire to read more of Kleist's works Kleist's artistic subtlety and his treatment of complex and extreme psychological problems undoubtedly interested Rilke more than his political ideas It is characteristic that he called the *Ach* at the end of Kleist's *Amphitryon* "eine der kostlichsten und reinsten Stellen aller Literatur."[6] One year later, in 1915, Rilke wrote the Fourth Elegy which contains almost all of the main ideas of Kleist's essay in a perfectly Rilkean setting.

Between the elegy and the essay I see six main points of parallelism, three of which Mason completely failed to see, while I believe he did not interpret two others correctly.

1) In Kleist's *Uber das Marionettentheater*, Herr C. maintains that a marionette dances much more gracefully than a human dancer, because it is moved from its own center of gravity, while the dancer, consciously trying to be graceful, becomes manneristic. That Rilke was responsive to Kleist's literal and figurative use of *Schwerpunkt* can be gathered from the following passage of *Stundenbuch II*:

> Eins muss er wieder konnen fallen,
> geduldig in der Schwere ruhn,
> der sich vermass, den Vogeln allen
> im Fliegen es zuvorzutun[7]

Kleist's passage about the dancer's center of gravity may have evoked in Rilke the memory of his friend, Eleonora Duse[8]

2) Mason[9] tries to minimize the relationship of Kleist's and Rilke's dancers and dolls by saying that grace is not a quality of Rilke's doll and that Rilke drops the image of the dancer when he

[5] Letter to Kippenberg, January 14, 1913

[6] Letter of January 3, 1914, to Kippenberg. See also letter to Kippenberg of April 1, 1914

[7] *Ausgew. Werke*, I, 67

[8] Letter to Kippenberg, February 12, 1925, in which he speaks of "Schwere" with regard to E Duse

[9] *Op cit.*, p. 85

introduces the doll Yet more important is the fact that the symbolic contrast of dancer and doll is fundamental to both poets. Rilke establishes it in the words

> Ich will nicht diese halbgefullten Masken,
> lieber die Puppe Die ist voll

Kleist correspondingly says,

dass in einem mechanischen Gliedermann mehr Anmut enthalten sein könne als in dem Bau des menschlichen Körpers [10]

To Rilke and Kleist the dancer, "halbgefullte Maske" only, is a symbol for Man in general, while the marionette, being in perfect harmony with itself, stands for a more genuine form of existence. "Halbgefullte Masken" appearing on the stage of the heart, are not, as Mason sees it,[11] images of other people with whom the poet associates Mason's interpretation of "nicht verstandigt" as the consequence of Man's insistence on community seems to ignore the ontological character of that idea. He is partly right in saying that Rilke does not mention grace [9] Yet there is an interesting parallel in the distortion of grace in the dancer between Kleist's "Ziererei" and Rilke's "wenn er auch so leicht tut" Kleist speaks in æsthetic, Rilke in ethical, or perhaps ontological, categories.

3) In Kleist and Rilke, the extreme opposite of the doll is God or the Angel, the latter being, in Dehn's words, "im Grunde doch ein Pseudonym Gottes" [12] Mason has seen the relationship of the motifs, yet he only indicates their dissimilarity. In a *coincidentia oppositorum* of spirit and matter both writers see the unity which Man lost and which he can only disturb by his interference. Kleist says,

Nur ein Gott konne sich auf diesem Felde mit der Materie messen, und hier sei der Punkt, wo die beiden Enden der ringformigen Welt ineinander griffen [10]

In Rilke's words:

> Engel und Puppe . . .
> Dann kommt zusammen, was wir immerfort
> entzwein, indem wir da sind.

[10] H v Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1910, v, 221.
[11] *Op cit*, p 113
[12] F. Dehn, *Rainer Maria Rilke und sein Werk*, Leipzig, 1934.

Unlike Kleist, Rilke was unwilling and probably unable to sublimate his experience to philosophical transparence He repeatedly attempted to interpret his elegies and sonnets theoretically, yet the *Weltanschauung* underlying his later works can never be satisfactorily covered by philosophical terms [13] On the other hand, we have Rilke's own confession in the period of the first elegies that, coming from his relationships with things and animals, he longed

> im Menschlichen ausgebildet zu sein, da wurde mir, siehe, das Übernaechste, das Engelische, beigebracht, und darum hab ich die Leute übersprungen . [14]

This solipsism as the experience of a man who finds his way more easily on a subhuman or superhuman than on a human plane is a key to the understanding of the Fourth Elegy and quite different from Kleist's philosophy of the human tragedy which seems to be somewhat mitigated, if not overcome, by its rational self-analysis

4) Mason [9] says that Rilke does not mention any of the marionette's attributes by which Kleist refers it symbolically to the problem of consciousness This is not correct. Kleist holds that " Bewusstsein " (" *Reflexion* " or " *Erkenntnis* ") destroys Man's unity with himself which the marionette, the animal and the God possess Rilke even uses the same word " Bluhn und Verdorren ist uns zugleich *bewusst* " By our consciousness we are in contrast to the animals and, by implication, to the doll

How Rilke associates our human existence with consciousness is also evidenced in a poem in which, speaking of childhood, he says.

> Von dorther einzig sind wir anverwandt
> dem ganzen Ahnen und der Überlegung
> entwachsen, die uns eng zu leben zwingt [15]

5) This last quotation connects the problem of consciousness with that of childhood The transition from childhood to adulthood is treated by Rilke and Kleist as one from harmony to complexity. In Kleist's essay, a sixteen-year-old graceful boy, looking into a mirror, suddenly becomes aware of his similarity with the Greek statue of

[13] See letter to H Pongs, in. *Dichtung und Volkstum*, 1936, p 106, E. Krenek in *Stimmen der Freunde*, p. 155

[14] Letter to K v d Heydt, Paris, March 15, 1913

[15] *Ausgew. Werke*, I, 347.

the Thornpicker, he thereby becomes self-conscious and gradually loses his beauty and ingenuous boyhood This experience of adolescence is described as another Fall of Man and serves Kleist as an example of the destructive, but essentially human role of consciousness According to the Fourth Elegy, childhood is life without time and space, harmony

> im Zwischenraume zwischen Welt und Spielzeug,
> an einer Stelle, die seit Anbeginn
> gegrundet war fur einen reinen Vorgang

Sometimes children act as if they wanted to hasten their growth

> denen halb zulieb,
> die andres nicht mehr hatten als das Grossein

Only if we carried the analysis over into a discussion of Rilke's essay "*Puppen*," [16] and especially of the fragmentary elegy [17] written in 1914 would we find the full parallelism between the two poets. According to this fragment, childhood is lost through fear, doubt, reflection and consciousness, and the toys become strange to the growing child. Again Rilke exemplifies with the *Puppe*. Just as Kleist's boy becomes conscious of himself by seeing himself objectified in the mirror, Rilke's child grows "an dem neidlos druben geschaffenen Du," the doll In their symbolic value Kleist's and Rilke's concepts of the child show great similarities, yet their origins are quite different The Romantic character of Kleist's boy is obvious Rilke's concept of child and childhood, however, can only be described properly by an analysis of the poet's own childhood experiences, which are the source of his creativeness as well as of many of his psychic problems.

6) Finally, we must point out the motif of the animal, which Mason sees just as little as that of adolescence Kleist's dancer relates how he was fencing with the bear who warded off each blow with perfect ease and precision, his instinct is superior to the conscious parrying of the skilled swordsman We find two parallels in Rilke:

[16] *Gesammelte Werke*, IV, 265 277

[17] "Lass dir, dass Kindheit war " (*Ausgew Werke*, I, 318-321) Since *Ges Werke*, III, 465-7, and *Spate Gedichte*, 1935, pp. 68-70, contain only part of the fragmentary elegy, its importance for our problem could not be recognized by former critics

Wir sind nicht einig Sind nicht wie die Zugvogel verstandigt

and

Und irgendwo gehn Lowen noch und wissen,
solang sie herrlich sind, von keiner Ohnmacht

In the second passage we even find Kleist's æsthetic category. To both writers the animal is not conscious of itself, it is, as Rilke says in the Eighth Elegy, "ohne Blick auf seinen Zustand," it is "frei von Tod. Ihn sehen wir allein" In this fate of ours, the awareness and fear of death, Rilke's concept of Man is perhaps nearer than he would have admitted to Kleist's Christian idea according to which knowledge and mortality are Man's stigmata of the Original Sin

The main difference between the works of the two poets lies in the fact that Kleist gives his experiences the form of philosophical reflections on objective observations, whereas Rilke expresses them in less objectified symbols. Kleist's real puppet theater corresponds to Rilke's stage of the heart. Kleist's God is a philosophical abstraction, while to Rilke the Angel is a many-faced reality. To both poets, however, these symbols, by contrast, make transparent the tragedy and ambiguity of human existence

In tracing the correspondence between Rilke and Kleist further than has been done heretofore, I find that Kleist's constellation of symbols and notions evoked in Rilke associations and images of his own, which he transferred to a subjective plane, still adhering to the symbols even where he had already transcended their original meaning.

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SOME NOTES ON THE "PROLOGUE OF DEMON" OF *LUDUS COVENTRIAE*

"Prologue of Demon" that introduces the first of the Passion Group, Play 26,[1] "The Council of the Jews," in the *Ludus*

[1] This numbering conforms with that used in Block, K S, *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie Called Corpus Christi*, EETSES 120, London, 1922 Cf Halliwell, J O, *Ludus Coventriae*, London, 1841

Coventriae serves primarily to tie together the series of heterogeneous plays that make up the cycle *Ludus Coventriae* or the Hegge Plays. Such a thesis rests on two contingencies: first that the author of the section dealing with the Passion was the compiler of this cycle and second, that he was a theologian of much originality.

Very likely the inspiration for the "Prologue of Demon" is to be found in the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes*[2] or Nicholas Love's translation—or both. Capital lviii, "De conspiratione iudeorum contra dominum *et* de fuga eius Jobbannis xi," of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* begins with these sentences:

Appropinquante autem *tempore quo* dominus iesus disposuerat *nostram* redemptionem *per* effusionem sui sanguinis *operari* armavit dyabolus satellites suos *et* acuit eorum corda *contra* ipsum *dominum* usque ad occisionem eius *et* ex bonis operibus maxime *propter* resuscitationem lazari magis ac magis accendebant tanquam magna invidia tabescentes. Non volentes *ergo* furorem suum protelare collegerunt pontifices et pharisei *consilium* in quo cayphos prophetavit deliberando ipsum agnum innocentissimum occidere.[3]

Nicholas Love's translation in Capital xxxv, which he calls "How the Jewes token connsaile and conspired ayenst Jesu into his deth," reads:

After the reysinge of lazar byforeseide/ whan the tyme neiȝede in the which oure lorde Jesu disposed to wirke oure redempcioun thorouȝ the schedynge of his preciouse bloode/ the deuel/ fader of envie/ armed his knyȝtes and his mynistres/ and whetted her hertes ayenst oure lorde Jesu fynally into his deth and specially by occasioun of his good and vertuouse wirkynges/ but souereynly for the reysinge of lazar envye kyndeled in her hertes more and more/ in so mykel that they myȝte no lenger bere her woodnesse withouten execusioun thereof ayenst Jesu. Wherefore the princes and the pharisees gadered a counseil ayenst hym in which counseille Cayphas/ bisshop of that ȝere/ all thou he mened wikkedly/ prophesied sothely that Jesu schulde dye for salvacioun of mankynde.[4]

To connect the *Meditationes* and the *Mirrour* with *Ludus Coven-*

[2] Oliger, P. L., "Le Meditationes Vitae Christi del Pseudo-Bonaventura," *Studi Francescani* (NS vii), xviii (1921): 143-184.

[3] Zainer, J., *Vita christi edita a sancto Bonaventura*, Ulm, ca. 1487. Cf. Petit, J., *Vita Christi edita a Sancto Bonaventura*, Lille, 1642.

[4] Powell, L. F., *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ/ A Translation of the Latin Work Entitled Meditationes Vitae Christi/ Attributed to Cardinal Bonaventura. Made before the Year 1410 by Nicholas Love/ Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Mount Grace*, Oxford, 1908.

triae is hardly a new idea Miss Block, in her introduction,[5] has listed parallels between these two works and three of the Hegge plays, "Salutation and Conception," "Visit to Elizabeth' and "Purification" She comments in regard to the Passion group to which the "Prologue of Demon" is the prefatory part "The layers of superimposed material correspond with the use of different sources The influence of the *Northern Passion*[6] is crossed by the influence of the *Meditationes.* A possible verbal reminiscence of Love in the scene between the Virgin and her risen Son[7] in the latter part of the Resurrection play gives a clue. ."[8]

If, then, the author of the Passion group of the Hegge cycle had, as partial source material, either the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes* or Love's translation, he might well have expanded "armavit dyabolus satellites suos *et* acuit eorum corda *contra* ipsum dominum usque ad occisionem eius"[9] or "the deuel/ fadei of envie armed his knyȝtes and his mynistres/and whetted her hertes aȝenst oure lorde Jesu fynally into his deth"[10] into the demon's prologue And thus the writer used to link, through the clever disposition of theological commonplaces, the far from homogeneous pieces that are compiled in *LC*

Textual evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the author of the Passion Group was the compiler of *LC*[11] The content of "Prologue of Demon" is further and convincing argument, for it is hardly accidental that the Christian doctrine implied in the prologue, an interpolated section of the cycle,[12] connects so deftly with that in plays which form a part of the core of *LC* The earlier plays with which the prologue connects are Play 1, "The Creation," in that part dealing with the fall of Lucifer, Play 2

[5] Block, *op cit*, p lix

[6] Cf. Foster, F A, *The Northern Passion*, EETS 47, London, 1916, pp 89-100

[7] Block, *op cit*, p 320 ff

[8] *Ibid*, p xlix, see also pp xliii-xlviii

[9] Zainer, *op. cit*, Capital lviii

[10] Powell, *op cit*, Capital xxxv

[11] Cf Greg, W W, *Biographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles*, London, 1914, pp 108 ff and Foster, *op cit*, pp 97 ff

[12] Block, *op. cit.*, p xxxiii Cf Greg, *op cit*, Foster, *op cit*, and Block, K. S "Some Notes on the Problem of the *Ludus Coventriae*," *Modern Language Review*, x (1915) 47-57

called "The Fall of Man," Play 15 or "The Birth of Christ" and Play 23, "The Temptation"

The doctrine summarized in "Prologue of Demon" from the full treatment in the indicated plays is, briefly, this

Lucifer was, before the creation of the world the fairest of angels and the bearer of light After an abortive attempt, motivated by pride, to usurp God's power, Lucifer was ejected from Heaven, drawing after him, as he says "in my tayle" [13] a third part of all the angels

This fallen angel who had voluntarily abandoned justice [14] is one and the same with "sere satan" [15] Resentful of God's superior will and jealous of the favored position occupied by those Godlike human beings, Adam and Eve, Lucifer or Satan determined to effect their eviction from Eden In the form of "a werm with An Aungelys face," [16] Satan approached Eve because he thought her the more vulnerable Petrus Comestor explains the devil's reasoning in these words, "Timens vero deprehendi a viro, mulierem minus providam et certam, in vitium flecti aggressus est." [17] First Eve, and then through her, Adam, are led into disobedience by an appeal to their lust for knowledge. The only gain the devil could promise these two God-humans was additional knowledge, they were already almost divine, for ignorance was their only limitation, and, in order

[13] Block, *op cit*, p 228 Cf *Revelations*, XII, 4 There is an even greater similarity in content to the apocryphal "Book of John the Evangelist" edited by M R James in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1926 This was reputedly the secret book of the heretics of Concoreze, an arm of the great Albigensian heresy Although Simon de Montfort, later Earl of Leicester, took active part in the crusade against the Albigensians, it seems unlikely that a text of this heresy was known in Fifteenth Century England James' version derives, indirectly, from the Archives of the Inquisition at Carcassone, there is a Fourteenth Century manuscript at Vienna Probably tradition, engendered by the crusade that had begun in 1208-9, *Revelations*, and the mysticism of the mediaeval theologians accidentally provided the similarity

[14] Cf Anselm, Migne, *PL*, CLVIII, 334

[15] Block, *op cit*, p 228

[16] *Ibid*, p 25 Cf Petrus Comestor in Migne, *PL*, CXCVIII, 1072; also Bonnell, J K, "The Serpent With a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play," *Am. Jour of Archaeology*, XXI (1917), 255 291.

[17] Petrus Comestor, Migne, *PL*, CXCVIII, 1072

to be "Lyke onto God in al degree" [18] they must have a perception equal to His

Such an attempt at an illegitimate inroad on the divine realm, complete knowing, by Adam and Eve actualized the potential presence of evil This interpretation is, of course, a manifestation of the mediaeval love of order. When Adam and Eve undertook to assert themselves, instead of remaining obediently in the original context of all creation, they tried to set up a condition of being that was not woven into God's world. Evil and subsequent punishment were inevitable.

Here, too, is a clear revelation of the mediaeval concept of the person of the devil as a servant of an immanent and transcendent God—immanent in being, in Himself, the constituent of the law that orders the universe and transcendent in being Himself the cosmic order and in His indeterminable but real universality God is the prototype of personality, and Satan is an excrescence of this Therefore Satan is an angel, negative to be sure, whose office is to serve the higher purposes of an omnipotent God. He demands punishment for the wicked, since his adversary is man, and, although he claims the world as his princedom, his power is sham. He, the braggart intriguer and foolish harlequin, is predestined for defeat.

A more significant aspect of the devil and his foolish pride as governed by God's superior will and as an adversary of man is involved in the temptation of Christ on the mountain. Satan feared Jesus whom he suspected but did not know to be the Son of God [19] And he did not know because the conceiving by the Spirit and the virgin birth were concealed from him Jesus was born with no pain to the Virgin,[20] and Christ in his birth did not break the Virgin's gates, but passed through the unopened seals of Virginity [21]

[18] Block, *op cit*, p. 26

[19] Cf Leo the Great, Migne, *PL*, LIV, 196, 344, 351, 378, Ignatius, Migne, *PG*, V, 659, Origen, Migne, *PG*, XII, 1311, Peter Lombard, Migne, *PL*, CXCII, 793

[20] Cf Epiphanius, Migne, *PG*, XLIII, 443; Macculloch, J A, *The Harrowing of Hell*, Edinburgh, 1930

[21] This painless birth, often associated with the secret of the Incarnation, is made definite in the apocryphal *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, edited by R Harris and A. Mingana, 2 vols, Manchester, 1920, II, Ode xix, 1 8a "And she travailed and brought forth a Son without incurring pain"

LC emphasizes that in the Zelomy incident in the play, "The Birth of Christ." Jesus' flesh acted further to guard his godhead, the bait of the body transfixed the devil on the hook of Divinity[22] On the counsel, then, of his fellow demons, Belial and Beelzebub, Satan went to Christ in the wilderness and tried, "Hym to tempte in synnys thre,/ the which mankende is frelte."[23] The purpose of such temptation was to ascertain the truth of the rumor that had alarmed Satan, that is that two aspects, divine and human, were incorporated in the One, Christ This, too, was a part of God's plan Jesus' hunger after his fast in the wilderness[24] was the lure that brought the devil to tempt Him[25] Jesus' astuteness in evading Satan's questions and in resisting gluttony, vainglory, and covetousness further screened His godhead The devil then proceeded, unwittingly, to prepare for the redemption by the spilling of Jesus' blood, through his instruments, the Jews.[26]

This blend of doctrinal elements, so abridged in the "Prologue of Demon," emerges, by way of the individual plays cited, from a long evolution of Christian thought. It derives from the orthodox teaching of the early Church fathers as well as those of the Middle Ages, from heresies and from Church efforts to combat them, from Canonical Biblical material and from apocryphal literature However, this dogma was so integral a part of the mediaeval religious mind that no literary sources need be sought, even as points of departure. These were commonplaces familiar to the audience of the mystery plays.

After unifying through his treatment of the eternal Christian battle the plays named above and giving cohesion to the cycle, the author of "Prologue of Demon" turns to the dramatic development of his Satan monologue. In a satiric tone closely akin in style and in quality to William Langland's in *Piers Plowman*,[27] Demon,

[22] Cf John of Damascus, Migne, *PG*, XCIV, 1095, 1098

[23] Block, *op cit*, p 195

[24] Cf *ibid*, p 195, ll 66-69

xl^ti^ days and xl^ti^ nyght
now haue I fastyd for mannys sake
A more grett hungyr had nevyr no wyght
than I myself be-gynne to take.

[25] Cf Ambrose, Migne, *PL*, XV, 1616, 1617.

[26] Cf Abelard, Migne, *PL*, CLXXVIII, 1452-53

[27] Cf Wells, H. W, "Style in the English Mystery Plays," *JEGP*,

indeed, "armed his knyȝtes and his mynistres/ and whetted her hertes aȝenst oure lorde Jesu" [28] His speech is an inversion of the doctrine of salvation by merits

Merit in a theological sense, may best be defined in the words of Pohl He declares.

> A supernatural merit can only be a salutary act (actus salutaris) to which God in consequence of his infallible promise owes a supernatural reward, consisting ultimately in eternal life, which is the beatific vision in heaven
>
> Some set down as the only condition of merit that the good work of a just man, who already has habitual faith and charity, be in conformity with the Divine law, and require no other special motive This is tenable provided faith and charity exert at least an habitual influence upon the good work, which influence essentially consists in this, that man at the time of his conversion makes an act of faith and love of God [29]

Peter Lombard, in his *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*, where he explains the relation of faith, hope and love, emphasizes the importance of love or charity

> Charitas enim causa est et mater omnium virtutum, quae si desit, frustra habentur caetera, si autem adsit, habentur omnia Non enim charitas fidem, sed fides charitatem praecedit, quia nemo potest amare quod non crediderit, sicut nec sperare [30]

Demon, in his prologue, urges that he receive love and he will return a reward. He says, "Gyff me ȝour love, grawnt me myn affeccion/ And I wyl unclose the tresor of lovys alyawns." [31]

There follows the devil's list of acts that may merit a return and the returns that he has to offer. Demon urges a participation in every sin, accompanied by love for him, he promises, not salvation, but another reward, a reward consisting ultimately in eternal fire, a diabolic vision in Hell

Not only is this a moment of high drama flavored richly with a mediaeval escatalogical theme, but, at the same time, it motivates the play, "The Council of the Jews," and leads directly to subsequent action that centers in the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ.

xxxviii (1939), 360-81, and Skeat, W W, *Piers Plowman*, EETS 67, London, 1885, p 395

[28] Powell, *op cit*, p 182.

[29] Pohle, J, "Merit," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols, New York, 1907. x, 202-208

[30] Petrus Lombardus, Migne, *PL*, cxcii, 807.

[31] Block, *op cit.*, p 227.

In this way, the heterogeneous group of plays that make up *LC* are forced into a fairly well ordered union The author of the prologue, to effect this integration, has used the antagonism between the redemptive forces of good and the destructive ones of evil The spotlighting of this subtle pervasion of a dramatic cycle most obviously affiliated with Mariolatry indicates design rather than accident Originality is inherent in the fact and in the quality of the exposition Through the "Prologue of Demon," the compilation becomes the cycle *Ludus Coventriae*

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SHAKESPEARE'S COMMENT ON MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE IN *MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM*

Various features of the dependence of *Midsummer-Night's Dream* on Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* have been observed and recorded from the eighteenth century until now Steevens it was who first suggested that the hint for the play came from the *Knight's Tale*,[1] and he has been followed by all editors since, though many have minimized the connection[2] Halliwell remarked on the similarity of *K T*, ll. 2700-2702,

> Duc Theseus with al his compaignye
> Is comen hoom to Atthenes his citee,
> With alle blisse and greet solempnitee,

[1] *The Plays of William Shakespeare in Ten Volumes*, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators, to which are added notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, London, 1773, III, 3

[2] Not all would go as far as Furness, who protested, 'It is difficult to understand the grounds for this belief There is no resemblance between the tale and the drama beyond an allusion to the celebration of May day, and the names Theseus and Philostrate Staunton truly remarks that "the persistence in assigning the ground-work of the fable to Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* is a remarkable instance of the docility with which succeeding writers will adapt, one after another, an assertion that really has little or no foundation in fact"' (*The Variorum Shakespeare, A Midsummer Night's Dream*, X, Philadelphia, 1895, pp XXVI f) Yet the recent Cambridge editors (*M N D*, Cambridge, 1924, p XIII) admit no more than that Shakespeare used 'floating hints' from the *K T*

and *M N D*, IV, 1, 187, 188

> Away with us to Athens! Three and three,
> We'll hold a feast in great solemnity[3]

Sidgwick in his *Sources and Analogues of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (New York, 1908) puts the case for Shakespeare's dependence on Chaucer at its strongest He lists the facts that Chaucer's May Day celebrations found their way into *M N D*, that Shakespeare gives to his Master of the Revels the name Philostrate, Arcite's pseudonym when he returns to Theseus' court, out of a belief that Arcite's duties would be those of furnishing entertainment for the court, that Chaucer's Lygurge and Emetreus may have suggested the names Lysander and Demetrius, that Theseus' character as a huntsman is in Chaucer[4] Then he says (p 25): "Apart from these details, I do not think Shakespeare is indebted to Chaucer It is conceivable that the story of Palamon and Arcite affected, but did not supply, the plot of the four lovers in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but Shakespeare has added a second woman"

I believe that the story of Palamon and Arcite did supply the only suggestion for the four lovers that Shakespeare needed, and that *M N D* heightens the irony implicit in Chaucer's story to produce the lightest and gayest satire on mediaeval romance.

To the list of borrowings which Sidgwick truly and faithfully recorded might be added certain matters of tone less easy to catalogue and more telling in an analysis of the play's mood The whole conception of Theseus is Chaucer's In both stories he is the benevolent ruler, aware of the duties of kingship, aware also of the follies of love and sympathetic to them In both he furnishes the common sense norm in a world of amorous aberrations His kindly sympathy is equally apparent when he undertakes the war against Creon out of pity for the queens whose husbands lie unburied, when he spares the lives of Palamon and Arcite, when he gives the

[3] *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, London, 1841, p 12 All quotations from Chaucer are from Robinson's edition, New York, 1933.

[4] Pertinent passages in the *K T* are ll 1497-1500, 1428, 2129 and 2156, and 1673 1695 On the matter of Theseus' hunting, Shakespeare has elaborated the "houndes, swiche as that hym list comaunde" into a pack that John Peel could be proud of (*M N D*, IV, 1, 102-129).

lenient rules for the tournament, and when, in Shakespeare's play, he views with generous tolerance the "Lamentable Brief Comedy of Pyramus and Thisbe" In both stories it is against his normal humanity that the frantic lovers play out their passionate roles

When we come to the story of the lovers, Chaucer's footprints are not quite so clear, and yet I think they can be traced there. Shakespeare approached the story certainly not in the tradition of Boccaccio and Chaucer, and the Knight's charming tale failed to effect in him a willing suspension of disbelief. Indeed even Chaucer cannot quite surrender himself to the mediaeval romance without ironic notes on its extravagance, as his changes in Boccaccio's story show,[5] and Shakespeare needed only to follow out these hints of satire to produce his own burlesque After Theseus had come upon the two lovers fighting furiously in the wood on that bright May morning and had heard their hot story from bloodstained lips, he allowed the pleas of the ladies and his own memory of love's folly to mitigate his just sentence on their lives, and then he stopped to consider the absurdity of two youths killing each other for the love of a girl who has never even seen them and cares nothing whatever for all this "hoote fare" (ll. 1806-1814).[6]

[5] Chaucer's irony and satire in the *Knight's Tale* have often been commented upon and sometimes overstated. See Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (London, 1907), Appendix C, pp 231-233, J R Hulbert, "What Was Chaucer's Aim in the Knight's Tale," *Stud in Phil*, XXVI (1929), 375-385, H R Patch, *On Rereading Chaucer* (Cambridge, 1939), pp 195-212 The pertinent changes consist mainly of these points Chaucer deprived Emily of the few life-like qualities Boccaccio gave her, to increase the irony of Palamon's and Arcite's desperate involvement, he equalized the lovers instead of subordinating Palamon to Arcite to heighten the comic tone and expressed his amusement at the infatuation in ll 1530-33; and he refused to treat Arcite's death at the end in the serious and dignified manner of Boccaccio, but becomes almost flippant in ll 2759-60

> And certainly ther Nature wol not wirche,
> Farewel, Phisik[1] go ber the man to chirche

and in the passage he substituted for Boccaccio's account of the flight of Arcite's soul to the eighth sphere (ll. 2809-2815)—a passage which he used more suitably in *Troilus and Creseyde* v, 1807-1827, as an emotional and philosophical climax to the tragic story.

[6] In the *Teseide* Emily had seen the two and had carried on a mild flirtation with them (*Teseida*, ed Salvatore Battaglia, Firenze, 1938, III,

> But this is yet the beste game of alle,
> That she, for whom they han this jolitee,
> Kan hem therfore as muche thank as me
> She woot namoore of al this hoote fare,
> By God, than woot a cokkow of an hare
> But all moot ben assayed, hoot and coold,
> A man moot ben a fool, or yong or oold
> I woot it by myself ful yore agon,
> For in my tyme a servant was I oon

"Who may been a fole but if he love" is his summary of it—that is, it takes a lover to reveal what folly really is—words which state quite accurately the theme of *M N D* and are not far from Puck's famous judgment on mankind

What Shakespeare does to the story is to heighten the satire he found in Chaucer The plots of the tales are not the same, of course, but the situation is, that of two lovers contending for a girl. Shakespeare raises the comedy to farce by having them contend, not for one girl, but for two. He makes Emily two girls, leaves Palamon and Arcite as they are, and allows the extravagances of love and youth full play. The merit of the joke lies in his humorous reversal of the situation in the *K T* Emily's neutrality toward Palamon and Arcite is delightfully parodied in Helena's and Hermia's unshakable preferences in lovers, her prayer to Diana mocked in their immodest pursuit of the men,[7] and her desired state of single-blessedness turned to the harshest threat Theseus can devise in I, i, when he warns Hermia to obey her father

> Or on Diana's altar to protest
> For aye austerity and single life,

and asks her to consider whether she can endure

> To live a barren sister all your life,
> Chaunting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon

The love-versus-friendship theme is transferred to the women (*M N D*, III, ii, 201-219), and to them also much of Palamon's and Arcite's intense preoccupation in the matter. The tone of

stanzas 18, 19, 28 30) She was besides betrothed to Theseus' friend Acate and was not the single minded devotee of Diana that Chaucer makes her In the end she married Arcite, though the marriage was never consummated

[7] Warburton (in his comment on I, i, 168-178) speaks of Hermia as "nauseously coming"

Chaucer's lively pictures of impetuous hot youth in the quarrel scenes (*K T*, 1128-1186 and 1574-1620, 1649-1652), especially that of Palamon's outburst to Theseus (ll 1714-1741), "you can kill me, but kill him too, and kill him first'", is reproduced in the quarrels of Lysander and Demetrius in the third act of *M N D*, with the same kind of amused tolerance at this youthful intensity.

The turn in the fortunes of the lovers comes in scenes remarkably similar in tone in both stories, when Theseus comes upon them on his hunting expedition in the wood and in *M N D* wakens the bewildered lovers from their strange dream. In both cases the human conquers the official Theseus and he forgives Palamon and Arcite in *K T* and Lysander and Hermia in *M N D* In both stories too the resolution is brought about by supernatural aid, by planetary intervention in the *K T* and by Puck and Oberon in *M N D*

In both the play and the romance there is the same effect of a play-within-a-play, illusion within illusion Chaucer gets it by the contrast of Theseus' real humanity with the stock figures of the two lovers, Shakespeare by the dream Shakespeare comments on it as the lovers awaken (IV, i, 152-159, 170-174, 193-205), and since not only the matchless charm of *M N D* but also its profoundest meaning lie in Shakespeare's preoccupation throughout with the nature of illusion and the function of imagination, the associations of his own illusion are not unimportant.

It seems to me that the four figures of the lover's plot are simply Chaucer's characters treated more realistically than the romantic conventions would permit. This is the way it really is, Shakespeare would say But in neither story is there any characterization, the lovers being sketched in a flat pictorial technique that Chaucer rarely used and Shakespeare never anywhere else Any attempt to create real characters would have destroyed both stories.[8]

Furthermore, Shakespeare has another Chaucerian slant in the story, in which there is trenchant satire on the conventions of courtly love. *The Merchant's Tale* provides him in Pluto and

[8] For an opposite view of Palamon and Arcite see J. S P Tatlock, *op cit*, pp 231-233, and for a summary of such opinions, J R Hulbert, *op cit*, pp 377, 378 R. A Law has said ('The "Pre-conceived Pattern" of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*,' University of Texas, Studies in English, 1943, p 7), "the lack of individual characterization in this comedy is its greatest weakness" But it isn't that kind of play!

Perserpina with the closest parallel to Oberon and Titania.[9] Of course Shakespeare's fairy world is far more varied than Chaucer's and his acquaintance with it is from first-hand Warwickshire experiences and not from literature. He did not need to go to Chaucer to find that

> The elf queene with her joly compaignye
> Daunced full oft in many a grene mede [10]

Yet Pluto and Perserpina probably suggested Oberon and Titania, for Oberon, with the aid of Puck, opened the eyes of the lovers, as Pluto opened January's eyes,[11] and in both cases a domestic quarrel is going on in the royal household. In both cases the fairies act to reveal mortal folly

Incidentally, even the hint of Pyramus and Thisbe is in the *Merchant's Tale* Chaucer, apostrophizing Ovid on the theme that 'Love Will Find Out a Way,' says (ll. 2128-2130).

> By Piramus and Tesbee may men leere,
> Though they were kept ful longe streite overal,
> They been accorded, rownynge thurgh a wal [12]

As for the enamourment of Titania for sweet bully Bottom, Sidgwick doubtless does well to cite as parallels famous cases of the love of mortal man and fairy queens—Thomas Rymer, Sir Launfal and Sir Orfeo—and all of these Shakespeare doubtless knew. But actually the only suggestion he could have got for this amazing mésalliance is from the equally extravagant love of the doughty Sir Thopas for his unknown elf queen What Harry Bailly would not stay to hear Shakespeare let his imagination play upon, creating a world where the medieval "queene of Fairye" might hold her court "with harpe, and pipe, and symphonye."

[9] Tyrwhitt first suggested Pluto and Perserpina as the originals of Oberon and Titania, and he was followed by Malone and many other editors It is true that Greene had put Oberon, the king of the fairies, into his play *James the Fourth*, but Oberon's function in the play is not at all comparable to his namesake's in *M N D* Beyond spiriting away Slipper and Andrew when they are in danger he does not interfere in the action of the play

[10] *Wyf of Bath's Tale*, 860, 861

[11] "And make his eyeballs roll with wonted sight," *M N D.*, III, ii, 369 "And made hym se as wel as evere he myghte," *Mer Tale*, 2356

[12] Chambers notes this in *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930) I, 363

And here, as in the case of the lovers, the initiative passes to the women in the case, for that is the joke in Shakespeare's burlesque Chaucer's stories were going through his mind when he wrote this play.[13]

It is easy to see why they were when one realizes that the *K T* had recently been brought to his attention by four performances of a play which Henslowe lists as *Palamon and Arcette,* presented by the Admiral's men on September 17, October 16, October 27, November 9, 1594.[14] This could hardly have been a revival of Edwards' play *Palamon and Arcyte* which was presented before Queen Elizabeth in Christ Church Hall at Oxford in 1566, but it must certainly have been based upon the *Knight's Tale* What the exact nature of the play was we can probably never know, but if it was at all like the romantic comedies of the eighties, it would move Shakespeare to parody and laughter. The date of composition of *M N D* favors this idea. Nearly all editors agree (the recent Cambridge editors excepted) that the first version of *M N D* was written in 1594 or 1595, and if the evidence of the bad weather in Titania's speech (II, i, 81-117) be trusted, 1595 is a better choice than 1594.[15]

Shakespeare must have seen one of these performances at a time when he was for the moment unable to take love very seriously, perhaps, as Mr Hemingway suggested,[16] because of his recent preoccupation with the misadventur'd piteous overthrows of Romeo and Juliet,[17] and he looked at the chivalric romance with amused

[13] There are perhaps two other Chaucerian echoes in *M N D*, one to the *Parlement of Foules* in Theseus' speech in IV, i, 142-143—

> Saint Valentine is past;
> Begin these wood-birds but to couple now?—

and the use of "after-supper" in V, i, 34,

> Between our after-supper and bed-time

Cf *Squire's Tale,* 302, *Ship T*, 225, *Merch. T*, 1921, *Frank T*, 918, 1219

[14] Henslowe's Diary, ed W. W Greg (London, 1904), F10 21, 45; F10v 7, 18

[15] See G L Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (New York, 1936), introduction to *M N D*, p 229.

[16] "The Relation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to *Romeo and Juliet*," *MLN*, XXVI (1911), pp. 78-80.

[17] For recent evidence on an early date for *R and J* see Tucker Brooke, "Shakespeare Remembers his Youth in Stratford," *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York, 1940), pp. 253-256.

and good-humored satire, his characteristic reaction to exaggerated artifice What he is probably parodying is not Chaucer's story but this, doubtless crude, version of it that appeared on the stage, and the hint for the satire he could have got from Chaucer himself

Some confirmation for this idea is to be found in a passage in *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* when long afterwards Shakespeare returned to the *Knight's Tale,* not perhaps of his own volition, to write a few scenes for that play In his part of the play there are echoes of *M N D,* not in the parts dealing with Theseus, where they might be expected if Theseus were the only connection of *M N D* with the *K T,* but in a speech of Emilia's, in which she describes to Hippolyta quite gratuitously her attachment to her childhood friend Flavina (I, iii, 59-82)

> But I
> And she I sigh and spoke of, were things innocent,
> Lov'd for we did, and like the elements
> That know not what nor why, yet do effect
> Rare issues by their operance, our souls
> Did so to one another What she lik'd
> Was then of me approv'd, what not, condemn'd,
> No more arraignment The flow'r that I would pluck
> And put between my breasts (then but beginning
> To swell about the blossom) she would long
> Till she had such another, and commit it
> To the like innocent cradle, where, phoenix-like,
> They died in perfume On my head no toy
> But was her pattern, her affections (pretty,
> Though happily her careless wear) I followed
> For my most serious decking Had mine ear
> Stol'n some new air, or at adventure humm'd one
> From musical coinage, why, it was a note
> Whereon her spirits would sojourn (rather dwell on)
> And sing it in her slumbers This rehearsal
> (Which, ev'ry innocent wots well, comes in
> Like old importment's bastard) has this end,
> That the true love 'tween maid and maid may be
> More than in sex dividual

Her speech is a sophisticated version of Helena's picture of herself and Hermia in their childhood innocence (III, ii, 201-216).

> O, is all forgot?
> All schooldays friendship, childhood innocence?
> We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,

Have with our needles created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song, both in one key,
As if our hands, our sides, voices, and minds
Had been incorporate So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet an union in partition—
Two lovely berries moulded on one stem,
So, with two seeming bodies, but one heart,
Two of the first, like coats in heraldry,
Due but to one, and crowned with one crest
And will you rent our ancient love asunder,
To join with men in scorning your poor friend?

I see no reason why Shakespeare should have evolved the fiction of this childhood attachment—there is no hint of Flavina in Chaucer —if the natural association in his mind were not with his earlier treatment of the story in *M N D*

It is not, of course, the purpose of this argument to claim that the Chaucerian influence is the predominating one in the finished play, but that Chaucer's story, or more likely, the anonymous *Palamon and Arcette*, gave the original suggestion for the main plot. R A Law[18] has recently called attention to the similarity in plot structure—or rather, the lack of it—between *M N D* and Lyly's *Campaspe, Gallathea,* and *Mother Bombie*, and Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England* and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* His comparisons are just, but what makes the difference in coherence in *M N D* is just the unity in tone and purpose which holds discordant elements together, in spite of the stories, and in spite of the rich diversity of materials

If it is true that the story of the four lovers was conceived in the spirit of parody on mediaeval romance,[19] there is added one more facet to this brilliant display of burlesque, parody , and satire. The stories react one upon another, with Hermia and Lysander stealing away into the wood in delightful echo of Pyramus and Thisbe stealing outside Babylon "into the feldes brode" (as Chaucer put it), and the follies of "thise loveres in his queynte geres" reflected down from Palamon and Arcite to the mad extravagance of Titania and Bottom. The theme of plot and sub-plot

[18] *Op cit.*, pp 5-14.
[19] I will not go so far as to suggest a pun on Chaucer's title in *M N D*

is echoed in just the same fashion Shakespeare uses in *Love's Labour's Lost* to mock pedantry and artifice, in the court of Navarre, in Don Armado, and in Holofernes In *M N D* it is literary forms which are being satirized, and throughout the play sounds Shakespeare's irrepressible laughter, but the point of view is the same, that of good common sense.

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THE AUCHINLECK *ROLAND AND VERNAGU* AND THE *SHORT CHRONICLE*

In that notable anthology of Middle English verse, the Auchinleck MS, two otherwise unrelated texts alike concern themselves with a list of the relics of Christ's Passion and certain other holy objects. The two passages are of exceptional interest in themselves, in their relation to each other, and in their sources

The romance of *Roland and Vernagu*[1] tells of Charlemagne's march to Constantinople, where King "Costance" offered him rich gifts.

Sauage bestes for þe nones, 92
Gold & siuer, & riche stones,
Ac þer of nold he nouȝt,

Charlemagne wanted only relics of Our Saviour. In the place where they were kept, "a swete odour" healed "þre hundred sike"

Þan brouȝt þai forth þe holy croun 109
& þe arme of seyn simoun,
Bi-forn hem alle þare

& a parti of þe holy crosse, 112
Þat in a crystal was don in clos,
& godes cloþeing
Our leudi smok þt hye had on,
& þe yerd of araon,
Forþ þai gun bring,
Þat longys put to godes hert,
& a spere long & smert,
He gaf charls þe king;

[1] *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear* With The Fragments of *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel*, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, EETSES, 39 (1882).

& a nail long & gret
Þat was y-driue þurch godes fet,
Wiþ outen ani lesing

The *Short English Chronicle* [2] tells of similar gift-giving, though under entirely different circumstances. At the peak of his glory, King Athelstan of England (c. 926) receives from "þe kyng of France þat het Huwe" (l. 543) various precious presents.

Þre hundre stedes melk white
Þe bridels were for þe nones
Ful of precious stones
Þe emperour his swerd Constantin
Þe scaberge was of gold fyn
Þerinne was iclosid a nail gret
Þat was ydriuen þoru godes fet
3ut he presented hym þe sper
Þat Charlemayne was woned to ber
Many sworen & sede san faille
Þat wiþ þat sper smert
Jhesu was istonge to þe hert
& a partie of þe holi crois
In a cristal don in clos
& þre of þe þornys kene
Þat were in godes hed y-wene

Whatever allowance be made for coincidence, for conventional rhymes and phrases, it is certain that the resemblances in these two passages cannot be thus explained. Though each one is derived for the most part from an entirely different source, sources which fully account for the differences between our texts, here within the short space of some twenty lines we have the same four couplet rhymes, *nones stones* (RV, 92, Chr. 565); *crosse·clos* (RV, 112, Chr. 579); *smert hert* (RV, 119, Chr 577), *gret.fet* (RV, 122; Chr 571), and three practically identical lines, the couplet about the cross (RV, 112, Chr. 579) and the line about the nail driven through "godes fet" (RV, 123; Chr. 572). The couplet is of particular interest. As Dr. Ronald Walpole has recently demonstrated beyond the shadow of doubt, the immediate source for *Roland and Vernagu*, as also for *Otuel and Roland* of the Fillingham MS. is an Old French

[2] *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (Chr), ed Ewald Zettl, EETS, 196 (1935) The basis for this edition was Add MS 19677 I give the text of the Auchinleck MS The line numbers are Zettl's

prose text, best represented by Brit. Mus Add MS 40142, of a redaction made in 1206 of the Johannis (Maistre Jehans) translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle.[3] In the passage concerning the gifts of holy relics to Charlemagne, this text accounts for every one of the relics named in *Roland and Vernagu*, but neither here, nor in any other of the Johannis manuscripts, so Dr. Walpole assures me, is there any reference to a crystal setting for the wood of the cross Invariably there is mention only of "une partie de la sainte croiz" The idea for the crystal setting, indeed the phrasing for the whole couplet about the cross, as well as all the other identical rhymes and phrases found alike in the romance and the *Chronicle*, were drawn by the former from the latter In the *Chronicle* they were part of an original translation or paraphrase of the Athelston-Gift story as first told by William of Malmesbury and then related by Robert of Gloucester. This source was pointed out by Zettl in his admirable edition of the *Chronicle*.[4] So far as the crystal setting is concerned, the *Chronicle* author may have used either the Latin text of William, "particulam sanctae et adorandae crucis crystallo inclusam."[5] or Robert's

> & o partiȝe of þe crois richeliche wiþ al
> þat ihc̄ was on ido yclosed on cristal[6]

His phrasing, however, was his own. Neither in this couplet nor any of the others designated above, did he borrow any of Robert's rhymes. We cannot doubt, therefore, that it was from the *Chronicle* and the *Chronicle* alone, that the author of *Roland and Vernagu* drew the rhymes and phrases that are found to be identical with those in the *Chronicle*.

The source of his borrowing may be indicated even more precisely.

[3] Ronald N Walpole, "Charlemagne and Roland, A Study of the Sources of Two Middle English Metrical Romances, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*," *Univ of Cal Publ in Mod. Phil*, XXI (1944), 385-432 See especially, pp 397-98, 400-07

[4] Zettl, pp lxxvii f

[5] *Willelmi Malmesburiensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed William Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1887, I, 151 Discussion of William's whole amazing story and its relation to Carolingian tradition must be left to another occasion

[6] *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed William Aldis Wright, Rolls Series, London, 1887, II, 831-32, App. EE.

Of the five extant manuscripts containing the *Short Chronicle*,[7] it is the Auchinleck MS alone which has not only all the correspondences noted, but the obvious original of line 122 in *Roland and Vernagu*

> RV, 122, Þat was y-driue Þurch godes fet
> Chr, Auch, 572, Þat was ydriuen Þoru godes fet
> Chr, other MSS, Þat ȝede (H, went) Þoru oure lordis fet

This evidence that the author of the romance which we find only in the Auchinleck MS used another text likewise copied there, gives us another instance of the kind of collaboration, to put it mildly, which went on in what I have elsewhere called the Auchinleck bookshop.[8] The hack translators and scribes evidently had easy access to each other's work Not only did they borrow from each other, but it becomes increasingly clear that they worked under editorial supervision in the division and manipulation of their source material To such supervision Dr. Walpole, in the study already referred to, ascribes the splitting of the same Johannis redaction into the two complementary English tail-rhyme romances, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel and Roland*, the transposition into the first of the portrait of Charlemagne (RV, 425-60) from the place in which it originally belonged and in which, in almost identical phrasing, it is still found in the Fillingham MS of *Otuel and Roland* (OR, 1978-2013). The many verbal similarities between this last text and both the *Otuel* in couplets of the Auchinleck MS and the *Roland and Vernagu*, he would explain as due to "collaboration in that bookshop where the Auchinleck MS was in process of publication"[9]

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[7] Zettl, pp xi-xxxiv, 24.

[8] "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-40," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 595-627

[9] Walpole, p. 429 For lists of the verbal similarities between the two Auchinleck romances, RV and OR, see Mary O'Sullivan, *Fierumbras* and *Otuel and Roland*, EETS, 198 (1935), pp. lv-lix; lxv-lxvi Miss O'Sullivan also notes verbal similarities between the Auchinleck *King of Tars* and the Fillingham OR.

THE FIRST USE OF *COULEUR LOCALE* IN FRENCH LITERARY CRITICISM [?]

Students of French Romanticism are familiar with the hullabaloo the Romanticists made over "couleur locale" So far, to my knowledge, the first use of the expression as employed in literary criticism is attributed to Chateaubriand (1811).[1] This usage of the expression occurs, however, much earlier than that The earliest example I have found dates from 1772 Curiously enough it comes from the pen of the most classical of critics, La Harpe, and is found in a eulogy of the most classical of classical writers, Racine.

La Harpe writes in his *Éloge de Racine* with reference to *Bajazet*

> C'est là sans doute posséder la science des couleurs locales, et l'art de marquer tous les sujets d'une teinte particulière, qui avertit toujours le spectateur du lieu où le transporte l'illusion dramatique [2]

In a note to this passage La Harpe adds

> J'avoue que M de Voltaire a porté encore plus loin la peinture dramatique des mœurs et l'illusion des couleurs locales [3]

As this is not the only example in La Harpe,[4] and as he uses the expression spontaneously, it would be hazardous to claim that he is the first to borrow it from the painter's vernacular, where it is found as early as 1699,[5] and to use it in the literary field This transfer, however, could not have occurred much earlier, for it is in

[1] *Itinéraire*, ed Ladvocat, VIII, 202 Cf *Littré*, *s. v* local, P Hazard's edition of *Les Aventures du dernier Abencerage*, p XII, J W Hovenkamp, *Mérimée et la couleur locale*, ch I

[2] *Éloge de Racine*, par M De La Harpe Amsterdam and Paris, 1772, p 33

[3] *Id*, p 79

[4] Cf for other examples· *Œuvres de La Harpe*, Paris, Verdière, 1821, XIII, 146 and 206, XIV, 256

[5] Cf Brunot, *Hist de la langue fr*, VI, 738. The analogous use of the expression in German occurs in 1795 in Friedrich Schlegel's *Über das Studium der griech Poesie*, 69 and 236 (Cf Schulz, *Fremdwörterbuch*, to which Prof Spitzer kindly called my attention) The *NED* gives no example of this type.

the second half of the eighteenth century that the "critique d'art" was popularized and the painter's idiom infiltrated the literary domain [6] So that, in all probability, if we do not have here the first use of the expression, we have one of the earliest uses of it by a critic whose authority could not be disregarded by later writers.

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THE FRENCH OF KLAUS MANN'S *ANDRÉ GIDE*

Even to a casual reader, Klaus Mann's study of André Gide [1] presents a surprising number of flaws in the citations in French. Some, not really serious, are mistakes in spelling and accentuation For instance *brutale* (p 7) for *brutal, musicale* (p 55) for musical, *à present* (p 88) for *à présent, Pleiade* (p. 166) for *Pléiade, bourgeoi* (p 173) for *bourgeois, naivement* (p. 174) for *naivement.* These are irritating only because of their accumulated effect and they may be due to careless proofreading. To the same cause may be attributed the distortion of the first sentence of *Les Nourritures Terrestres* used by Klaus Mann as an epigraph for Chapter III. The latter makes it read: "Ne souhaite pas, Nathanael, de trouver Dieu que partout" while Gide's version is. "Ne souhaite pas, Nathanael, trouver Dieu ailleurs que partout."

Some translations are not accurate. "Pas la sympathie mais l'amour" is far from meaning "not compassion but passion" (p. 87), and "he was grand" (p. 81) in English has far different

[6] Cf. Brunot, *op cit*, VI, 769 Indeed, the infiltrate became so abundant that it aroused La Harpe's wrath

> Bientôt de toutes part on vit éclore en France
> Ces codes que dicta la jalouse impuissance
> Le faux goût, orateur éloquent pour les sots,
> Mit à la mode de grands mots,
> Que crut entendre l'ignorance,
> On ne parla que de pinceaux,
> D'ombres et de couleurs, d'images, de tableaux

(*Epitre au comte de Schowaloff*, composed in 1779, in *Œuvres de La Harpe*, ed cit III, 324)

[1] *André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought*, New York, Creative Age Press, 1943

implications from Gide's "il était grand,"[2] which refers only to physical stature

A more serious error is the attribution to Huysmans of a statement according to which he views *Les Cahiers d'André Walter* as "a product of hideous vulgarities" (p. 69). Far from depreciating *André Walter*, Huysmans acknowledged receipt of the book with the following letter [3]

Monsieur et cher confrère,

Je viens de terminer les *Cahiers d'André Walter* que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer

J'ai été dans le tohu bohu des livres modernes, singulièrement requis par certaines pages de ce livre pâle, pâle et tremble—de convalescence et de commencement de maladie d'âme

Il y a des choses parfaites Le "Si tu voulais nous prierions ensemble" et l'adorable réponse d'Emmanuele [4]

—Puis la page sur la pensee amie qu'on sait d'avance

—Et tant d'autres, si mélancoliques et si murmurees Je vous en veux un peu pour une note qui signale et ne fait pas—p 217—les 4 dernières lignes! c'eût été superbe à disséquer [5]

Mais qu'est ce que ça fait! Vous l'avez écrit les chimères plutôt que les réalités! ah oui! et vous avez mis cette postulation a profit dans ce trop court livre

Cela sort de l'ordinaire et des abominables vulgarités qui nous assaillent chez les libraires!

Soyez donc remercie et sincerement du plaisir donné et prenez ici, mon cher confrère, l'assurance de mes meilleurs sentiments

Bien vôtre
Huysmans

Only a hasty reading of the next to the last paragraph, probably detached from its context, can account for Klaus Mann's complete misinterpretation of the sentence. It can safely be assumed that the "hideous vulgarities" referred to in the letter were the Naturalistic novels about which Huysmans had aired his views in *Là-Bas*. As to the sincerity of the compliments paid to Gide, there is little doubt that Huysmans, in 1891, must have been gratified to see

[2] André Gide, *Oscar Wilde*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1925, p 14.

[3] Andre Gide, *André Walter, Cahiers et Poésies*, Paris, Les Œuvres Représentatives, 1930, pp 244-245

[4] "Non, dit-elle, prions à voix basse, sinon nous penserions à nous plus qu'à Dieu." *Ibid*, p 28

[5] Influence de la nourriture sur l'état religieux,—extase artificielle,—la chair entremetteuse obligée,—causes nerveuses *Ibid*, p. 181.

the poetic principles of Symbolism applied to such a work as *André Walter*, a work, besides, imbued with an intense personal mysticism

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A NOTE ON HENRYSON AND LYDGATE

The remark of Dr W Mackay Mackenzie that "Henryson's 'Cresseid' is confessedly begot of Chaucer, yet it is an entirely original composition," [1] repeats a conclusion which may need qualification. I have suggested elsewhere that the poet could have found (among other things) the sequence for the plot of the *Testament of Cresseid* in Chaucer,[2] and I would like to note further that a possible source for some of the details in Henryson's handling of Cresseid's trial before a parliament of planets occurs in Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*.[3]

Although a few scholars have concluded that Henryson probably knew the works of Lydgate in general and his *Fables* in particular,[4]

[1] W M Mackenzie, "William Dunbar," *Edinburgh Essays on Scots Literature* (London, 1933), p 31. Cf. G. G Smith, *Poems of Robert Henryson* (London, 1906-1914), I, xlviii

[2] Cf the writer's "Henryson and Chaucer," to appear in *MLQ* I may add that no persuasive source has been discovered for the Scot's central detail of the punishment of leprosy (For Henryson's expert treatment of the subject, cf the writer's "Henryson and the Leper Cresseid," *MLN*, LIX, 365-369) There are several analogues, however, from the fate of Miriam in the *Book of Numbers* (a casual suggestion of Professor Magoun's) to Lydgate's recital of how Azariah became a leper because of pride (H Bergen, ed, *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, Washington, D C, 1923-1927, II, 649), the same poet's story of Laodamia's death which brings a pestilence upon her murderers (*Ibid*, II, 592), and Gower's tale of "Criseide, douhter of Crisis," whose rape and abduction by Agamemnon is punished by pestilence (G C Macaulay, ed, *Complete Works of John Gower*, Oxford, 1899-1902, III, 124 ff) No detailed debt to these sources has been found

[3] The *Assembly of Gods* has not found an unquestioned place in the Lydgate canon Cf H N MacCracken, *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (London, 1911-1934), pp xxxv-xxxvi Cf further, however, O L Triggs, ed, *The Assembly of Gods* (London, 1896), pp xi-xii References to this poem are taken from the edition of Triggs

[4] H N MacCracken feels that Lydgate's influence may be found in Henryson's prologue to the *Fables* and six minor poems, and concludes that "it is probable that Henryson knew Lydgate's verses" *Studies in the Life*

no one has noticed the Scot's debt to the English poet in the *Testament of Cresseid*[5] For both the *Assembly of Gods* and the *Testament of Cresseid* describe a court of the gods in which a "parliament"[6] judges a "trespass"[7] or "despite"[8] in order to deliver a "sentence"[9] In the *Assembly*, Eolus has stirred up the elements on land and sea and incurred the displeasure of Diana and Neptune. In the *Testament*, Cresseid has blasphemed her gods and incurred the displeasure of Cupid and Venus

The plaintiffs in both poems make similar points First, their reputations have been injured in the *Assembly*, Neptune objects to the "hurt of my name" (l. 98), while Diana declares "among the pepyll lost ys my name" (l 132), in the *Testament*, Cupid dwells upon the "sclander and defame Injurious" (l 284) caused by Cresseid, and refers to one "quha will blaspheme the name / of his awin god" (ll 274-275) Secondly, the plaintiffs assert that an injury to one god is an injury to all the gods· in the *Assembly*, Diana states that the injury is "to all the goddes ân hygh dysplesef" (l. 73), in the *Testament*, Cupid asserts that anyone who injures one god "to all Goddis he dois baith lak and schame" (l 276). Thirdly, the plaintiffs claim that a specially-protected person or group of persons has been injured in the *Assembly*, Neptune declares that damage has been done to those "to whom I promysyd, bothe in good and yll, / To be hef protectouf in aduersyte" (ll 122-123), in the *Testament*, Cupid states that an injury has been received by Venus "to quhome I schew my grace abone [sic] all uther" (l. 287). Lastly, the plaintiffs demand punishment and revenge in the

and Writings of John Lydgate (unpublished Harvard thesis, 1907), p 413 Gregory Smith compares the two versions of Aesop's *Fables* and states that "Henryson was familiar with Lydgate's *Aesop*" *Op cit*, I, xxxix Cf further, A. R Diebler, *Henrisone's Fabeldichtungen* (Halle, 1885), *passim*, where minor verbal parallels are perhaps overstressed, and M Plessow, *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay* (Berlin, 1906), pp xlvii ff.

[5] Gregory Smith's suggestion that Henryson's portrait of Saturn owes something to Lydgate's portrait in the *Assembly* is an exception to this statement. Cf G G Smith, *op cit.*, I, xxxix

[6] *Assembly*, l. 26, *Testament*, l. 266 References to Henryson's text are taken from H H. Wood, *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1933).

[7] *Assembly*, l 221, *Testament*, l. 371.

[8] *Assembly*, l. 121, *Testament*, l. 309.

[9] *Assembly*, l 136, *Testament*, l. 304.

Assembly, Diana says "Execute youȓ fury vppon Eolus" (l 53) and "let hym be punysshyd aftyr hys offence" (l 76), while Neptune adds "let hym nat escape out of yo*ur* daungere, / Tyll he haue made full seethe and recompence" (ll 96-97), in the *Testament*, Cupid declares "Me think with pane we suld mak recompence . Thairfoir ga help to revenge I yow pray" (ll. 291, 294) The parallel is detailed and extensive

At the trial, two judges are prominent in each poem In the *Assembly*, Minos and Pluto are to decide the fate of Eolus, in the *Testament*, Saturn and Cynthia decide the fate of Cresseid. Further, a selection of judges or arbiters with the consent of the plaintiffs takes place in both poems. In the *Assembly*, Neptune accepts Phebe in the following manner "'I shall abyde,' quod he, 'her ordynaunce'" (l 245) In the *Testament*, Cupid accepts Saturn and Cynthia with similar phrases· "'I am content' (quod he), 'to tak thay twa'" (l 301) Again, the judges in both poems spend some time deliberating before coming to a verdict: in the *Assembly*, "And, when the god Pluto awhyle had hym bethought, / He rownyd *with* Mynos to know what was to do" (ll 141-142); in the *Testament*, "Than thus proceidit Saturne and the Mone, / Quhen thay the mater rypelie had degest" (ll 302-303) The resemblance between the two poems ceases here, for the trial is interrupted in the *Assembly of Gods* and no decision is reached.

It is possible that Henryson borrowed words, phrases, and details of procedure for his trial scene from the *Assembly of Gods* If such is the case, the Scot's use of the material makes an excellent study of the poet at work, for the earlier poem is an admittedly poor performance[10] and its description of the parliament of the gods is almost as long as the entire *Testament*. The operative details of the involved complaint of the plaintiffs, the judicial manner of the judges, and the legal niceties of selecting an arbiter, which are presented diffusely and at great length in the *Assembly of Gods*, may be found in the *Testament of Cresseid*, but they are carefully subordinated and properly unobtrusive. Henryson selected the essential material with a sure touch and reproduced it in a condensed and lucid form. In so doing, he made it his own.

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[10] Cf. O L Triggs, *op. cit*, p. xli.

GOTHIC SYNTACTICAL NOTES

(1) *The Accusative Rection of the Impersonal Verb ganah 'es genugt'* The impersonal verb *ganah* occurs with both a dative and an accusative rection The dative rection is the normal construction and needs no explanation. But how are we to explain the accusative rection, of which there are two [1] examples (cf II Cor. xii, 9, *ganah þuk ansts meina*, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου, "My grace is sufficient for thee", Matt x, 25, *ganah siponi ei wairþai swe laisareis is*, ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ, "It is sufficient for the disciple that he become like his master") ? There must have been some reason why Wulfila here avoided the normal dative rection—especially since this was in conformity with the Grk. construction—in favor of the accusative case. The reason for this, I think, is not far to seek. *Ganah* with accusative rection has here followed the example of impersonal verbs denoting a state of mind, a construction common to all the Old Gmc languages. In Gothic this construction frequently occurs with verbs denoting physical states or sensations, such as 'to hunger, thirst' (cf. Rom. xii, 20, *jabai gredo fijand þeinana*, John vi, 35, *þana glaubjandan du mis ni þaurseiþ hanhun*), and we may assume that verbs denoting a state of mind were in Gothic likewise used impersonally with accusative rection (cf *kara, kar-ist*, Mark iv, 38, *niu kara þuk*, John x, 13, *ni kar-ist ina*, cf Germ. 'es kummert dich, ihn nicht') Goth. *ganah* with accusative rection (*ganah þuk, siponi*) may, therefore, be explained as an early example of an impersonal verb in Gmc,[2] denoting a state of mind, and may be translated by 'es befriedigt (dich, den Schuler).' By resorting to the accusative rection Wulfila brought out the connotation implied in the conception of 'satisfaction' as a state of mind (cf. *mik huggreiþ* 'I am hungry': *mik kara, mik ganah* 'I care, I am satisfied', similarly, ON *mik hungrar*: *mik fýsir*, etc.). It is surprising that Streitberg in his discussion of

[1] John xiv, 8, *þatuh ganah unsis* (dat. or acc.), καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν, is ambiguous

[2] B Delbrück (*Synkretismus*) calls attention (76) to the parallel usage of the accusative case after OHG *ganah uuirdit imo gageban enti ganah ina*, dabitur ei et abundabit (*Monsee-Wiener Fragmenta* = *Theotisca Fragmenta*, vi, 20). Delbrück (so likewise Braune in his *Ahd Gram.*[5], §374, 9) wrongly refers this passage to "8, 20" of the *Mons Fr.* For Delbruck's "habundabit" read *abundabit.*

verbs taking either the dative or the accusative case without difference in meaning (*Got. Elementarb.*[5-6], §255, Anm 1) does not include the verb *ganah*.

(2) *þatuh samo* 'In the Same Way, Likewise.' This adverbial phrase occurs in Matt. xxvii, 44 (*þatuh samo jah þai waidedjans . idweitidedun imma*, τὸ δ'αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ λῃσταὶ . . . ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν) *þatuh samo* represents an adverbial accusative usage parallel to the Grk. but that it nevertheless is in accord with the native Goth. idiom is attested by the parallel usage of ON *hit* (*it, et*) *sama* 'in the same way, likewise' (cf. *Hvm*[3] 28, 2, *Fróþr sá þykkisk/ es fregna kann/ auk segja et sama*, "Wise is he who can ask questions and *likewise* answer them"). Streitberg, in his discussion of the accusative case in Gothic (*op cit.*, pp 169-170), has not included this adverbial usage of *þatuh samo* (probably an accusative of direction > manner, cf ON[4] *þann veg* > *þannig* 'that way').

(3) *Concerning the Shift from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction of Medio-passive Verbs* Verbs which require a genitive or a dative rection retain this case usage if the medio-passive verb is impersonal (cf. Col. ii, 22, *þairh þatei is brukjaidau*, τῇ ἀποχρήσει, "through the use that may be made of *them*" [*is*, gen. sing.], Matt. ix, 17, *jah bajoþum gabairgada*, καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται, "and both are preserved"). If a shift from the impersonal to the personal construction occurs,[5] the dative is shifted to the nominative case, whether expressed or implied (cf. the verbs *gaumjan, fraqiman, andhausjan* with dative rection Matt vi, 5, *ei gaumjaindau mannam*, ὅπως ἂν φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, "that they may be seen by men", Gal. v, 15, *iþai fram izwis misso fraqimaindau*, μὴ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε, "that ye be not consumed one of another"; Matt. vi, 7, *ei . . . andhausjaindau*, ὅτι . . . εἰσακουσθήσονται, "that they shall be heard") This shift from the earlier impersonal to the personal construction most probably first began in those constructions in which another dative was used with the medio-passive, for here two datives obscure the sense. For instance, in Matt. vi, 5

[3] Reference is to Gering's fourth edition of the *Elder Edda* (Paderborn, 1922)

[4] Cf. M. Nygaard, *Norræn Syntax* (Kristiania, 1905), §97, b, "*annan veg* . o l bruges dernæst for at udtrykke *maade*"

[5] There are no examples recorded for this shift with medio passive verbs governing the genitive case

the verb *gaumjaindau*, which requires a dative rection, is here construed with a dative of indirect object, *mannam* (= τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), since the medio-passive form of *gaumjan* 'to notice, perceive' is equivalent in sense to an intransitive verb 'to appear.' If the original impersonal medio-passive construction had been preserved, this would have resulted in two datives to be construed with the medio-passive (i e, *ei *im +gaumjaidau* [3rd pers. sing.] *mannam*, cf. *jah bajoþum bairgada*, Matt ix, 17), which would have obscured the sense inasmuch as it would not have been clear whether "they" ("the hypocrites" = **im*, dat required by the verb *gaumjan*) or "men" (*mannam*, dat. of indirect object) represents the logical subject This ambiguity was removed by using the personal construction, whereby the dative case (**im*) was shifted to the nominative, the logical subject, as implied in the plural form of the verb *gaumjaindau*. It is not unreasonable then to assume that the shift of the impersonal to the personal construction of the medio-passive had its point of departure where this shift was necessary to the sense, and then easily spread to other verbs where this shift was not necessary to the sense.

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WYATT AS A SCOTTISH POET

Apparently George Bannatyne's inclusion of more than one of Wyatt's poems in his manuscript collection has never been recognized. One of them, "I am as I am and so will I be," he placed without ascription under *Ballatis of remedy of luve*; the other, "Lo quhat it is to lufe," he ascribed to Alexander Scott and classified as a contempt of Blyndit Luve[1] The first poem is preserved elsewhere only in the Devonshire MS. (MS British Museum Additional 17492), the second is the first part of *A Trilogy on Love*, found complete only in MS. Egerton 2711. Both are signed in the English MSS., the first "T. V." and the second "Tho."; and, according to Miss Foxwell, the second contains a correction in

[1] *The Bannatyne Manuscript, Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. W Tod Ritchie, Edinburgh (STS, New Series 5, 22, 23, 26), 1928-33, iv, 2, 95

Wyatt's own hand [2] Neither of them appears in *Tottel's Miscellany*, though both have been available in print as Wyatt's since Nott's edition.[3]

As Scottish poems these two have long led their double life. Both recent editors of Scott accepted the ascription of "Lo quhat it is to lufe," [4] and before them a host of anthologies repeated the error Miss Foxwell was aware of the Scottish version,[5] but she failed to use it in her edition "I am as I am" seems to have been first printed as a Scottish poem in 1896.[6]

On the whole Bannatyne's texts are of small value, but there are certain exceptions to this rule In any event a study of some of the more interesting variants will be of use in showing how an English poem could be transmogrified into Scots

Let us first consider "I am as I am" (Devonshire as base; Bannatyne variants).[7]

6 honestelie] honesty
7 folkis] men
8 dye] be
9 rejoyse not] rew nor
11 And use the meane sins folkes will fayne] and vse the folkis þat can not fane
12 Yet] *om Bann*
13 doo] *om Bann*
16 But am] I am
where so ever] quhair evir
17 do thus dekaye] do tak þat wey
27 jude] Iuge

[2] *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, ed A K Foxwell, London, 1913, I, 354, 165

[3] G F Nott, *The Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder*, London, 1816, II, 262, 191

[4] *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, ed A K. Donald, London (EETSES 85), 1902, p 47, *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, ed James Cranstoun, Edinburgh (STS 36), 1896, p 81 Cranstoun (p 169) refers to seven Scottish editions The poem is accepted as Scott's by T F Henderson in *CHEL*, III, 152, and by Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, Oxford, 1939, no 52

[5] *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, London, 1911, pp. 109 110

[6] *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, Printed for the Hunterian Club, 1896, III, 731 No earlier printings are listed in the very detailed bibliography, I, cIII

[7] In this selective collation I use the texts as established by Foxwell and Ritchie.

31 think I] think þat I
32 For] *om Bann*
34 list false] list owdir fals
36 Yet] *om Bann*
ensue] eschew

Clearly some of the best poetry in Wyatt has been destroyed in the Scottish copy Bannatyne's version damages the rhetorical parallelism of *honestelie* with *indifferentelye* and *dyverslye,* and further weakens the stanza by carrying over *so will I be* from the first stanza, which destroys Wyatt's dramatic contrast between this life and its ending in *so will I dye.* This last alteration may be scribal, but it also may be due to the Scottish difficulty with the rime *-ly* and *die,* which would at that time have been [laɪ] and [de] north of the Tweed. The antithetical *rejoyse* is converted into the tautological *rew But sins judgers do thus dekaye* is weakened to *Bot sen þat Iugers do tak þat wey*[8] And *eschew* is a plain error for *ensue,* unless it is to be read as "issue" (see the spellings of "issue" in the *NED*) The rime-series *delight spight right wright* is carefully respelled (*delyt,* etc.) to avoid the Scots clash between OE *-iht* and French *-it,* a discord which had been levelled out in England.

But Bannatyne does have some textual value. It confirms two emendations independently arrived at by Miss Foxwell, where Devonshire omits *I* (line 16) and writes *jude* for *judge* (27) One of the most interesting variations bears directly on the whole problem of the poem's meaning Tillyard considers it to be an echo of the Stoical moralizing vein which Wyatt borrowed from Seneca,[9] and there is no reason to doubt the essential truth of his judgment Bannatyne's classification of the poem as a "remedy of love" narrows its universality of application, however valuable Stoicism may be in matters of love Bannatyne can be excused, the art of feigning (11), envious and spiteful judgment (26), the ambiguous challenge to readers to trust his words as they do their creed (29-30)—all of these recall the traditional Rebellious Lover The entire poem, in fact, is surrounded in an aura of pretended secrecy inherited from courtly love convention. However philo-

[8] Ritchie implies that he expected *Iuges* But the Devonshire MS confirms the Bannatyne reading

[9] E M. W Tillyard, *The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt,* London, 1929, p 174

sophical or humanistic Wyatt may have been, he borrowed some of his language from another context, the *querelle des femmes* and thus misled Bannatyne. In line 17 the Scottish version reveals its contextual narrowness As Tillyard observes, the line is difficult, and the whole stanza therefore deserves quotation·

> I do not rejoyse not yet complaine,
> Bothe mirthe and sadnes I doo refraine,
> And use the meane sins folkes will fayne,
> Yet I am as I am be it plesure or payne

Tillyard remarks

> The connection of this with what goes before is not plain Why should folks' feigning make Wyatt *use the mean*? I suppose one must take *since folk will feign* to refer to something implied but not stated. "I must tell you the truth, since people will tell lies"

Bannatyne seems never to have heard of the golden mean between mirth and sadness, he therefore reduces the line to "and vse the folkis that can no[t] fane," which specifies the enemy as the feigning mistress. Wyatt had a larger sphere of reference, but the evidence of a near contemporary helps us to supply the necessary concreteness I should construe the stanza

> I do not rejoice or complain, I refrain from both mirth and melancholy; since people in general (including women) merely feign good will towards me (but love others and give ear to slanders against me), I refuse to respond in mood and I follow the mean But however I may outwardly appear, happy or sad, I remain inwardly my own man.

Wyatt is a Stoical realist; he fights false love and friendship with their own weapon, a mask

When Bannatyne copied "I am as I am" he probably had a manuscript before him He twice deletes a word not supported by the Devonshire version, and despite his many departures he preserves the essential text (there are no significant variants in five out of the ten stanzas). It is even possible that Devonshire was in Scotland at one time, since it was in the possession of Margaret Douglas, and contains a poem in the hand of her son, Lord Darnley Miss Foxwell conjectures that it found its way thence to Mary Queen of Scots, and was brought back by her to England in 1568[10]

[10] See her *Study*, pp. 134-35, and her *Poems*, II, 245 46 E K Chambers (*Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies*, London, 1933, p 109)

(the very year in which Bannatyne completed his collection) But the great variation between Devonshire and Bannatyne makes it likely that at least one copy intervened

The second poem, "Lo quhat it is to lufe," is so garbled that we may perhaps assume oral transmission One stanza is omitted, the rest of the fine trilogy is lost, and the order is completely altered Wyatt's 1 2 3 4 5 becomes 1 5 3 2 The other significant variants are as follows (Egerton as base, Bannatyne variants) [11]

5 grownd is greiff (*Flugel emends to* grownd[les] greiff, *Nott to* grounded grief)] grund of greif
6 my life alweie] bot still decay
7 that doeth decaye] both nycht and day
11 of suche a trayne] It is ane pane
12 which doubles payne] and dowbill trane
13 &] Of
14 that doth retayne] For to refrane
15 which to refrayne] that denger plane (endles pane *written by Bann and deleted*)
18 aduyse (*Nott* advise, *Foxwell* admyse)] adwyiss
20 now off now an] So gois the game
23 at ons] I say
24 to] both
34 by hote] w'out
35 for a] *om Bann*

Besides omissions and disarrangement, Bannatyne has manifold errors. the weakening of rhetorical force and rime from *now off now an* to *So gois the game*, the meaningless transformation of short lines (11-12 and 6-7), and the substitution of a weak rime-tag for a pointed piece of melancholy in Wyatt's best vein (7). One variant makes sheer nonsense; the moving lines

love is a fervent fire
kendeld by hote desire

become

Lufe is ane fervent fyre
Kendillit w'out desyre [12]

calls her account "an ingenious romance, parts of which may be true" The Darnley and Margaret Douglas entries do not prove that the MS was in Scotland, since both Darnley and his mother were in London in 1561-62

[11] For Bannatyne I use Ritchie, for Egerton I use instead of Foxwell the diplomatic text of Ewald Flugel, *Anglia*, XIX (1897), 187.

[12] The glosses of Scott's editors do not remove the difficulty. Donald translates (p 92) "without the victim's will"; Cranstoun (p 169) "unsolicited, unsought"

Yet these same garbled four stanzas have their uses Foxwell's *admyse* (18) is a ghost-word, Bannatyne confirms Flugel in the true reading So too with Bannatyne's *grund of* (5), which gives a satisfactory reading without resorting to the emendations of the three modern editors.

It is impossible to decide why the poem was ascribed to Scott.[13] Very likely Bannatyne himself is responsible, his reputation as evidence for authorship is not high, as may be seen by his nine false attributions to Chaucer.[14] Perhaps Scott was the reviser, but in my opinion he is too good a poet to merit that charge without further evidence The best explanation is that Wyatt's poem was transmitted orally to Scotland, possibly in a musician's repertory, and there was written down by Scott, Bannatyne, or someone unknown.

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AN EPITAPH ATTRIBUTED TO RALEGH

Among the poems doubtfully attributed to Sir Walter Ralegh is an epitaph on the Earl of Leicester which Miss Latham printed from J. P. Collier's transcript.

> Here lyes the noble Warryor that never blunted sword,
> Here lyes the noble Courtier that never kept his word
> Here lyes his Excellency that governd all the State,
> Here lyes the Lord of Leicester that all the world did hate[1]

Collier found the poem in a Bridgewater manuscript "of the time of James I," with the signature "Wa. Ra." appended to the brief

[13] Miss Foxwell (*Study*, p 110) asserts that Scott "is supposed to have visited England" and refers to the STS edition of his poems I find nothing significant in Cranstoun or in the *DNB* With one or two exceptions, Bannatyne is the only authority for Scott's text, and nothing but the most imaginative conjectures exist about his biography

[14] Caroline F E Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, Cambridge, 1925, I, 102 103.

[1] *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed Agnes M. C Latham (London, 1929), p 114; notes, p 195 Miss Latham's reference is J P Collier, *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books*, II, 221, 222, in the American edition (New York, 1866), see III, 271

verses An examination of the manuscript, now in the Huntington Library,[2] shows that Collier, although he transcribes the poem carelessly, is accurate in describing the attribution to Ralegh. The manuscript version of the poem is as follows

epetaphe
Here lyes the noble warryor y^{t} never bludyed sword
Her lyes the noble Courtier y^{t} never kept his woord
Her lyes his excellency y^{t} governs [*sic*] all the state
Her lyes the L of L that all y^{e} World did hate
Wa Ra[3]

The poem itself, of course, is known from other sources;[4] the Bridgewater manuscript is important because it is the only version ascribed to Ralegh. In its present state the manuscript is part of a commonplace book in several hands, devoted largely to prose selections ranging from sermons to indentures Only a few poems are scattered through the volume It is not likely that Collier himself added the identification of the author, although complete certainty on that point is impossible The inaccuracies in his transcript appear to be errors of carelessness rather than of design.

In addition to the copies noted by Miss Latham, the poem appeared in print less than four years after Leicester's death[5] Richard Verstegan, the probable author[6] of *A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles, Presupposed To Be Intended against the Realme of England* (1592), attacks the reputation of Leicester and his patronage of the Puritans

> And albeit that toward his [Leicester's] later dayes hee became the only patrone of the purest professors of the Gospell yet immediately after his death, a freind of his bestowed vpon him this *Epitaphe*

[2] EL 6183, bound with EL 6162

[3] Collier's misreading of "bludyed" (line 1) as "blunted" introduces a reading not found in any other version.

[4] Latham, p. 195, and below

[5] Leicester died September 4, 1588; the preface of *A Declaration* is dated March 26, 1592

[6] See *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, ed J H. Pollen (London, 1908), p. 263. "Publications of the Catholic Record Society," vol. v.

Heere lies the woorthy warrıer
That neuer bloodıed swoord
Heere lies the loyall courtıer,
That neuer kept hıs woord
Heere lies hıs noble excellence,
That ruled all the states
Heere lies the Earle of Leıcester,
Whome earth, and heauen hates [7]

Thıs versıon ıs superıor to others ın several readıngs ın the more precıse use of adjectıves ("woorthy" and "loyall") ın lınes 1 and 3, in the greater antıthesıs of lınes 3 and 4, stressed by the word "loyall", and ın the accurate "ruled all the states" (ı e, the Low Countrıes), a phrase whıch descrıbes the greatest authorıty attained by Leıcester

A manuscrıpt copy of *A Declaratıon of the True Causes* whıch follows the prose text quite carefully introduces a varıant ın the last lıne:

Whom heaven and earth stıll hates [8]

The frequency of varıant readıngs ın the last lıne [9] suggests that the poem was ın popular cırculatıon and that the copyıst wrote the lıne as he knew ıt, not as ıt was ın the prınted copy.

If Rıchard Verstegan suspected Ralegh's authorshıp he had good reason to name the author. Ralegh ıs attacked by other Catholıc wrıters [10] answerıng Elızabeth's proclamatıon of 1591 against the Jesuıts and the semınary prıests; and ın *A Declaratıon of True Causes* there ıs a story of Sır Walter Ralegh's dream,[11] ın whıch Henry VIII marvelled at the advancement of the Cecıl famıly. Any sıgn of dissensıon among theır adversarıes is duly noted by the Catholıc wrıters. Although the evıdence ıs slıght and negatıve, ıt appears that Ralegh was not credited wıth the epıtaph ın 1592

[7] Pp 53-4

[8] Huntıngton Lıbrary MS, HM 267, f 15r Thıs manuscrıpt contaıns, ın addıtıon to *A Declaration of the True Causes*, Francis Bacon's answer to that book, and the lıbel known as "Leıcester's Commonwealth"

[9] Latham, p. 195

[10] Robert Parsons, *Elızabethae . . . Edıctum . . cum Responsıone* (1592), condensed ın an English versıon under the tıtle *An Advertısement Wrıtten to a Secretarıe of My L. Treasurers of Ingland* (1592), and Thomas Stapleton, *Apologıa pro . Philippo II* (1592) See J B. Code, *Queen Elizabeth and the English Catholıc Hıstorıans* (1935), p 59.

[11] P 63.

and that a seventeenth century commonplace book remains the only authority for assigning the poem to him.[12]

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EVIDENCES OF REVISION IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE* III. i, ii

Since the days of Upton it has been noted that Spenser confused Guyon and the Red Cross Knight in *The Faerie Queene* III ii 4 In III i 18 Guyon and Arthur desert Britomart to pursue Florimel. Britomart continuing on her way rescues the Red Cross Knight before the house of Malecasta, and within the two undergo various adventures. After their departure, the heading to canto ii reads correctly "The Redcrosse knight to Britomart describeth Artegall . . ." but in III. ii. 4 we find "She trauelling with *Guyon* by the way, Of sundry things faire purpose gan to find, T'abridge their journey long, and lingring day." The error is corrected in III. ii.

[12] A curious coincidence brings together both in Huntington MS, EL 6183, and in *A Declaration of the True Causes* the epitaph on Leicester and the little poem known as Chaucer's prophecy (*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed W W Skeat, I, 45 6, VII, 450) Verstegan concludes his preface to an unfavorable picture of conditions in England by citing, but not quoting, the prophecy "And thus leauing the reader out of the matter ensuing (with some addition of somthing here omitted) to make a commentarie vpon Chaucers prophesie, I wish him well to fare ." The "prophecy" itself is written immediately after Leicester's epitaph in the Huntington Library manuscript

out of	When faythe faylethe in preestes sawes
Chaucer	And lordes hestes are holden for lawes
	And Robbrye is holden purchas
	And lechery holden solace
	Then shall the land of albyon
	be brought to grete confusyon

Although lacking in particular significance, these occurrences add to those in the *Chaucer Allusion Book* two more examples of the popular use of Chaucer's prophecy Verstegan was quite sure that Elizabeth, with the help of people like Leicester, had brought the land of Albion to great confusion.

16 where the Red Cross Knight is specifically mentioned as the companion of her talk.

This contradiction seems to have been taken as only one of the numerous casual errors in *The Faerie Queene*, since no attempt has been made to analyze the facts and their implications The prime fact is that this is no simple slip of the pen When he wrote the early stanzas of canto ii Spenser seems definitely to have had Guyon in mind, and not the Red Cross Knight In III ii 4 he continues, "Mongst which it fell into that Faeries mind, To aske this Briton Mayd . . ." Guyon was a native of Fairyland (II i 6), although the Red Cross Knight is sometimes called an Elf, or Elfen Knight, since he served Gloriana (as in I. i. 17, I i 46), he was actually of Saxon birth (I. x. 60) and is never, I believe, in the whole poem directly called a Fairy. That Guyon is meant in ii 4 is also shown in ii. 13 where, characteristically, he appeals to Britomart, "Ah, but if reason faire might you perswade. . ." Guyon is, of course, the embodiment of temperance based on reason, and his discourse in Book II has been frequently larded with appeals to reason.

Thus it is difficult to believe that Spenser forgetfully wrote of Guyon in ii. 4 and ii. 13, and correctly in ii. 16 of the Red Cross Knight, without correcting his egregious error immediately. The two pieces of collateral evidence buttress the use of Guyon's name to indicate that we have here evidence of an earlier state of canto ii which was negligently revised. It follows that in the earlier version of canto i Guyon, and not the Red Cross Knight, was the companion of Britomart in Castle Joyeuse. Obviously the moral allegory was superior in the earlier version since the situation is one contrasting temperance and chastity, which were Guyon's specific attributes, against the delights of the senses (the six brothers) with their apotheosis in Malecasta. The Red Cross Knight with his specialized attributes of holiness has less to do with this contrast than Guyon.

There are three explanations, which may indeed be interwoven, why Spenser made the change. The least important is that the temptations of Malecasta are but a pale repetition of the more serious assaults against his temperance over which Guyon triumphed in the Bower of Bliss. More noteworthy is the sharpening of the political allegory in the later version. If, as seems likely, Male-

casta represents another manifestation of Mary Stuart's moral looseness, the introduction of the Red Cross Knight shadows forth a religious allegory since he is the embodiment of the English Church The attack of the guardians of the castle to force him to change his allegiance from Una to Malecasta and his rescue by Britomart thus represents Elizabeth's salvage of the Church of England from Roman Catholic assault by the supporters of Mary Stuart Malecasta's wooing of Britomart represents Mary's attempts to win England's favor, not recognizing that England was Elizabeth. Malecasta's attempted seduction of Britomart may possibly allude to the French marriage, another episode in the grand plot to catholicize England. The wounding of Britomart by Gardante may well be a reference to one of the attempted assassinations of Elizabeth plotted by Mary although, to continue the allegory of the French marriage, it may represent as well on another plane Elizabeth's suspected real regard for D'Alençon. Spenser's allegory, it need hardly be noted, is usually constructed of various layers for simultaneous application.

If this intensification of the political allegory is not sufficient to account for the revision, the change in construction may be considered. Obviously, if Guyon were with Britomart in Castle Joyeuse, he could not be haring off after Florimel, hence it seems likely that unless in the original version Arthur and his squire alone pursued Florimel, she must have been introduced at some later point.[1] If the latter, perhaps the diffusion in plotting which appears in the poem from this point on was not present in the original plan for Book III [2]

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[1] This point is impossible to determine without a thoroughgoing study of revision in the whole of Book III. In favor of the first possibility is the fact that Guyon's search for Florimel is never narrated and he next appears in the story "by fortune" at the uncasing of Braggadochio in V iii 29 where there is no mention of the fact that he has been pursuing Florimel Against it is the fact that Spenser remembered to mention his flight after Florimel rather needlessly in III iv 45 where one can see no necessity for a revision

[2] This article is intended to be suggestive rather than detailed since the writer is on active duty without opportunity for the research necessary to annotate the various points.

A NOTE ON JONSON'S *THE STAPLE OF NEWS*

An apparently enigmatical line in Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* is given no explanation in either of the fully-annotated editions of the play.[1] Peny-Boy Senior, startled with Broker's return, exclaims.

> How now? I think I was borne under Hercules starre!
> Nothing but trouble and tumult to oppresse me?
> Why come you back? (III, iv, l 3)

Hercules is a fixed star in the sign of Gemini, and its astrological influence is similar to that of the planet Mars Claudius Ptolemy, astrology's supreme spokesman, records in his chapter "The Influence of the Fixed Stars".

> *Gemini* The bright stars in the thighs are like Saturn of the two bright stars on the heads, the one, which precedes and is called Apollo (Castor), is like Mercury, the other which follows, called Hercules (Pollux), is like Mars[2]

And Mars, according to Ptolemy, causes

> foreign wars, intestine divisions, captivity, slaughter, insurrections, . wrath of princes, sudden and untimely death, . feverish disorders, conflagration, murder, impiety, infractions of the law, adultery, rape, robbery, and all kinds of violence, hot, pestilential, and blasting winds, drought, lightning, shipwrecks[3]

It is no wonder that Peny-Boy Senior, if "borne under Hercules starre," should be oppressed with "trouble and tumult"

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[1] Cf *The Works of Ben Jonson*, ed W Gifford and F Cunningham (London, 1875), v; *The Staple of News by Ben Jonson*, ed. De Winter, Yale Studies in English (New York, 1905)

[2] *Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos or Quadripartite*, trans J M Ashmand (London, 1822, Chicago, 1936), Bk I, ch IX (p 17). Ptolemy's work on astrology was disseminated widely throughout the sixteenth century

[3] *Ibid*, Bk II, ch IX (p. 59).

MILTON AND *MALLEUS MALEFICARUM*

The more one reads in medieval and Renaissance scientific lore, the more one learns that Milton's slightest line may be charged with meaning. Adam's complaint of Eve, "this fair defect/Of Nature," in *Paradise Lost*, x, 884-888, exemplifies the point.

> a Rib
> Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
> More to the part sinister from me drawn,
> Well if thrown out, as supernumerarie
> To my just number found

Now, editors from Newton to Hughes have remarked both the common tradition that Adam had an extra rib on his left side and the ambiguous senses of *sinister* and *crooked* as meaning evil and distorted.[1] But a passage from the misogynistic *Malleus Maleficarum* (c 1484) throws new light and in translation reads like a gloss on the lines. In arguing that women are more vulnerable than men to temptation, Institor and Sprenger have this so say

> And it should be noted that there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, *since she was formed from a bent rib, that is a rib of the breast, which is bent as it were in a contrary direction to man* And since through this defect she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives And it is clear in the case of the first woman that she had little faith, for when the serpent asked why they did not eat of every tree in Paradise, she answered Of every tree, etc—lest perchance we die Thereby she showed that she doubted, and had little faith in the word of God [2]

Thus the symbolism of "crooked by nature" and "bent," together with Adam's castigation of Eve as a "fair defect/Of Nature," [3] would seem, in view of the lore in *Malleus Maleficarum*,

[1] Thomas Newton, ed, *Paradise Lost* (4th ed London, 1787), II, 296, John A. Himes, ed., *Paradise Lost* (New York, 1926), p 451, A W Verity, ed, *Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, 1929), II, 612, Merritt Y Hughes, ed, *Paradise Lost* (Garden City, 1935), p 346

[2] Henricus Institoris and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum* (translated and edited by Montague Summers London, 1928), p 44 Italics mine.

[3] Conventional arguments for the imperfection of woman and the equally conventional rebuttal may be found in that storehouse of the commonplace in Renaissance natural and moral philosophy, Peter de la Primaudaye's *The French Academie* (London, 1618), p. 345.

to be part of a tradition. Though there are several points of analogy between such books as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *Paradise Lost* as to the power of devils and the temptation of Eve,[4] most of the ideas, if not all of them, can probably be found elsewhere in the hexaemeral literature. The significance of this particular comparison is that the *Malleus Maleficarum* clarifies and enriches Milton's meaning for the modern reader

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AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD

Among the Clifford papers at Ugbroke Park is a letter to Sir Thomas Clifford from Sir Robert Howard, Dryden's brother-in-law, which contains an item of some literary interest[1] The letter is dated July 26, 1668, and is written chiefly to inform Sir Thomas of the occasion for and the date of Howard's little poem entitled *The Duel of the Stags*, which had appeared in print a month or two before the date of the letter.[2] Howard's poem, so far as I know, made very little stir in the world, though it did give occasion for Lord Buckhurst to write a lewd parody entitled the *Duel of the Crabs*.[3] It achieved the doubtful distinction of being reprinted by Henry Hills in the series of cheap reprints which that publisher issued in 1709. Thereafter it dropped from sight. Although I have no desire to resurrect it from a deserved oblivion, a short summary of it is necessary in order to point up the complaint made by Howard in his letter to Clifford.

The poem rehearses the story of two stags resident in Windsor Forest. One stag grew to be monarch of the herd, honored by nearly all of the other animals as their legitimate prince. But one stag envies the greatness and power enjoyed by the leader, and his gnawing desire for position and authority finally compels him to chal-

[4] See the writer's article, "Milton and Medical Lore," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XIII (1943), 170 ff

[1] I am indebted to the Hon. Charles Clifford for permission to print this letter

[2] It was entered in S R on June 24, 1668

[3] See Brice Harris, *Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset*, pp 48, 238

lenge the authority of the constituted ruler of the herd. The two stags engage in desperate combat, in which the ruler is deposed The herd at once recognizes the new monarch, and all goes well for a time The former ruler, relegated to a subordinate position meditates upon his ignominious treatment, and spurred on by his inordinate ambition, determines to try his strength against his enemy with the hope of regaining his lost prestige and power. Another furious battle takes place, in which the original monarch deposes the pretender, whose physical power, it is pointed out, was his only title to greatness. The defeated stag now finds himself deserted by his former loyal subjects, who now owe their allegiance to the successful stag

Ostensibly the poem is merely about the two stags and the fickleness of the followers in the herd. The language is heightened to an almost "heroic" pitch, and the stags talk very much like the characters in one of Howard's or Dryden's heroic plays. Indeed the situation treated and the inflated language are reminiscent of the drama of the period Enough is said in the poem about Princes, Ambition, Power, Greatness, and so on to suggest to some minds that Howard was perhaps allegorizing an existing political situation. That there might be parallels in the story of the stags to a possible political situation, as there were in most of the heroic plays, would appear obvious But that the parallels were specifically applicable to conditions in England in the 1660's could hardly be maintained. Yet Howard's letter makes it abundantly clear that some persons were suggesting parallels, and Howard wrote his letter to attempt to scotch such observations, and probably to enlist the active aid of Clifford, in the event that representations should later be made from the Court The letter follows

Sr

When I was at the Sizes at Salisberry I mett my Lord Cheife Justice Vaughan, who upon the remembrance of your chearfull persecution of me under the Rose resolves once more upon a second adventure with a non obstante to his Greatnesse, but here I hard alsoe of a new persecution of me though of a contrary nature, beinge as unkind as your treatment was obliginge, for I was told from a person who I ought to beleeve, that my small Poem of the Duell of the Staggs, was found out to be Alligoricall, and reflectinge upon the King himselfe; if it were soe I owne it a guelt fitt for punishment, if it be not soe I woud have them suffer that made that ill which I never intended, for I woud have fooles and knaves re-

ceive an equall contempt if not punishment, and since I have some enemies soe extreamly malicious, I am glad they are soe dull—and I confesse I am one that will not endeavour to stop them in the hast they make to doe themselves the greatest inservice for all they can charge on mee I despise, especially in this particular wch upon my honour was writt above foure yeares since, and when I was retird into the Country, neither with any thoughts or acquaintance of what others did, but meerly beinge told the storie by one that livd in Windser forrest—all that I have writt was punctually between two staggs, the love of description in Poetry, and I confesse the Nurse of Fancy, were the only causes that invited mee to endeavour the description, and some freind to whom I it [*sic*], I printed it and this I sweare to you is the entire truth noe had I a further thought or intention, at least Sr I must expect I have some enimies that will accuse mee when I am asleepe, for next to that such Arstisement [*sic*] was not innocent, but I shall find a way to lett them know I will be as care full to returne there designes as I shall to preserve the title of Sr your most faithful & humble Servant

Ro Howard

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FRENEAU AND THE BONES OF COLUMBUS

In the Trenton *True American* for August 17, 1822, appears an account of the West Indies burial of Columbus recalled from an interview with a Santo Domingo priest twenty years before The writer was probably Philip Freneau,[1] without doubt delighted to extend the interest in the first Admiral that had once prompted his attempt at an epic, "The Picture of Columbus"[2] In the account

[1] Freneau was probably still sailing the West Indian waters in 1802 See Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (New Brunswick, N J, 1941), 320, 356 Leary overlooked an item that bears here—Freneau's arrival in New York from Guadeloupe, January, 1802 (reported in the *New York Weekly Museum*, January 23, 1802) Apparently he returned to the Indies shortly after, so that his visit could well have occurred the next spring or summer, since he returned to New York in November The account was not signed directly But it appears just above one of a series signed in one of the poet's typical manners, with a single initial from his name Moreover, it is perfectly in his manner Perhaps he intended the single signature to cover both items

[2] Written 1774. Freneau also wrote "Columbus to Ferdinand," another product of his youth. See F. L Pattee, *Poems of Philip Freneau* (Princeton, 1902), I, 46, 89

is a Latin epitaph, from Alcedo's *Dictionary*,[3] supposedly inscribed on Columbus' tomb in Seville

Hic locus abscondit proeclari membra Columbi,
 Cujus nomen ad astra volat
Non satis unus erat sibi mundus notus, at orbem
 Ignotum priscis omnibus ipse dedit
Divitias summas terras dispersit in omnes,
 Atque animas coelo tradidit innumeras,
Invenit campos divinis legibus aptos,
 Regibus et nostris prospera regna dedit

These lines the author rendered into a stanza of American poetry

The dust of *Him*, whose fame the world resounds,
 Whose name to heaven's celestial mansions soars,
Here rests, concealed in these too narrow bounds,—
 The bones of him, who first beheld these shores —
Old worlds, long known, too little for his mind,
 He left, and unknown worlds disclosed to view
He wealth immense to thankless Spain assigned,
 Spain! that her thousands *here*, her millions slew
Lands he explored, where Gods might legislate,
To Spain gave Empires, and to thrones their state!

A comparison with Alcedo shows an omitted *proeclarum* after *cujus*. Probably Freneau consulted the Thompson edition[4] The epitaph is from an elegy by Juan de Castellanos, written in 1588[5] Thacher, in spite of Castellanos' proximity to Columbus' time, suggests that it is only one of many such[6] Probably its authenticity cannot be established, though it remains a plausible possibility.[7] With what is now known, Freneau's account, as far as it goes, is in substantial agreement The following excerpts represent about two-fifths of the whole article

[3] Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geografico-Historico de las Indias Occidentales O America* (Madrid, 1786), I, 72

[4] G A Thompson, London, 1812 15, I, 45 A translation

[5] D Buenaventura Carlos Aribau, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1874), vol IV William Prescott, in *Ferdinand and Isabella* (Philadelphia, 1837-1904), IV, 84, note, says Castellanos wrote his elegies in 1588

[6] John B Thacher, *Christopher Columbus* (Cleveland, 1904), III, 519-20, note

[7] See Dn Emiliano Tejera, *Los Restos de Colón en Santo Domingo y Los Dos Restos de Cristobal Colón* (Santo Domingo, 1928), p 10—originally published 1878-1879.

Being accidentally detained several years ago (1802) at Monte Christo, near Manchineel Bay, on the north side of Spanish San Domingo, Hispaniola, or Hayti, as it is here called, an intelligent and respectable Ecclesiastic of that place, an ex Jesuit, furnished me with the following particulars relative to the original discovery of America, and which, he said, might be relied upon as authentic —It is well known that Columbus died at Valadolid, in Old Spain, on the 20th of May, 1506 His body, inclosed in a double coffin, was carried to *Seville*, and there had a temporary interment The coffin was deposited under a plain marble with the two following lines engraved thereon, which, it is said, are legible to this day

A Castilla Y Arragon
Otro mondo dio Colon,

i e Columbus gave a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon — It is not generally known, said my venerable informant, that from the Cathedral of *Seville* the bones of this illustrious man were, not long afterwards, conveyed across the Atlantic to the Cathedral of the river *Ozama*, towards the eastern extremity of the island of Hispaniola . .

In the month of February, 1783, at a time they were making some repairs in a wall of the Church, the identical coffin of Christopher Columbus was discovered, but only the leaden one, the other having mouldered away by time There was no plate or inscription found, as that had probably been fixed on the exterior wooden coffin, long since decayed The bones found in this coffin had nearly crumbled into dust, but some bones of the arms remained sound The officers of the Cathedral asserted that the tradition had constantly been, from times immemorial, that the body of Columbus had been sepultured in the cell thus accidentally discovered . .

There is no mention of the removal to Havana in 1795-6, about which the priest might have been expected to know, or any awareness that the bones so removed were not those of the true and first Admiral, as scholars now conclude is the case. But it is the motto that is of special interest. Thacher says "none is more remarkable" than this form, "which seems to have no authority or home" [8] Yet it seems to have been in current use when Freneau visited the island.

Of course Americans were aware of the West Indies burial before 1822. Herrera included it in *Descripcion de las Indias Ocidentales* as early as 1725, and the Stevens translation of the same year made it available for English and American readers. Robertson, the historian, relied heavily on Herrera in *History of America*, 1777, used as a text here as late as 1837.[9] The Boston *Anthology* for

[8] Thacher, *op cit*, III, 611.

[9] William Robertson, *The History of America* (London, 1777), issued as

June, 1809 credits Herrera as the source of the Santo Domingo burial account[10] Yet, since Belknap's reputable *American Biography* of 1798 omitted it,[11] probably the story was not then current among literary men, and Freneau was among the first to acquire it.

Even Irving though he wrote his *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1827) in Spain, quoted only the conventional motto and omitted the epitaph[12] Thus, slight though the honor be, it appears that in 1822 Freneau became the first American to publish the account of the West Indies burial with the traditional epitaph and the exceptional motto.

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A FRENCH PUN IN "LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST"

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, III, 1, lines 85-123 (Kittredge edition) have given occasion to various fruitless speculations. But it seems certain there is a French pun involved to which no one has called attention It is a play on the old French *oye* (goose) and *(l'env)oy* Apparently the *env* was spoken very softly and undue stress placed upon the rest of the word The various repetitions of the doggerel are made to enable those present, and perhaps the audience, to see the pun

After the fox, goose and ape riddle, Moth tries to make this apparent.

> A good *l'envoy* ending in the goose, would you desire more?

Costard sees the "sell" immediately and says

> The boy hath sold him a bargain, a goose, that's flat—
> Let me see A fat *l'envoy*, ay, that's a fat goose

Costard makes a later reference to this

> O•marry me to one Frances! I smell some *l'envoy*, some goose, in this

a text with questions in New York, 1837, as *The History of the Discovery and Settlement of America*

[10] Under "Silva," pages 379-80, a correction of Belknap

[11] Jeremy Belknap, *American Biography* (Boston, 1798, New York. 1843), edited by F M Hubbard, who added the Santo Domingo burial and removal to Havana, note, I, 203.

[12] New York, 1892 ed., IV, 126-7.

In the passage above, it seems likely he was punning on *Frances* (which, after all, does mean *French*) to stress further the pun in French on *oye* and (*l'env*)*oy*

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REVIEWS

William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke. By T W BALDWIN Urbana Univ of Illinois Press, 1944 2 vols Pp XVIII + 753, VI + 772. $15.75.

These two handsome volumes, to which *William Shakspere's Petty School* (published in 1943) is attached as a sort of porch to the temple, constitute a work of noble proportions and noble temper. They are volumes of unstinting and unquestionable scholarship organized with a minimum of concern for the hasty reader, but full of profit for those who have the leisure and the learning to attempt them The style in which they are written is crisp and not without idiosyncrasies, and in the proper places is lightened by a wit for which the reviewer has been truly grateful

There is much repetition, some of it resulting from the author's method of presenting all the data each time they become relevant to the theme, some of it suggesting that the final version of the book was denied the systematic attention a shorter work might have received Professor Baldwin likes good phrases, and having coined one, is apt to repeat it, perhaps too often. Terence, called "the acme of colloquial Latinity" (I 150), is thirteen lines later dubbed "the acme of colloquial eloquence." Elizabeth, "willing to continue the pose of the most learned of ladies" (I. 280), is in the next paragraph "delighted to pose as the most learned of ladies," and three lines later "Ascham delighted to pose as the schoolmaster of royalty" Small matters of fact are also sometimes overworked A school curriculum is first referred to (I. 302) as "that prescribed by Dean Alexander Nowell and others in 1569 for the Friar's School, Bangor" Before the paragraph is completed we have been told again that "Nowell had some share in shaping the statutes for the Friar's School, Bangor, in 1569"; after which a new paragraph begins, "The statutes of Bangor grammar school are dated March 2, 1569, and were made with the advice of the Bishop of Bangor, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church there, and Dean Nowell of St Paul's" This looks like unnecessary banging on Bangor "Likely," as Mr. Baldwin likes to say, the fact was on three different cards, and all have been incorporated.

Occasionally, repetitions permit a reader to correct chance errors Thus an item from the Stratford records is quoted from Savage and Fripp, "Rec. of m[r] hunt (*i e.*, Simon Hunt, schoolmaster) towardes the repayringe of the schole wyndowes vij[s] x]d]," the sense of which is restated a few lines later "Hunt paid 7[s] 6[d] for the school windows." Somehow an 'x' in the roman numeral has been read as 'v' The small errors are few, however, in proportion to the mass of detail covered Peele's birth, dated vaguely, "1557 or 1558" (I. 442), on the authority of Dyce, might have been fixed by B M. Wagner's citation of the baptismal entry, July 25, 1556 (T L S, Sept. 28, 1933). A false singular, "sorite," is manufactured from the logical term, *sorites* (II. 131). "Decanos" is several times translated "deacons" (e g., I 106), where it clearly means deans A reference to Henry VIII, in an Oxford manuscript of Alexander Nowell, is puzzlingly transcribed "*M* strissim*us* Rex." Query, "Illustrissimus Rex"?

The two main purposes of these volumes—both of which have been achieved in significant measure—are, first, to discover all that can now be discovered concerning grammar school education in the England of Shakespeare's time, and, second, to judge how far Shakespeare profited by this education and reflected it in his work The patient reader will emerge convinced that, as Mr Baldwin puts it, "William Shakspere was trained in the heroic age of grammar school rhetoric in England, and he shows knowledge of the complete system, in its most heroic proportions" (II. 378). The Shakespearean applications are most frequent in volume two and in the last pages of vol I, but the two interests are throughout interwoven, not to say entangled. Many passages in the plays and poems are either explained or given a fuller meaning by Baldwin's analysis of the techniques and textbooks through which Elizabethan schoolboys were trained, and this exegesis will hereafter be ignored by teachers at their peril Baldwin fully establishes, I should say, his important assertion (II 175) that, in the process of indoctrinating Shakespeare and the other writers of the age in the principles of style, the Latin texts studied in the grammar schools were "the main stream; the English rhetorics are only the eddies,"—though it is the latter, as represented by Wilson, Puttenham, *etc.*, that our modern commentators have mainly studied

The study of these schoolbooks sometimes leads Baldwin to convincing and clever illustrations of Shakespeare's rhetorical development, as in his discussion (II. 342-349) of the Shakespearean history of two passages out of Erasmus' *Adagia*. the nail driving out the nail ("clavum clavo pellere") and the plucking a dead lion by the beard ("leoni mortuo barbam vellere"). Erasmus, indeed, next to Shakespeare, is the hero of the book, as Ascham, less deservedly perhaps, is the villain. From the Erasmian training in "varying for copy" Shakespeare may have got his immense vocabulary. As the author says (II. 188). "Ascham, Shakspere,

and doubtless every other well informed contemporary, recognized the part that the fundamental grammar school practice of varying for copy of words and sentences played in the formation of ornate styles, whose sources we have been seeking almost wholly abroad" Two particularly profitable chapters, valuable in themselves and in the light they cast on Shakespeare, are the one on the *Ad Herennium* rhetorical text (vulgarly ascribed to Cicero) and the one on Quintilian

Professor Baldwin will be enviously felicitated on the impressive completion of the book (one of them) that he has so long wished to write, and the University of Illinois now seventy-five years old, will be congratulated on the publication of a work so peculiarly appropriate to an educational anniversary The book is doubtless written in the only way the author could write it as a pioneer, but it is possible that Mr Baldwin now, or even another scholar standing on his shoulders, could produce a more succinct and legible treatment of the subject Aphthonius and Susenbrotus, for example, are not today the names of familiar dread that they probably were for the young Shakespeare, but all the information concerning them is passed on to the reader in the way Mr Baldwin got it, the hard way A less engrossed author might oftener remember the flagging reader, who is likely to be badly stricken by the remark that Vives, in his *De Ratione Studii*, required Princess Mary to learn the *six* genders Reference to the original will show that Vives did indeed list six genders, or at least *genera*, of nouns, but why not tell us that Vives had not discovered three new sexes and was only playing a metaphysical trick on grammar as we understand it?

Such questions amount to asking Mr. Baldwin for more, an ungracious attitude, certainly, in the circumstances It may be said that he encourages it by his engaging modesty in disclaiming finality and completeness for many of his findings, and it may be added that one of the most valuable by-products of his research will be found in the frequent directions concerning unexplored sections of the field, into which he hospitably invites his fellow workers.

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Shakespeare and the Actors. The Stage Business in His Plays (1660-1905). By ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Univ. Press, 1944. Pp. xxv + 440. $5.00.

"If knowledge of the stage business of a Shakespearean play does no more than remind a reader of the imaginative activity demanded of him, it should be worth acquiring." With this sentence

Mr Sprague amply justifies his book Not that for students of the subject it needs any justifying Their complaint will only be that he has truncated his work, their hope that a second volume is already preparing, and, further, that when this appears, he will be found to have allowed himself in it somewhat more freedom of comment and conclusion. It is ill complaining of that gem among authors, the man who thinks more of his subject than himself. And here Mr. Sprague is exemplary He blazes a clear path He gives references in abundance (254 notes to the 73 pages of Chapter I alone), you can check him at every step. But he cannot conceal the fact that his critical judgment is usually excellent, and the reader could only benefit by more of it

He does not begin his survey before 1660, and he closes it with Henry Irving's death in 1905 To have gone further, he says, "would have been to intrude upon a time well within living memory, and to court repeated correction at the hands of those who had seen (and even taken part in) English productions which I had not attended." Truly the present is hardly a moment for quiet research in England One may here incidentally remark, however, upon the extraordinary wealth of this material for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that is to be found in America.

Mr Sprague has taken an admirable step in the informative collecting of material Yet it is rather a second step than a first, since he begins with the Restoration (of monarch and dramatist both) and ignores what witness there is to Shakespeare's own practice on his own stage Arguably there is very little direct evidence for this, no more than a few stage directions that are seemingly neither editors' nor prompter's, but such as there is will be worth canvassing There are besides the inferences from the text Compare *Richard II*, or *Romeo and Juliet* to *Cymbeline* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, the style of acting demanded, the sort of effects to be made, the decrease of pure rhetoric, the increase of significant action implied—in all this there is considerable change. Mr. Sprague's more comprehensive and critical history, when he writes it, must contain a preliminary chapter, at least, on Elizabethan acting.

He protests that "before Garrick, knowledge of Shakespearean business, from whatever source, is painfully hard to come by," and wonders whether "stage business, at least as we have come to think of it," may not be "a modern phenomenon, and acting before Garrick's time" have not been "largely a matter of splendid speech" Possibly, but this raises other questions No earlier actor had received the critical attention that Garrick commanded. Though he was brilliant, undoubtedly, both in tragedy and comedy, yet Betterton evidently possessed remarkable qualities, too But neither he nor his audiences had the advantages, as Garrick had, of the ever more striking work of the earlier eighteenth century editors, Rowe, Warburton, Theobald, the mighty Pope himself (though simply as editor he was somewhat to seek), who were

making some critical knowledge of Shakespeare to be a part of every gentleman's literary culture. An intellectual support, this, so to call it, which not only Garrick through his active years but also his successors to the time of the Kembles and Kean, had in increasing measure. Then, after Macready's retirement, it decreased a little (another historic question to be thrashed out), and by Irving's and Booth's time Shakespearean criticism had largely become professionalized But "Garrick's correspondents' says Mr Sprague "were forever sending him suggestions as to how he might better his performances" And one gathers that he would reply at length. Those were the days in which an actor could have a single "point"—Kean's Macbeth's uncustomary emergence from the murdered Duncan's chamber backwards instead of forwards—"seized on by the audience and loudly applauded," though he might equally be soundly hissed, if he neglected some other "point," to which the audience happened to be attached. The solidity of Banquo's ghost was a matter of continuing dispute John Kemble was all for letting Macbeth simply imagine the apparition, and, "during 7 years, he had so acted it, but it"—the solid Banquo—"was then called for by a few persons in the gallery, the cry being supported, he had been obliged to comply, contrary to his judgment. . . ." Well, it may be inconvenient, but there is something to be said for an audience that cares enough for an author to bully an actor, however mistakenly, into toeing the lines of his text

As to the acting before Garrick's time being "largely a matter of splendid speech," that is, as Mr Sprague recognizes, a more extensive question. Alleyne's Tamburlaine doubtless answered to such a description For Lear and Othello the speech would be splendid still, but with much more demanded of the actors by then Some softening of speech would be brought about simply by the move from outdoors indoors, from the Globe to the candle-lit confinement of the Blackfriars, no place for "a part to tear a cat in, to make all split" Mr Sprague writes of the style of Betterton's acting being affected a little later (and in a larger theatre, certainly, but not by so very much) upon his "passing to Shakespeare from the highly regarded plays of Dryden and Otway and Lee," and thereby cultivating "a rhetorical style." Here, of course, we catch him tripping, in statement if not in thought That was not quite the order of events. Shakespeare re-inherited the theatre before ever Dryden made his mark there as a serious dramatist His critical influence upon the nascent drama of the time we know, and in writing his plays he followed, not too consistently, his own counsels; how, and how quickly, these affected the performances of already recognized plays it would be very interesting to argue The "reforming" of Shakespeare itself was soon enough on foot. What precise place in the process was taken by the reform of its acting? Doubtless a rhetorical style of acting did develop — or revive. Was it in response to this new style of play or did it encourage its

writing? An "Augustan" style of acting, it might better be called, and a few years later this might be said to reflect sympathetically the literary spirit of the age. But Dryden's tragedies have by then had their day, and, though a little Otway is left, *Cato* and *The Mourning Bride* also have mounted, wellbound, to their shelves But Shakespeare keeps the stage. He is being slowly "un-reformed," but will not, for a long while yet, and then only most precariously, be "restored" See Mr Sprague's shrewd remark upon "the tendency of each age to make Shakespeare as much as possible like its own popular plays" The acting of prose comedy seems to have been little affected. Falstaff, Benedick, Orlando; their traditional playing may well have survived (but for the text) all but intact, and it still may for that matter. There cannot be many ways of acting Benedick, between well and badly will lie the chief choice. But tragedy in verse involves convention, and convention is ritual, and ritual commands obedience, both from the priest and from the faithful, unless too much "Mumpsimus Mass" should supervene, or until a new revelation ruins its credit. So, more or less, in this case, but it was not Betterton who found himself outmoded, James Quin, rather. He was quite a distinguished actor, a man of character, too. But Garrick's fresh vitality left him in the shade

What did Garrick's "revolution" amount to? Part of the answer lay in his own mercurial personality, let it not be forgotten that he was half French. The Theatre—as apart from the Drama—may be said to live from day to day on the vitality of its actors. Sixty years later came another "revolution", Kean's "Shakespeare by flashes of lightning" against the intelligent dignity of John Kemble. But that was even more a matter of personality, and there was no repeating Edmund Kean. With Macready, Phelps, Barry Sullivan and Booth, what was at the time considered the classic school seemed to end. Charles Kean, in his maturity, began to stage "productions" of Shakespeare (when did the term come into current use?), in which scenery and costume competed with the acting in importance—and too often bettered it. Later names can be set in this category, but Irving's—and Ellen Terry's —are not among them. Irving began (it was before Miss Terry joined him) with the simplest of staging, his management could afford no more He developed it in later years, both in scope and beauty, but by none that he ever devised did he risk being obliterated himself Shakespeare might occasionally be in some danger But this would be less from canvas and paint than from the blue pencil. For Irving had his own methods of acting, and the magniloquent was by no means among them. So if Shakespeare called for this he called in vain, and then the tell-tale evidence of the call might be discreetly omitted. Nor was it Shakespeare by flashes of lightning, "Shakespeare by flashes of silence" rather. But it was of a most dramatic and magnetic silence, which few actors can have commanded as he did. From the standpoint of the strict Shakespear-

ean, Irving would half the time be doing the wrong thing, but he could do it amazingly well

After his disappearance came the turn of Shakespeare the Elizabethan dramatist And here has been a little revolution, too, though not quite a whole-hearted one, and perverted sometimes by egoisms less excusable than actors' simple vanities. Mr Sprague has left himself ample and not uninteresting material for these last forty years Let us hope he will not long delay his use of it.

HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER

New York City

John Donne, His Flight from Medievalism By MICHAEL FRANCIS MOLONEY *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature,* vol. XXIX, nos 2-3, University of Illinois Press, 1944. Pp. 223. $2.50.

Dr. Moloney's central theme in this book is that Donne is neither the belated medieval thinker described by Miss M. P. Ramsay nor the naturalistic sceptic described by Courthope He is something between the two "Torn . between the claims of two rival systems of thought, one of which he could not forget and the other of which he fain would have followed, Donne furnishes an example of that fatal internal division of man's powers which, however magnificent his endowments, bars him from supreme achievement (p. 211)." This conflict, says Dr Moloney, engendered the tension of Donne's poetry, its "'peculiar blend of passion and thought,'" as he tried to embrace the fading ghost of the medieval synthesis with one hand, and the rotting attractions of pagan humanism with the other Donne abandoned the aesthetic of St Thomas, the "sacramental idealism" which could see and enjoy the created world as a reflection of divine love, for what Dr. Moloney calls the "decadent naturalism which flourished in Byzantium with the decline of classical culture (p 211)." He placed an undue emphasis on the intellect, on "sensuous thought," because of "a diseased and distorted aesthetic perspective to which all things corporeal took on the aspect of evil (p 154)." His intellectuality, his divorce of intellect and sense, make him, according to Dr. Moloney, the father of modern poetry, as Bacon is the father of modern science, and the only poets since his time who have been able to capture the wholesome point of view which he rejected are Coventry Patmore and Francis Thompson

This over-simplification obviously distorts Dr. Moloney's thesis, which in many ways is a sensible one and illuminating for our understanding of Donne. In two respects Dr Moloney is especially valuable: he refuses to admit that Donne's view of the world was

smashed by the new astronomy, and he denies that Donne was a mystic, in any accurate sense of the word His quotations from Donne's writings after the *Anniversaries* are convincing evidence that his interest in Galileo, etc. "was rather a popular and poetic interest whereby he caught up new ideas, toyed with them, wove them into the fabric of his poetry," they did not affect him, Dr. Moloney rightly insists, as "a challenge to the stability of traditional Christianity (p 210)" And Dr. Moloney effectively proves that Donne's mysticism is only a fantasy of loose modern thinking by comparing Donne's religious writings with those of genuine mystics, the two have little in common.

For these clarifications we must be grateful to Dr Moloney, they should dissipate a good deal of the vague talk and writing which has too often clouded our picture of Donne's thought and poetry But his book does not give us a final picture of Donne, and for this several things are responsible

1. In describing Donne's life (p. 40) he omits to mention the fact that Donne was a member of Parliament in 1614; an important detail if we are considering, as Dr. Moloney is considering, Donne's state of mind before ordination. (See I. A Shapiro, "John Donne and Parliament," *T L S.*, March 10, 1932)

2. In discussing medieval ideas about death (pp. 124 f.) Dr Moloney fails to note the striking change in attitude between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. He thus gives a false picture of an important aspect of Donne's emotional inheritance.

3 In emphasizing (pp. 162 ff.) his view that because Donne was caught in the "toils of a poetic philosophy which unconsciously was stifling him," most of Donne's religious poetry is "lifeless and mechanical," Dr. Moloney omits all mention of the last two Hymns to God, which are certainly among the best poetry Donne ever wrote

4 By attributing Donne's false aesthetic, his "stifling" philosophy, almost entirely to the advent of Byzantine culture, and by saying that the essential conflict of the Renaissance was between Byzantine and Franciscan humanism, Dr. Moloney makes the whole problem much too easy. He recognizes the danger himself (p 104, note), but he defends himself with a wriggle, not an argument Like far too many historians of ideas he tries to explain artistic production in terms of a single intellectual theory, in doing so he not only omits other intellectual theories (and we need a good many more than his to understand the complexity of the Renaissance mind), but he also underestimates personality, temperament and character, those constant variables which are perhaps more responsible for particular kinds of art than any carving wind from the Zeitgeist.

One might also criticize Dr. Moloney for too frequently re-stating his main theme, and for quoting at too great length from secondary

authorities But he at least makes his main theme sufficiently explicit to him Donne was fundamentally a frustrated Catholic made unhappy and eventually ineffective because he cast ' his lot with the naturalism of the new age." And in so far as this view of Donne is correct, and there is certainly much truth in it however differently it might be phrased, Dr Moloney's book throws light on the fascinating and enigmatic character he has studied with diligence and sympathy.

THEODORE SPENCER

Harvard University

The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence Edited by W. S. LEWIS, Volumes XI and XII *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Mary and Agnes Berry and Barbara Cecilia Seton* Edited by W. S. LEWIS and A. DAYLE WALLACE with the assistance of CHARLES H BENNETT and EDWINE M MARTZ New Haven Yale University Press, 1944. Pp. liii + 378 + ix + 402. $15.00.

It is reassuring to find that the Yale Walpole is still prospering, despite the turmoil of a world at war which has entailed the absence in government work in Washington of its chief editor. These latest volumes live up to the high standard set by their predecessors in scholarship and in press-work With twelve stately volumes now accomplished, the project is approaching the quarter-way mark towards its ambitious ultimate goal of fifty volumes.

In the winter of 1787-8 a Mr. Robert Berry established himself in a house at Twickenham, not far from Strawberry Hill, and his two daughters Mary, aged twenty-four, and Agnes, aged twenty-three, presently became the intimate protégées of the seventy-year-old bachelor, Horace Walpole. Mary was to become his literary executrix and to edit (under the name of her father) the five handsome quarto volumes of *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford* (1798) Whenever the Misses Berry were away from home he wrote to them, at least once a week, lively, witty, entertaining letters. Walpole is in his best form, except for a recurring note of anxious and too-insistent affection for these young friends of his declining years.

The correspondence, which extends from 14 October 1788 to 15 December 1796, two and a half months before Walpole's death, consists of 181 letters, of which 170 are by Walpole—164 to Mary and Agnes, one to their father, five to Barbara Cecilia Seton, a cousin of the Berry girls. There are eleven letters from Mary Berry to Walpole. Of all these letters only one is here printed for the first time. It is a letter dated 7 September 1796 addressed to

Mary Berry, begun by Walpole, but finished by Agnes Berry, a rather distressing letter of querulous complaint, of which the original is in the British Museum

Most of the originals are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library Two are in the British Museum, the letters to Miss Seton are in the posession of Mr. Lewis For two of Walpole's letters and four of Mary Berry's the originals have disappeared, so that it has been necessary to depend on earlier printed copies Except in these few cases the letters have been printed from photostats of the originals The introductory note entitled "Bibliography and Method" (I, xxxiii-xxxvi) is a confusing and inadequate statement of these essential facts, some of which the reader is expected to discover for himself. Thus, when no statement of source is given, one is apparently expected to infer that the original is in the Morgan Library Similarly, when there is no entry of address and postmark, one is left to infer that the cover is missing, though occasionally there is an explicit statement to that effect. The source from which each letter has been printed might well have been indicated in the introductory "List of Letters" (I, xlvi-lii)

Except for the one hitherto unpublished letter noted above, all of Walpole's letters were included in the Toynbee edition. Collations here and there show no variations between the Yale and the Toynbee texts, save for trifling differences in punctuation. Both texts have modernized Walpole's spelling As the Yale editors testify, Mrs. Toynbee printed the letters "completely and accurately" (I, xxxv). The Yale edition surpasses its predecessor by the inclusion of Mary Berry's letters to Walpole, by the entry of addresses and postmarks, and by the wealth of its annotation As a typical example one may take the letter of 9 July 1789. For this letter Mrs Toynbee supplied three notes amounting to a total of 67 words, in the Yale edition there are 35 notes amounting to about 1750 words Profuse as the annotations are, they are seldom either diffuse or superfluous They inspire confidence, moreover, by their full documentation from contemporary sources

Pages 217-74 of the second volume reproduce (though with some rearrangement of contents) a hitherto unprinted memorandum book from the original in the Percival Merritt Collection at Harvard University, which the editors have entitled "Book of Visitors at Strawberry Hill, 1784-1796." In it Walpole entered the names of visitors who, on due application in advance, were permitted to view his house, and interspersed memoranda and stray anecdotes It is a document of limited significance. Pages 275-402 are devoted to a very full analytical Index

Princeton University ROBERT K. ROOT

Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution Edited by Don M Wolfe Foreword by Charles A Beard New York Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1944 Pp xiv + 440

Recent scholarship has done a good deal to recover Puritan revolutionary writers from neglect and misunderstanding The Levellers particularly, have elicited a now considerable literature to which Mr Wolfe has made several contributions for which we have reason to be grateful The present volume reprints nineteen pamphlets by Lilburne, Walwyn, Overton, and others, illustrating the debate provoked in 1647 by the conflict between the Long Parliament and its victorious soldiery Various items included have been previously reprinted by Gardiner and others, but to have this material assembled in a single connected volume is timely and useful Mr Wolfe treats the agitation of Lilburne and his London associates and of the disaffected army men as virtually one The core of his collection is made up of the successive versions of the "Agreement of the People," accompanied by Leveller and army petitions and manifestoes in support of the proposals there contained and of their authors and advocates This material supplements, chronologically, that published by the present writer in *Tracts on Liberty* (1934), and it complements the reports of the army debates edited by Firth in 1891 and again recently by Woodhouse in his *Puritanism and Liberty* (1938) It parallels, fortunately without serious duplication, the volume, *Leveller Tracts*, edited by Godfrey Davies and the present writer and published simultaneously but quite independently The usefulness of Mr Wolfe's work and the credit of his achievement would in no way have been diminished if he had been more precise and more generous in his references to other workers in the subject

There can be no question concerning the importance of this material Here we see those religious ideas which triumphed in the Puritan Revolution—and of which the roots run much farther back than Calvin—transmuted into those political formulas which were to be the shibboleths of revolution in the modern age We read them in the incomparable native vernacular idiom which was to be the common English of the future The Levellers were the true forerunners of both Locke and Defoe No student of the language and literature or of the ideas and institutions of English-speaking peoples, thanks in good part to Mr Wolfe, need now remain ignorant of them

It is difficult to appraise justly Mr Wolfe's discussion of the Leveller movement without appearing to speak too harshly. Nothing should be said to disparage or discourage the diligence and enthusiasm with which he has labored in this field. His sympathy for the men and ideas concerned, his intimate familiarity with the material, are an asset to historical scholarship. One can only wish

that for his readers' sake, he would stop to clarify his views and eliminate the verbiage, repetition, and unnecessary detail with which he encumbers their expression There is nothing, for example in the statement that the Levellers "delineated with arresting skill and comprehensiveness the foundational ideology of the democratic impetus" which could not be said more clearly and more felicitously in fewer words and without jargon To write with knowledge and conviction concerning an important and hitherto neglected subject is to perform a valuable service, to do this and to write well, which is to say clearly and coherently, is still more valuable

WILLIAM HALLER

Columbia University

Hazlitt in the Workshop The Manuscript of "The Fight" Transcribed, with Collation, Notes, and Commentary By STEWART C WILCOX Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 94. $1.50.

The chief difference between the incomplete manuscript of "The Fight" in the Pierpont Morgan Library and the corresponding parts of the published essay is the inclusion in the former of some crossed-out passages voicing the author's unhappiness over his love-affair with Sarah Walker Readers of the famous essay think of it as exhibiting Hazlitt in a hearty, buoyant mood; they will come with surprise, in the first draft of this two-fisted piece, upon the lacrymose apostrophe "Oh! thou dumb heart, lonely, sad, shut up in the prison house of this rude form, . ." That is in the vein of the *Liber Amoris*, the composition of which was to be begun a month later Naturally, revising his draft for publication in *The New Monthly Magazine* for February, 1822, Hazlitt saw that such passages were incompatible in tone and mood with the rest of the essay, and crossed them out. With characteristic economy he made use of them in the later book, where their erotic self-pity is at least not out of place. The expunged passages do throw a light into a dark corner of Hazlitt's personality, we may imagine what use a contemporary critic like Mr. Edmund Wilson would make of them. But how thoroughly Horatian, how free from caprice or sentimentality, is the conception of style implied in their deletion!

This book gives us the opportunity to study the genesis of a little classic of the literature of sport, "the only great English essay dealing with a prize fight,"—though Gene Tunney rates Hazlitt second to Bernard Shaw as a sports reporter (*Golden Book*, April, 1934). Not only do we perceive the essayist's sense of fitness through what he struck out, but also his gift for choosing the right

word—"that particular and only one [as Hazlitt himself says elsewhere] which may be said to be identical with the exact impression" in the mind. Alterations are almost invariably, as Wilcox notes, in the direction of the "vivid, or racy, or specific"

The essay narrowly escaped rejection by *The New Monthly* because "the subject was so thoroughly blackguard," and indeed its substance and tone contrast oddly with the ordinary contents of that genteel publication Wilcox supplements Howe's single (1866) citation from Redding, the sub-editor, with two earlier accounts by the same person, which differ as to details of the editors' conversation. The hesitation of Campbell or Redding (whichever it was) is not surprising in view of the fact that pugilism was a far more brutal sport in 1821 than it is to-day. Hazlitt, however, was lucky in this his first attendance at the ring Pierce Egan, describing the event for the Fancy, says "No fight that occurs to our minds, which has taken place for the last quarter of a century at least, was so distinguished for fair, stand-up, manly hitting, give and take, . . " (*Boxiana*, Vol. IV, 1824).

The editor has done the technical part of his job painstakingly and well, he has made a useful compilation of the various evidences of Hazlitt's way of composition, and his own comments on the qualities of Hazlitt's prose are sensible and illuminating. With one statement of P. P. Howe (Centenary Edition, VIII, 371) he takes issue namely, that often the essayist deliberately sought to effect "a symposium of moods" by "writing in" passages in proof. Certainly with respect to the digression under discussion Wilcox is convincing, and one is inclined to agree also with his general position that the extraneous material is due to Hazlitt's tendency "to spin out whatever threads of discourse took his fancy while he was composing." At least, before accepting the hypothesis even of so careful an editor as Howe, one would like definite supporting evidence

In quoting (p. 76) Howe's note, Wilcox unfortunately distorts the editor's meaning by his first substitution of dots for words Howe is here referring to incongruities between two inserted passages, not to incongruities between an inserted passage and the main part of the essay.

STANLEY P. CHASE

Bowdoin College

A Skeleton Key to FINNEGANS WAKE. By JOSEPH CAMPBELL and HENRY MORTON ROBINSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. Pp. XIII + 365. $3.50.

The key which might have opened all the doors of *Finnegans Wake* was buried with James Joyce. Messrs. Campbell and Robin-

son supply the indispensable substitute, a conducted tour through the chief corridors of Joyce's vast and labyrinthine structure. They take the reader by the hand in an "Introduction to a Strange Subject", guide him to a view of the main outlines of the edifice in a "Synopsis", and, before entering, pause, in an exegetical "Demonstration" of the first four paragraphs of the *Wake*, for a close inspection of the portal. This demonstration is of prime importance to the uninitiated reader, whose chief difficulty is a word-technique which, endlessly blending meaning with meaning and allusion with allusion, leaves him floundering in a welter of possible interpretations Reversing Joyce's procedure, the commentators disengage various, often fantastically esoteric meanings and allusions from one another to present them successively rather than simultaneously.

Once through this essential gloss, the authors devote the rest of their work to a page-by-page outline of the *Wake*, disentangling relatively simple strands of meaning from their multitudinous involutions The simplicity is illusive, for the reader, in view of Joyce's method, must always remember that the number of possible meanings is infinitely greater than that of the meanings extracted by the commentary The *Skeleton Key*, nevertheless, adds much to our understanding of the *Wake* But, in following a commentary on a work so elaborately wrought, one must be particularly careful to have valid grounds for identifying understanding and enjoyment The two, it seems to me, do not coincide often enough to make the *Wake*, as a whole work of art, successful. On the other hand, one can enjoy parts of the *Wake* immensely for sound and rhythm even though they may be only vaguely intelligible. The *Skeleton Key* adds somewhat to the number of such parts by providing the necessary minimum of understanding.

JOSEPH PRESCOTT

University of Connecticut

Hawthorne Critic of Society. By LAWRENCE SARGENT HALL New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. Pp. xiii + 200. $3.00

Parrington's statement of Hawthorne's social unimportance has been the accepted opinion "He was the extreme and finest expression of the refined alienation from reality that in the end palsied the creative mind of New England." Lieutenant Hall's book serves the very useful purpose of bringing Hawthorne into the main current of American thought, the democratic current, from which Parrington excluded him Although Hawthorne was concerned primarily with the interior reality of the private life, he saw the private life

not only in its separateness but in its social relations as well. The present study demonstrates his awareness of the political, economic, and social forces at work in the world about him, his active responses to those forces, and his democratic faith His writings attain for the first time, in Lieutenant Hall's scholarly monograph, a social importance comparable with that long accorded the writings of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman

The author begins by recounting Hawthorne's almost forgotten attempts to improve the deplorable conditions in the American merchant marine, and reaches the conclusion that these efforts show him "participating more frankly and efficiently than most of the other prominent New England writers of his day in the actual business of reformation." After reviewing, next, Hawthorne's career of officeholding, which culminated in the lucrative Liverpool consulship he finds an important effect of this career to have been "the development of his social theory from a youthful, unworldly idealism, to something that was clinical and realistic" The discussion then moves to the subject of democratic America versus aristocratic England, which occupied so much of Hawthorne's attention in the *English Notebooks, Our Old Home,* and the posthumous romances, and which was the occasion of his repeated expression of equalitarian sympathies In this part of the exposition, the author presents some new and interesting material showing Hawthorne's affiliation with the political organization known as "Young America," and his agreement with its proclamation of American leadership in world-democracy Then follows a consideration of negro slavery, and Hawthorne's "moral and political blindness" thereto, a blindness which is explained in part by Young America's emphasis upon a strong international policy In the final chapter, the author discovers a "sociological drift" in the tales and novels: "The great democratic conscience . was the influence that Hawthorne saw drawing the individual out of himself into that sense of unison with all men which was the prime requisite of the social ethic." In the present interpretation, Hawthorne's "Unpardonable Sin"—"the sin of an intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood"—becomes essentially the violation of the democratic way of life.

As this attempt at outline may suggest, the plan of the book presents difficulties to at least one reader, and seems far from inevitable Moreover, a good deal of the material used in developing the topics listed above appears either repetitious or irrelevant. And one other fault must be pointed out, that of inaccurate or exaggerated interpretation On the basis of his mild efforts for maritime reform, Hawthorne can hardly be called "an agitator" (p 131). "Roguery" (p. 57) and "brigandism" (p 65) are unnecessarily condemning when applied to the careful management of financial affairs. Hawthorne's attitude is indistinguishable from that of the honest citizen

today who is reluctant to pay a larger income tax than an allowable interpretation of the law requires. Likewise "frantic materialist" (p 53) is improperly applied to a man who had made little money from his writings and who had every reason to be apprehensive of his financial future. And, finally (to curtail an enumeration which could be extended), "showmanship" and "pose" (p 120) seem scarcely the right words for the inconspicuous behavior of Hawthorne, who was temperamentally and habitually reserved

But despite these objections, the total effect of *Hawthorne Critic of Society* is gratifying Thanks to Lieutenant Hall, Hawthorne can no longer be excluded, even by the most social of critics, from that excellent company of American writers who have had a deep interest in their country's welfare and in the spread of democracy throughout the world

RANDALL STEWART

Brown University

CORRESPONDENCE

I regret very much Professor Osgood's interpretation of my review, and would much prefer to pass it over in silence, but his charges of mistakes on my part are too discreditable to leave unrefuted In his effort to discredit the whole review he makes three charges calculated to support his assertion that it was written in "careless haste" and is entirely unreliable The most definite of these charges is that "on page 338 alone there are seventeen so-called 'corrections' of which seven are wrong" Then, with a "for example" he cites one genuine mistake The "his" "her" variant is recorded in its proper place The second of these mistakes is Professor Osgood's own I cited a difference of opinion about a question mark as evidence that Renwick's list of misprints had been consulted, and he jumped to the conclusion that I agreed with Renwick, but that is not true He accepts the "two, perhaps three, misprinted words, six misprinted letters" which constitute nine of the corrections of text on that page, and he can hardly deny the rearrangement of the glosses upon which I commented at the bottom of the page There remain 5 corrections unaccounted for But all the readings I have given appear, just as I have reported them, in the Spenser Society Facsimile of the British Museum copy of the first Quarto, which I warned the reader that I was depending upon However, I could not believe that Professor Osgood could be mistaken in so many cases, so I sent for a microfilm of the copy in the Henry E Huntington Library, and I find that it differs from the Facsimile (BM) in three cases in *July* 191 the Facsimile reads "theyre" but the microfilm (Hn) reads "theyrs", in the *May* gloss 219 BM reads "craty" but Hn reads "crafty", and in the *March* gloss 97 14 BM reads "becometh" but Hn has a nasal sign over the *o* which justifies the second *m*

Now the editor of the text of the *Calender* says on page 696, "I have seen and collated all these [6] copies, and have found no variation of text between them except at *Sept* 257" Can it be that the Facsimile is entirely unreliable? No, Hn supports it in all other cases in dispute on this page of my review Moreover, Renwick records a turned *n* in "payne" *May* 149 as occurring in the BM copy only The Facsimile shows it, Hn does not have it, but the *Variorum* ignores the whole matter Again, in the *Jan* gloss 60 9 Renwick reads "vudei ' with BM and Hn, F is silent In Willyes Embleme for *March* Renwick records and the Facsimile reads "searce" but Hn reads "scarce" and Variorum follows Hn silently It would seem, therefore, that in spite of its claim to have collated the six copies of Q1, and to have recorded all departures from Q1 even to turned letters and misprints, the job of recording variations among the copies of Q1 remains still to do I have observed some further evidences of correction in printing of Q1 In *Dec* 139 BM reads "gles" but Hn has a turned e as the final letter In *Jan* 55 there is no trace of punctuation after "Hobbinol" in BM, but Hn has a comma And in the *March* gloss 97 14, BM shows a small period, but Hn has a comma The last two are cases in which the review, page 339, must be revised in the light of Hn

For that matter, corrections on the title page itself have gone unrecorded, for facsimiles of the Houghton copy, reproduced both in Johnson's *Bibliography* and in the *Variorum*, probably from the same plate, show a turned *n* in gylden and no hyphen after "VERTV" The Hn copy has no turned *n* and has the hyphen (It was the Church copy and there is a facsimile of the t p in the Church Catalogue.) The BM Facsimile agrees with Hn except that it shows a *v* in "twelve monethes" where other copies have *u*

Professor Osgood's attack on my review has served a useful purpose in promoting the discovery of the inadequacy of the *Variorum's* collation of the six copies of Q1 But his charge of 7 mistakes on page 338 of my review reduces to one genuine blunder on my part, plus three which are the result of the *Variorum's* inadequate collation of texts He charges further that "on one single page the review cites six alleged 'misreadings' of the First Quarto of the *Calender*; in every instance the *Variorum* is right, the review is wrong" There is no such page in the review The only page which undertakes to correct as many as six readings of Q1 is page 338, which has already been discussed in connection with the charge of 7 mistakes The third charge, of "nine misreadings or misstatements" on two pages is also untrue, no matter which two pages are meant, although the charge of 7 on page 338, plus the two corrections of punctuation on page 339, which have already been discussed, probably represent the 9 intended If so, the method of repetition with variation by which a charge of 6 or 7 errors has been made to look like a multitude, is worthy of admiration as a forensic trick, whatever we may think of its ethics

In spite of the cloud of doubt which the inadequacies of the collation throw over the text of the *Calender*, I believe that my original conclusion, that there are "very few misprints in the text of the poem," will stand In addition to those recorded in the review, I find that BM and Hn agree

in reading "borrell" in the *July* gloss on 95, and "Poetes" in the *April* gloss on 19 3 Two emendations which are defended in the Critical Notes on metrical grounds are not made in the text see C N on *Feb* 176 and *Envoy* 4

On the other hand, my conclusion that the Variant Readings are inadequate and also inaccurate, is further supported by my discovery of the failure to record all variants among the 6 copies of the first quarto But I asserted specifically that the readings of Q3 were especially unreliable That fact can be quickly demonstrated In the *January* eclogue, for example, 28 variants are noticed. Three of these record misprints in Q1, and one concerns Q5 only The other 24 record readings of Q3, and 9 of the 24 are inaccurate *Jan* 2, Q3 reads with 1 and with 2, 34 reads "In steede", 37 reads with 1 not with 5, 73 reads "availe", gloss 1 2 Q3 reads with 5 not with 1, 59 4 Q3 reads "fauour" Q5 reads "fauor", 60 5 Q3 reads "albeit it", the gloss to Emb Q3 reads "Poesie," Q5 "Posie"; and Q3 reads "notwitstanding" Surely if variants were to be reported at all they should have been reported correctly, and when the editors say they have recorded all departures from Q1 we have a right to expect a complete record, whether such a record is worth making or not

Standards of editing vary from age to age and even from author to author The counsel of perfection which obtains in modern editing is never quite realized, of course I attempted, in my review, to inform the user of this volume of the *Variorum* as to just how far he could depend on its accuracy, and to make a contribution, however small, toward further accuracy for the benefit of those who cared to make corrections in their copies Perhaps I should not have made the attempt, but the charge of "careless haste" is certainly most unjust, and the charges of seven errors, six errors, and nine errors, which are used to support it, are simply preposterous

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON FOIGNY, LAHONTAN AND TYSSOT DE PATOT

GABRIEL DE FOIGNY

Thanks to the researches of Frederic Lachèvre [1] among manuscript records of the various governing bodies of Geneva (*le Conseil le Consistoire, la Vénérable Compagnie*), we know that the rarissisme *Terre australe connue* of Gabriel de Foigny,[2] purported to have been published at Vannes in 1676 really appeared in Geneva in February or March of that year, and that, if we are to believe the testimony of the editor, La Pierre, the edition was composed of 500 copies. We deduce that the work had had very little diffusion, since it had been off the press ten months before the *Vénérable Compagnie* demanded an investigation of it, and since the Geneva professors of theology who were intrusted with the care of examining it had such difficulty in obtaining copies that their report was delayed three weeks. Furthermore, Bayle knew nothing of it before its second edition, sixteen years later,[3] although he was

[1] *Les Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac*, Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 1-60.

[2] *la Terre avstrale connve: c'est a dire la description de ce pays inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses mœurs & de ses coutumes* Par Mr. Sadeur. Avec les avantures qui le conduisirent en ce Continent, & les particularitez du sejour qu'il y fit durant trente-cinq ans & plus, & de son retour. Reduites & mises en lumiere par les soins et la conduite de G. de F. A. Vannes, par Iaqves Vernevil rue S. Gilles. 1676.

[3] *les Avantures de Jaques Sadeur dans la decouuerte et le voiage de la Terre Australe* Contenant les Coûtumes et les Mœurs des Australiens, leur Religion, leurs Exercices, leurs Etudes, leurs Guerres, les Animaux particuliers a ce Pais, et toutes les Raretez curieuses qui s'y trouvent. A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin. M. DC. XCII. (1692). Avec Privilège du Roy.

an avid reader of such libertine works, to which the doors of Holland were hospitably wide open.[4]

One wonders what became of the 500 copies of the *Terre australe connue*. In spite of the insistence of the *Vénérable Compagnie*, who felt tricked in the matter, the *Conseil* did not officially confiscate the work, and Foigny continued to distribute copies gratis to foreigners, probably Germans, to whom he was giving French lessons. Perhaps there are autograph copies today in some private libraries of Europe. However, it seems apparent that the *Vénérable Compagnie*, by foul means or fair, did succeed in suppressing the edition, except for the precious gift copies, the number of which may well have been very limited. Through its energetic attacks, one other work of Foigny has completely disappeared, and we suspect that it is responsible for the disappearance of another, the actual publication of which is abundantly proved by the *Registres*. The first of these is *les Pseaumes de Marot et de Bèze*, Charenton [Genève], 1674, edition with an *argument* and a prayer accompanying each psalm, whereby the pious author thought to gain favor with members of his new faith, but which smelled of Catholicism "à cent lieues à la ronde" and brought on him the hot wrath of the *Vénérable Compagnie*. Lachèvre presumed that Foigny and his publisher had chosen to print Charenton on the title-page because they expected the edition to be distributed largely in France, but their purpose was, in fact, to give the edition an air of authenticity. There were at least twelve proper editions of *les Pseaumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze* at Charenton between 1638 and 1665. The second, *le Grand Garantus*, an almanac appearing in 1674 and for some time following (it was still published in 1677), was subject to the disapproval of the *Compagnie* because of certain "prédictions hardies." No trace of either work is to be found today.

In 1922 Frédéric Lachevre supposed that only one copy of *la Terre australe connue* was in existence. It is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, having been acquired in 1762 from the Falconet Library.[5]

[4] See his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, art. *Sadeur*.

[5] The noted physician, Camille Falconet, had gathered together one of the rarest collections of books in Europe, to which was added by legacy from Mlle de Bouillon the library of her father. (Falconet had been attached to the Bouillon family as its physician.) He bequeathed to the *Bibliotheque*

He was ignorant of the fact that Voltaire owned a copy, which is now (or was) in his library at Leningrad and his watchful eye overlooked two copies which are in the British Museum, the first one acquired before 1887 and the second one between 1887 and 1895, one listed under *Foigny*, and the second, along with the first, under *Nicolas Sadeur* Other works are given under *Jacques Sadeur*, perhaps N(icolas) came into being because the ingenious Foigny had him spring from N(îmes).[6] It is surprising that one of these rarissisme books is to be found in this country. It is in the library of the University of Michigan. Acquired in 1924, it forms part of the Collection of Imaginary Voyages given by the late Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard to that University.[6a]

Harvard University possesses two copies of the 1692 edition One of them, from the library of the late comte de Riant, member of the Institute, historian of the Latin East, which was purchased by Harvard University in 1900, contains this manuscript note on the fly-leaf "Ce mesme liure est imprimé a Vannes par Jaques Verneuil en 1676 auec beaucoup d'autres particularites qu'on a retranché [*sic*] dans cette edition de Barbin . . . le chapitre VI est vne fois plus ample dans l'edition de Vannes." There are also twelve marginal notes, one (p. 142) a quotation from Ecclesiastes, another (p. 210) an indication of the omission of twelve "scientific" discoveries of the Australians (in Chap VIII), the others short

du roi those of his books, about 11,000, which this library did not own See Firmin Didot freres, *Nouvelle bibliographie générale*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1855-1866, t 17, p 39, also Henry Marcel, etc, *la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1907, I, 19 20

[6] Under *Foigny*, appears a title not found among bibliographers *Expression des regrets causez par la mort de son Altesse . . le Prince George* [*Landgrave de Hesse Cassel*], Geneve, 1675, in-4 This member of a distinguished German family was probably one of the benefactors whom Foigny instructed in French to gain a meager livelihood for his growing family Under the circumstances, his regrets would indeed be sincere! The Geneva records show that Foigny had several rather influential German sponsors To one of them, the Duke of Wirtemberg, he dedicated the first edition of *la Facilité et l'elégance des langues latine et française* , Genève, 1673

[6a] Manuscript notes give evidence of four previous owners Ghilibert (?) Conboy d'Annessy (Annecy), with the date 1700, a Jesuit priest!, Grandis Chavène, with the notation, *acheté de livre le 19 mai 1770*, and Dr Hermann Ullrich, from whose collection Dr Hubbard obtained other books. There are three penciled price marks 40 f, 45 f, 40 (marks).

excerpts from portions omitted in this edition The spelling, more antiquated than in the "Vannes" edition, would indicate that these notes were written toward the beginning of the XVIIIth century, and certainly their author had access to one of those rare 1676 volumes The binding was done at a much later date, when some of the letters of the manuscript notes were cut off.

Even with this slight enlargement of the distribution of *la Terre australe connue*, Lachèvre made a signal contribution to the study of the rise of libertine ideas in France during the XVIIth century, by making accessible this rare text,[7] which, aside from certain pages on supernatural elements, differs chiefly from the later edition in that its attacks on established society and revealed religion are more extensive For example, the much disputed Chapter VI on the religion of the Australians is nearly three times as long as in the later printing Having returned to the Catholic faith before the latter was made, and living in a monastery since 1684, where he was trying to outlive his detestable reputation, Foigny naturally wanted to attenuate somewhat his shocking statements in a book "scandaleux et rempli de dogmes dangereux et erreurs"[8] Be it said, nevertheless, that the spirit of the work is not essentially modified.

Like other utopian writers of his day, Foigny was not at all interested in seeing applied the type of society he depicted, in fact, he gave to his Australians a peculiar characteristic which would make a duplication of their mode of living impossible. A major reason for writing these unorthodox things was most probably to secure a *succès de scandale* He was tenacious in money matters, was harassed by insufficient income, and dissipated his means with bad living. But he certainly chose unwisely the city in which to live and publish. Success came, but too late for him to enjoy it. The year of the Barbin edition was the year of Foigny's death. Indeed this edition must have sold well, as, of the two copies in the Harvard library, one is on much thicker and rougher paper, seeming to

indicate that there were two printings within the year. If he lived to see the copies come off the press on June 14, how smugly comfortable he must have felt to observe on the title-page the words. "Avec privilège du Roy," and how astonished are we to read them today! The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists a French edition the following year, greatly diminished in number of pages, *Nouveau voyage de la Terre australe* . . . , Paris, Barbin. Close on the heels of the revived French editions came an English translation, *A New Discovery of terra incognita australis, or the Southern World.* By James Sadeur, a French-man . . , London, J. Dunton, 1693, and in 1701 an abridged translation in Dutch appeared in Amsterdam, published by W. de Coup, etc, *Nieuwe reize na het Zuid-land behelzende de gewoontens en zeden der Zuidlanders* . . Door Jaques Sadeur. 1705 saw six printings marked Paris on the title-page, chez la veuve Barbin, M. David, Ribou, Guignard, Osmont and Cavelier. All six have the same number of pages, Ribou is the authentic edition, as the *privilège* was granted to Christophe David, and shared by him with Aubouin, Charpentier, Ribou, and Co An edition in 1732 at Amsterdam, chez David Mortier, Lachèvre believed to be made up of the unsold copies of the Ribou, 1705, printing, with a new title-page The marquis de Paulmy included extracts of the *Aventures* in his *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* for February, 1786, and, finally, they were published in the Garnier edition of *Voyages imaginaires* . . . , Amsterdam, 1788, vol XXIV.[9] All these reeditions follow the 1692 text None of them are so rare as the Geneva publication [10]

With the increased diffusion of deistic ideas and freed from the severe control of Geneva, Gabriel de Foigny had attained the glory for which he struggled so desperately and unwisely during his life.

LAHONTAN

So great was the diffusion of Lahontan's works [11] at the beginning of the XVIIIth century that the classification of the multiple

[9] Lachèvre erroneously indicates vol XXVI. His bibliography of editions of Foigny's works is incomplete.

[10] Copies of these various reeditions may be had in several libraries in this country, for example, Library of Congress, Harvard, Newberry, John

editions and fictitious imprints constitutes one of the knottiest problems of the bibliographer It has been only partly solved by the two scholars who have made a careful study of it· James Constantine Pilling of the Smithsonian Institution and Victor Hugo Paltsits of the New York Public Library [12] They recognized that there were three printings of the first two volumes, all bearing on the title-page the date, 1703, and the *frères l'Honoré* at Amsterdam as the publishers, the three being distinguished by different vignettes on the title-page. Paltsits called them the "angel" (really a *Renommée*), the "globe" and the "ornament" (scroll) editions [13] Since the frères L'Honoré were apparently actual publishers in Amsterdam,[14] the spurious editions were probably printed outside of Holland. The *Renommée* may be the authentic edition, the

contiennent une rélation des différens Peuples qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouvernement, leur Commerce, leurs Coutumes, leur Religion, & leur maniére de faire la Guêrre L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'avantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Pais, etant en Guerre avec la France Le tout enrichi de Cartes et de Figures Tome Premier A La Haye, chez les Fréres l'Honore, M DCCIII (1703) *Memoires de l'Amerique septentrionale*, ou *la Suite des Voyages* de Mr Le Baron de Lahontan, Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étendue de Pais de ce Continent, l'interêt des François & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c Avec un petit dictionnaire de la Langue du Pais Tome second A La Haye, chez les Fréres l'Honoré, M DCCIII (1703) *Suple'ment aux Voyages* du Baron de Lahontan, *Ou l'on trouve des Dialogues curieux entre l'Auteur et un Sauvage De bon sens qui a voyagé* L'on y voit aussi plusieurs Observations faites par le même auteur dans ses *Voyages en Portugal, en Espagne, en Hollande, et en Dannemarck*, &c Tome Troisie'me Avec Figures La Haye, Chez les Fréres L'Honoré M DCC III (1703)

[12] J C Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891, pp 288-295, V H Paltsits, *Lahontan Bibliography*, in *New Voyages to North-America* , edited by R G Thwaites, Chicago, A C McClurg and Co, 1905, pp li-xciii, reprinted in limited edition (25 copies), Chicago, McClurg, 1905

[13] There are at least 13 full French and 4 English editions of the *Nouveaux Voyages* and the *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, 9 complete French and 5 English editions of the *Dialogues*, besides translations in Dutch, Italian and German of one or another or of all.

[14] See J-P Belin, *le Commerce des livres prohibés à Paris de 1750 à 1789*, Paris, Belin freres, 1913, for the reproduction (opp p 34) of an

"sphere" edition is almost certainly fictitious, as the vignette is an imitation of the Elzevierian globe

Besides numerous other plates, perfect copies of the 1703 editions contain two *planches du titre*, one representing a globe with the words, *orbis patria* and a bird flying toward it, and the other the figure of an Indian with a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right, and pressing under the left foot a crown and a scepter and under the right, a book (of laws), with the legend, *Et leges et sceptra terit* Pilling discovered that in some cases the plate of the Indian is in reverse, the arrow and the book being on the left, and the crown and the bow on the right. Although Paltsits believed that his bibliography was definitive, neither he nor his predecessor observed that at least two different plates of the Indian were used in various copies of the "angel" edition and a third one in the "scroll" edition, and still another in the 1709 edition. A fifth one is found pasted in the second volume of a copy of the "angel" edition in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. In addition to the reversal of the plates, the variations consist in slight differences in foreground and sky, including the number of birds (seven, three or two), and especially in the figure of the Indian, whose body has the appearance of a European's in what is probably the earliest printing, and in later, cruder plates is more stocky The study of the globe-and-bird cut is no less intriguing There are at least four plates, three in the "angle" edition and another in the 1705 edition In addition to the interest afforded to the bibliophile, this variety in the 1703 issues proves an ever greater diffusion of the *Nouveaux voyages* than one had supposed, since the variations in the *planches du titre* must indicate very extensive printings

Another question in regard to Lahontan arises from the recent publication in Canada of two manuscript documents attributed to him [15] The problem is of some interest, since the second document would make of Lahontan a traitor to his country. Lanctôt based his belief in their authenticity on similarity in style and in handwriting (he printed a facsimile of a known authograph letter of

Lahontan and the first page of each of the *Mémoires*) and on certain biographical details, concluding that "the testimony . . . is as convincing as it is irrefutable . . . No doubt even occurs to the mind, when we compare the texts"

However, let us exercise the privilege of reexamining the matter. As for the first argument, style seldom offers a convincing proof, especially in the case of secondary writers. The handwriting, too, is rather questionable, while offering some general likenesses, the letter, for which a different type of pen was used, is more carelessly written. Although Lanctôt does not take the pains to enumerate the biographical proofs, one finds some such the author of the first *Mémoire* made a trip to Quebec in 1690 in the governor's ship, as did Lahontan, also, like Lahontan, he was sent in 1683 to La Barre, governor of French Canada, in a company of marines as a lieutenant, and he refers to having made several trips between Europe and Canada

This circumstantial evidence would be more convincing if it were not for two other details In the spring of 1687 the author of the second *Mémoire* accompanied Champigny, intendant of Canada, when he visited eighteen settlements or towns, to make a census of the available fighting forces, the report being sent to France in May. In his tenth letter, dated July 8, 1686, Lahontan spoke of the arrival of M. de Champigny and added that the latter, with M. Denonville, was bound speedily for Montreal, where they intended to take a review of this island and of the neighboring cantons Evidently the census was not taken until the following spring We know that Lahontan was in garrison at Boucherville, near Montreal, until the spring of 1687, dividing his time between hunting and fishing At the end of his tenth letter, he remarked that he was so well pleased with the hunting of this country that he was determined to spend all of his leisure upon this exercise. On May 28, 1687, the month in which Champigny's report was sent to France, Lahontan wrote enthusiastically of his winter's hunting and said that he had no news from Quebec. On June 8 he mentioned Champigny, who, two days before, had gone to Fort Frontenac. No reference to the census nor to Lahontan's part in it is made, yet in his twelfth letter he remarked that the militia encamped in Saint Helen's Island along with the regular troops, was composed of 1500 men, and that they were joined by 500 of the

converted savages who lived in the neighborhood of Quebec and the island of Montreal. In the Lanctôt *Mémoire*, the militia was estimated at 1631, and the Indians of military age living among the French at 350.

More disturbing perhaps is the mention (p 56) of the two years which the author of the second *Mémoire* spent at Plaisance (" Le nombre de vaisseaux qui y sont venus pendant les deux années que je mi suis trouvé peut bien se monter a 38 ou 40 . . ."). Now we know that Lahontan was named lieutenant at Plaisance as a reward for brave action against the English when his ship put in at Plaisance on its way to Europe, but that, owing to mistreatment by de Brouillon, the governor, he deserted his post after a few months. (He was there from June 20 to December 14, 1693) The ten years of his life in Canada are accounted for in his *Voyages*, furthermore, it is not possible that he later spent two years at Plaisance, as he was then a fugitive from justice

Disgruntled because he had not been allowed to return to France while it was still possible to save the family fortune, and justifiably angry at treatment received from the governor of Plaisance, when he hastily prepared for the printer the twenty-five letters he had written to the " vieux cagot de parent," Lahontan included, as we have seen, in the complete title of the first volume of his *Nouveaux voyages*, the following phrase, which he omitted on the title-page of the second volume. " l'avantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Pais, étant en Guerre avec la France " Scarcely two or three pages justify this part of the title, after very judicious and detailed advice to the French as to means of attracting the friendship of the Iroquois he devotes less space and ingenuity to suggestions to the English for fostering the hostility between the French and the Iroquois, saying as he had done elsewhere that " les *Anglois* de ces colonies ne se donnent pas assez de mouvement, ils sont un peu trop indolents, les Coureurs de bois *François* sont assurement plus actifs & plus vigilants." [16] This follows close on a section where he went to no small pains to point out abuses in French Canada and to suggest very sensible reforms, which, if followed, would have made New France in thirty or forty years " un Royaume plus beau et plus florissant que plusieurs autres de l'Europe " (pp. 81-82).

[16] *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, pp 84-90

It is true that Lahontan resented the "fâcheuse authorité des ecclésiastes" in Canada, from which he suffered personally, and that he exposed the corruption of the governors, who were more interested in personal gain than in the development of the colony, but this is all quite different from the tone of the second Lanctôt *Mémoire*, which offers to the English a detailed plan for military operations which would lead to taking and maintaining Quebec and Plaisance, and which discusses coldly the advantages to the English of destroying French trade, both internal and by sea, stating that not a hundred French families could be found in Canada who would not welcome the more liberal English rule. He spoke elsewhere (p. 30) of the "inhumanités incroyables" committed by the French in a struggle against the English at d'Orange (Albany), and said a little later (p. 36) that "il ni a pas une nation sauvage qui n'ahisse [*sic*] intérieurement les francois par une infinité de raisons" Not a very loyal Frenchman this! When he reminds the reader (p 42) that he has already explained with what facility the English could ruin French commerce by the establishment of a fort at Lake Erie, Lanctôt considers that he is referring to the first *Mémoire* (cf. p. 36 for example), but the reference seems even more clear to Lahontan's published *Mémoires*, pp. 84-90 Another coincidence savages, says the author of the first *Mémoire*, were instructed to guide his soldiers to Fort du Lut (Duluth, i. e, Saint-Joseph), the construction and abandonment of this fort and of the one at Niagara were, he declared, "la plus grande folie du monde et en mesme temps la plus grande honte pour la nation francoise" (p 28). Lahontan was indeed in command of Saint-Joseph's at that time, but it was he who burned it before deserting it at the end of the summer of 1688!

Did Lahontan purposely distort some of the facts about his life, intending that his *Mémoires* should appear anonymously?[17] Then, when he—or the printer—published them under his name, did he decide to withdraw these traitorous *Mémoires*, without, however, removing from the title-page of the first volume the notation about

[17] That the manuscript *Mémoires* were intended for publication, there is no doubt, since we read, p 42, "j'ay desja expliqué dans mes précédents mémoires (note the plural) avec combien de facilité les anglois peuvent faire dechoir et ruiner le commerce des francois . . . , ainsi ie me contenteray de faire concevoir à ceux qui prendront la peine de lire celuy ci l'avantage . . "

the English, which scarcely has a *raison-d'être* in the printed text? Exiled from France, living in Holland among the Bohemia of Europe, did he carry his rancor against his country to the extent that he wanted to assist the English in taking possession of *la Nouvelle France*?

In any case, it would seem that the two Lanctôt documents could bear more investigation before their authenticity is firmly established This question just adds a bit to the already challenging problems connected with the Lahontan bibliography.

Simon Tyssot de Patot

Bibliographers have listed two 1710 editions of Simon Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et avantures de Jaques Massé* One, very rare today, bearing the imprint of Cologne, chez Jaques Kaincus, is described by Frédéric Lachèvre, who owned a copy, as containing a portrait of the author, 4 introductory pages and 508 pages of text [18] As no such printer as Jaques Kaincus ever lived in Cologne,[19] this fictitious imprint may have appeared in Holland. On the title-page of the other 1710 edition appears the name of Jaques l'Aveugle, at Bordeaux. David Rich McKee [20] was the first Tyssot bibliographer to observe that there were three imprints in 1710 bearing the name of Jaques l'Aveugle, the three being differentiated by the vignette on the title-page One is a sphere, the second a design of crossed swords, a trident, anchors, etc, and the third shows the scantily draped figure of a woman leaning against a balustrade, with the sun darting its rays on her from the left, and three Greek columns at the right. Mr McKee noted that the type was set differently in all three of the Bordeaux imprints, but made no attempt to determine their authenticity

Although these three are entirely separate printings, each publisher was careful to maintain 508 pages, as in the "Cologne" edition, the number of introductory sheets varying however. Up to page 505, the texts keep together fairly closely, with many differences in spacing within the page In the "sphere" edition, the

[18] Frédéric Lachevre, *op cit*, pp 257-258

[19] See Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*, Leipzig, 1864 2 vol in 1, t II, p 76

[20] David Rice McKee, *Simon Tyssot de Patot and the Seventeenth-Century Background of Critical Deism* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941

last page is set in very much finer type. The two other editions crowd the last pages, adding an extra line, with the usual type for the last page. Although we note that two printers succeeded better in compressing the content to 508 pages, none of these observations leads us to deduce which one set up the type from the manuscript, and which ones from a printed text The original printer may have crowded the last page to save paper, or one of his imitators may have been hard pressed to conform to his pagination

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that in the "anchor" and "sphere" editions, the spelling of the city of publication is *Bourdeaux*, and in the other one it is *Bordeaux* Peculiarities or errors of spelling occur in one or another of the editions, but on the whole, the "woman and the colonnade" edition is more carefully done, with fewer typographical errors Also it is more handsome The design on the title-page is a fine bit of workmanship The vignette at the top of the first page of the text is also much better than the ones in the other books It represents two pieces of land separated by a body of water, and joined by an arched bridge, with a church and a windmill on the farther shore Just what might be the rôle of the windmill—or indeed of the church—in Jacques Massé's voyages is not quite clear. The *raison-d'être* of the beautiful woman idly leaning against a balustrade in a Grecian setting is equally vague. In other words, the printer used what he had on hand. Opposite the title-page in this more careful edition, is a very finely cut, unsigned, "Portrait du Philosophe Jacques (*sic*) Massé, Tiré de la Bibliotheque de Mylord Bulinbroke (*sic*)" [21] This is probably Tyssot de Patot himself, as his portrait, affixed seventeen years later to his *Œuvres poétiques* presents the same rather peculiar features, though he has grown older in the interval. In the latter he is wearing the wig and gown of a professor of mathematics at the "illustre école de Deventer." (A portrait of him is also found in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Deventer)

It is not hard to surmise that no printer, even though he lacked the *privilège du roi*, would graciously consent to the publication of multiple spurious editions of the same work under his name. Our suspicion that no such printer as Jaques l'Aveugle (his name was

[21] A print made from the worn plate of the same portrait was added to a copy of the "sphere" edition which is to be found at Widener Library, Harvard University

well chosen) ever lived in Bordeaux or elsewhere, is confirmed by at least three authorities [22] It is equally certain that these books were not printed in Bordeaux. They may have appeared in Holland or Cologne, or even somewhere in France The only clue to the place of publication is furnished by the signatures on the vignette of the woman and the balustrade, which are C. Eisen *in(venit)* and *f(ecit)* Aveline. Now we know that Charles Eisen (1720-1778) was a well-known painter and engraver, he was born in Valenciennes, worked in France, and died in Brussels, the son of François Eisen, a painter and native of Brussels The C Eisen who designed our engraving may have been a less-known relative of these two The Avelines were an illustrious family of artists living in Paris, two who were engravers, could, as far as dates are concerned have executed this engraving: Pierre (1654?-1722) and his son, Antoine (1691?-1743). It seems more than likely, then, that this edition of *Jaques Massé* was made somewhere in France, perhaps in Paris, under the very nose of the censors, the editor using an engraving in his possession, designed and executed by two French artists. A copy of this imprint is found in the Library of Congress.

The vignettes on the title-page of the other two "Bordeaux" editions were commonly reproduced in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries That of the sphere, belonging to the famous Elzevier printers in Holland,[23] was used, with slight variations, by countless publishing houses over Europe for spurious editions, in Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages,* for example. The design on the first page of the text of the two is entirely different Furthermore, that of the

[22] See Ernest Labadie, *Notices biographiques sur les imprimeurs et libraires bordelais du XVI^e et XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* , Bordeaux, Mounastre-Picamilh, 1900, p 3; Georges Bouchon, *Histoire d'une imprimerie bordelaise 1600-1900,* Bordeaux, les Imprimeurs G Gounouilhou, 1901, p 81, n. 3, Alfred Leroux, *les Religionnaires de Bordeaux de 1685 a 1802,* Bordeaux, Feret et fils, 1920, p. 26-27 I am indebted to Dr Arnold Weinberger of Houghton Library for this bibliographical information.

Jaques l'Aveugle lent his name to another edition of *Jaques Massé* in 1760, printed *à l'Utopie*

[23] For the authentic Elzevierian spheres, see reproductions in Gustaf Berghman, *Etudes sur la bibliographie elzevirienne,* basée sur l'ouvrage "les Elzevier" de M Alphonse Willems, avec 470 figures reproduisant les vignettes, culs-de-lampe et lettres grises des Elzevier Stockholm, Imprimerie d'Ivar Hoeggström, 1885 .

"sphere" edition is in certain copies in reverse, with minor changes, showing that it was cut twice, and that there were two imprints of that edition.

To summarize there were three entirely different 1710 "Bordeaux" editions, with two separate printings of one of them, all bearing the name of the fictitious printer Jaques l'Aveugle, furthermore, there was a fourth 1710 edition purported to have been published by the equally mythical Jaques Kaincus at Cologne. Since, of the three "Bordeaux" editions, that of the "woman and the colonnade" is more luxurious and accurate, and contains a portrait of the author, it would appear to be the first edition, and is probably French.[24]

The inscriptions under the portrait in the *Voyages et avantures* might indicate that Simon Tyssot de Patot, *alias* Jaques Massé, would gladly throw the responsibility for his deistic ideas on Lord Bolingbroke and English writers of his kind But the more we become acquainted with the multiple fictitious imprints and diffusion of works like *la Terre australe connue*, the *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amerique septentrionale*, and the *Voyages et avantures de Jaques Massé*, the more we realize that the French libertines of the late XVIIth century needed no bridge across the Channel. Investigations in this field constantly widen the horizons of critical deism and show increasingly the diffusion of these philosophic utopias in what seems superficially to have been a strictly censored France

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[24] Tyssot's libertine work, *la Vie, les avantures et le voyage de Groenland* du réverend père cordelier Pierre de Mesange , Amsterdam, Etienne Roger, 1720, 2 vols, is not so rare as some critics believe I know of 5 copies, and there are probably more, in this country Boston, Harvard, Library of Congress (two copies, one listed under *Pierre de Mesange*), Newberry The Johns Hopkins University has a photostat, taken from the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, of his rare *Lettres choisies*, La Haye, chez Mathieu Roguet, 1727, 2 vol. Two of the pages (t II, 323-4) which most scandalized his contemporaries, including his wife, have been torn out.

GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART IX

The material here presented is taken from Hieronymus Bock's *New Kreutter Buch*, Straßburg, 1539 [1] Bock [2] was born in 1498 at Heidesbach in the former duchy of Zweibrucken, which is now part of the Palatinate, and spent his life at Zweibrucken, Hornbach, and Saarbrucken, all of them towns not far distant from his birthplace He died in 1554 at Hornbach He was for some time in charge of the botanical garden of his prince, which he enriched with numerous plants, gathered on his journeys. He added to the botanical vocabulary of the German language by recording the various names of a given plant in different parts of the country. The adjective *New*, added to the title of his *Kreutter Buch*, does not mean that he had previously compiled another edition, but is probably a reference to the *Krauterbuch* of Otto Brunfels, published in 1532, 1534, and 1537.

Editions of Bock's *Kreutter Buch* are noted for the years 1539, 1546, 1551, 1572, 1595, and 1630. I have used the very rare first edition, in the Library of the Institute for the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University. German lexicographers have been well aware of Bock's importance, but they have made only sporadic use of his work. Some words used by Bock antedate the instances given in the dictionaries by a century or more, others are not recorded Some of the latter group, of foreign origin, are perfectly familiar to us in English, but the German language did not assimilate them. The following selection is not meant to be complete

ABBEREITEN Alle speyß mit durrer Salbey abbereit . . . seindt lieplich (I, 13[a]), sol dise wurtzel in wasser mit zucker abbereyt, gesotten werden (34[b]), in wein oder wasser gesotten, vnd mit

[1] *New Kreutter Bůch von vnderscheydt / wurckung vnd namen der kreutter so in Teutschen landē wachsen Beschriben durch Hieronymum Bock auß langwiriger vnnd gewisser erfarung / vnnd gedruckt zů Straßburg / durch Wendel Rihel Im jar M D. XXXIX.* Two parts I 10 unnumbered and 174 numbered leaves II 88 numbered and 4 unnumbered leaves, in folio.

[2] *Allg deu Biogr* II, 766

zucker abbereyt (79b), auch in die kuchen, Gens vnd andere speyß darmit gefult vnd abbereyt (99b), kreutter, damit sie die sterck geel abbereyten (104b), gibt eyn wolgeschmackten saß, mit essig abbereyt, zů aller speiß (II, 50a) not in *DWb*.

ABSCHNITZLING, m ist eyn yeder same gebogen anzůsehen, wie die abschnitzling der negel, von den fingern, oder wie die vogels kloen (I, 37a) *DWb* cites *Simplicissimus*

ACKERKLETTE, f Von Acker vnd Wald Kletten, ca. cj (II, 76a), In vnser art nent man sie felt Kletten, Acker kletten, Lappula campestris et ruralis (76b) · not in *DWb*

AHERN, vb der groß gemeyn Steynklee mit den gelen geaherten blumlin Der ander groß mit den weissen geaherten blumlin (II, 3a), Solcher geaherter frucht, haben wir vilerlei art (15b), das Rubigo die Daub sucht den geaherten fruchten zu vollem Monschein gedrang thůe (26b) *DWb* cites a rare verb *ahern*, 'spicas legere', in our instances *geahert* means 'possessing ears,' or, 'shaped like ears.'

ALANTSTOCKLEIN, n. dauon mag man auch junge Alant stocklin, wie von obgemelten neben auglin zielen (I, 43b) not in *DWb*.

ALANTWURZEL, f . Alantwurtzel ist vngeuerlich die grost vnd schonst vnder den gestirnten blůmen (I, 43a) not in *DWb*, which cites *Alantwurz* without example

AMELKORN, n. den Weyssen von der Speltzen, oder Gersten vnnd Ammelkorn . . . nit wissen von eynander zu scheyden (II, 16a), Mit dem Ammelkorn hats auch die gestalt. . . . Dann Ammelkorn wurt bei vns nach der saet im funfften monat in die schewer gethon. . . . Das Ammelkorn nent Diosco. Sitamium, Trimestre, vnd am 29 ca libri secundi Amylon den namen behelt es auch bei vns teutschen, aus welchem das krafft mel gemacht wurt (16b) · not in *DWb*.

ANNEHM, adj.· wurt das schonst, edelst, krefftigst vnd wol schmeckest brot auß Weyssen bachen. Die best annemist speiß zů den jungen kindlin (II, 16b) *DWb* cites a single instance of *annehm* from Melanchthon. Cp *angenehm* and MHG *annæme*.

APFELKÖRNLEIN, n.: wiewol sie herfur krochen mit zweyen runden groen bletlin, als die apffelkornlin vffwachsen (II, 72b): not in *DWb*

APOTHEKENMEISTER, m dann vnsere Apotecken meyster, kennen dise Chamillen blůmen noch nit (I, 39b) not in *DWb*

AUFWACHSUNG, f Gemelte kuchen kreutter gewinnen im zweyten jar der vffwachsung, jre rippechte stengel (II, 39b) not in *DWb.*

AUSFALLUNG, f Nach Ausfallung der selben, wachsen runde stachelechte knopfflin (II, 39b), nach außfallung der violen, werden runde bollen oder knopfflin darauß (II, 86a) not in *DWb*

BACHKRAUT, n wachsen aus den selben andere bachkreutter, dem Brunnenkreß nit ongleich (II, 33a), die gemieste Bachkreutter mit gewerben, stengeln vnd helmern (33b) not in *DWb.*

BACHROHR, n ist mit seinen blattern schmaler vnnd zarter, dann des gemeynen Bachrors (II, 30b) not in *DWb.*

BARTICHT, adj Im Hewmonat dringen seine bartichte vnd zothichte ahern aus den graß scheyden, grosser vnd volkumlicher weder des Hirsen (II, 24b), mit vilen zaselen, wie die bartichte aher am ror (27b), bringen sie im Hewmonat zottichte weyche bartichte ahern (28b). *DWb* cites Opitz

BARTSAMEN, m ist der somen am geschmack gantz hitzig als der Hanenfus Solcher bart somen wurt imm herbst von den winden hin vnd dar gefurt, daraus wachsen newe stocklin (II, 69b) not in *DWb*

BASILGE, m f . vergleichen sich auch der wilden Basilgen (I, 3b), Die drit vnd wild Basilg soll das Ocimastrum . . . sein Vnsern wilden Basilgen halt ich fur das eyn Ocimum Catonis (7b), Der wild Basilgen hat seine wirckung mit den Muntzen vnd Balsam kreuttern (8a), so wurt die edele Basilgen inn den hundestagen nit bleich geel (II, 20b) Weigand cites NHG *Basilikum* and MHG *basilie.*

BATERLIN, n Den brand vnd baterlin der Nesselen stillet vnd heilet Rosen ol (I, 2a) not in *DWb.* Probably misprint for *Blaterlin,* which occurs (I, 22b) · macht sie rot, vnd erweckt blaterlin . . erweckt . . . kleine blaterlein.

BAUMFARN, m Von Steynfarn vnd baumfarn (I, 160a) *DWb* cites no example.

BAUMNUSZLAUB, n. die bletter sint zerspalten beinahe wie das jung Baumnuß laub (I, 172b) : not in *DWb*

BEKLUTTERN im gůten fromen Dio der also seer beklutteit ist mit commentarien (I, 20[a]) not in *DWb*, cp *kluttern, kluttern,* 'klecken, klecksen, besonders eilig und schlecht schreiben'

BERGGRUN solche bletter eyn mal grun, dann bleych weiß mit etwas blofarb vermengt, als Berggrun, von art eyn schon gewechs (II, 84[a]) *DWb* has no example.

BETTLERLAUS, f dise Kletten (die man an etlichen orten Bettlerleuß nent (II, 75[b]), Obgemelte stachelete Kletten vnd Betler leuß ermanen mich der holen schwartzen Weiher oder Seenussen zůgedencken (*ib*) *DWb* cites no examples, cp the term *nigger lice,* used for the burdock in Maryland.

BETTLERWELSCH, n nemlich der Habern, zů latein Auena, vnnd zů Betler welsch Spitzling genant (II, 22[b]) · this term for 'Rotwelsch' not in *DWb*

BEULICHT, adj · zů den fistelen vnnd anderen beulichten geschweren (I, 63[b]) derived from *Beule,* 'Geschwulst', not in *DWb.*

BINGELKRAUT, n lobt . . Mercurius sein Moly vnd Bingelkraut (I, [4][a]) · *DWb* cites Henisch (1616)

BINTZECHT, adj. eyn blosser, horichter, runder, bintzechter, stengel (I, 156[b]); stoßen sie dunne bintzechte vnnd knopffichte helmer, sampt jrem ror ahern (II, 30[a]); wechßt eyn rund bintzecht Graß geschlecht, on knopff, oder gewerb (30[b]) *DWb* cites *binsicht,* without example, and compares *bintzechtig,* in *Simplicissimus*

BINTZENGESCHLECHT, n Das erst Bintzen geschlecht daraus man gedeckt vnd matten pflegt zů machen, nent Plinius Mariscon (II, 31[b]) · not in *DWb*

BINTZENHALM, m sicht man . . blůmen dragen, auff runden Bintzen helmern, gleich wie die erst (I, 67[b]), an obgesetzter Bintzen, welche vnser weiber wol vnnd recht Bintzen helmer nennen Ob yemans solche glatte hole helmer, auch Waldror nennen wurt Gegenwertige glatte vnd onknöpffichte Bintzen helmer, werden zů etlichen instrumenten . . . gemacht (II, 31[a]) · not in *DWb*

BLAUSCHWARZ, adj . gleich wie auch etlich brot bloschwartz wurt, so auß etlichē Weyßen gebachen ist (II, 25[b]) *DWb* cites no example

BLICKEN, m Aber Dinckel wurt in etlichen orten Sanct Peters korn, in etlichen orten Blicken, vnd im Wormsergaw Eynkorn genant (II, 18[b]) not in *DWb*

BLUTKRAUT, n auch rot kol nennet, vnd sol . eyn recht blůtkraut sein . Neben disem blůtkraut (welches inn vnserm landt das recht Blůtkraut ist), findt man noch mehr Blůtkreutter (II, 41[a]) *DWb* cites no example

BLUTSTELLUNG, f mogen fur alle gifft, vnd zůr blůtstellung jnnerlich vnd eusserlich erwelet werden (I, 92[b]) *DWb* cites Abele (1670).

BLUTSTILLUNG, f Weiderich ist eyn blůtstillung, jnwendig vnnd ausserhalb des leibs genutzt (I, 47[a]) *DWb* cites Butschky (1677)

BRACHENDISTEL, f Von Manßtrew, Brachendistel vnd Radendistel (II, 84[a]), mit diser wallen oder Brachendistel, die auch zů teutsch Manßtrew, Ellend vnnd Radendistel heyst (84[b]). *DWb* cites only *Brachdistel*, without example

BRAUNELLE, f blůmen, den Braunellen oder den roten Fleyschblůmen nit ongleich (II, 25[b]) *DWb* gives no example.

BROMBEERLAUB, n vnd sind solche schwartz grune Hopffen bletter, dem Brombeer laub gleich (II, 68[a]) not in *DWb*

BRUCHWIESE, f. wachsen in den faulen Matten oder brůch wisen (I, 157[a]) not in *DWb*.

BRUNNENKRESZ, m wachsen aus den selben andere bachkreutter, dem Brunnenkreß nit ongleich (II, 33[a]) *DWb* records only the feminine *Brunnenkresse*, without example.

BUBENSTRAL, m so sind doch die Bůben streel die ersten, vnnd heyst dis gewechs . Dipsacos . . . Ferners nent man die Karten auch Bůbenstreel, weberstreel, zů latein Cardum fullonum (II, 77[b]). *DWb* cites Lonicerus (1598).

BUCHAMPFER, m. welche bletter in der ersten dem Buchampffer sich vergleichen . . . vnd gewint weißlicht bloe violen, nit grosser dann der Buchampffer, eyn yedes blumlin, auch sunderlich auff seinem kleynen stilche (I, 154[a]), thůt sich der Saurklee oder Buchampfer herfur (154[b]). *DWb* cites Hohberg (1716).

CHARAKTER, m. zů solchem handel hab ich keyn segen keyn beschwerung noch Caracter (wie etliche darmit handeln) gebraucht,

sunder on alle superstition, dem samen nach gangen (I, 161b). Schulz cites Thomasius (1688).

DAMPFBAD, n Dempffbader darauß gemacht treiben auß die ander geburt (I, 4a), Eyn dampffbad auß Dyll gemacht, bekumpt wol der schmertzlichen mütter (134a); Dempff vnnd schweißbader mogen auß disem kraut . . bereyt werden (II, 83a) *DWb* cites Jean Paul.

DEGENERIEREN Der dritt mangel ist, dz etwan die Linsen auch degenerieren, vnd werden zů runden Wicklin (II, 14a) Weigand cites Rot (1571).

DEKOKTION, f. Eyn Decoction aus Poley vnnd gůtem weyssem wein gemacht . . . Solche decoction vnnd dergleichen sollen nit gebraucht werden (I, 5b), Eyn decoction auß Basilgen gemacht mit wein (7b), Gemelte decoction treibt auch auß die schwartzen Gallen (11b), Eyn decoction von Chamillen gemacht, gibt (39a). not in Weigand.

DEPRAVIERT, adj. ist nit so seer gefelt, es mogen aber die wort auch etwas deprauiert sein, wie in vil orten (I, 58a); wie das die bucher der alten in vilen stucken deprauiert, oder vnfleissig zům ersten mal von den schreibern ins liecht kommen (II, 87a): not in Weigand

DINKELFELD, n vnder den rauhen fruchten, als Speltz, Dinckelfeldern wechßt eyn zerschnitten kraut (II, 76a) not in *DWb*

DISTELBLATT, n zweyer elen hoch, mit vilen satten vnd schmalen distel blettern bekleydet (II, 76b). not in *DWb*.

DORTBLATT, n vnnd werden mit der zeit lange grasichte dortbletter zů beden seiten scharpff (II, 50a) not in *DWb*.

DORTGRAS, n · verfaul, oder ein ontuglich Dortgraß daraus wachß (II, 26b) not in *DWb*.

DORTQUECKE, f.: die acker . . . haben vns Dortquecken, vnd Gauchhabern geben (II, 27a) not in *DWb*.

DOSTECHT, adj tregt oben eyn liecht braune dostechte blům (I, 144b) not in *DWb*.

DURRWURZ, f Von Dürwurtz . . . vnd sunderlich an diser Durwurtz. . . Dieweil sie die weiber dise Durwurtz kennen (II, 42a), sagen dz der Durwurtz ist zwey geschlecht groß vnd kleyn

die man . . Durwurtz oder Donnerwurtz nent (42b) *DWb* cites Maaler

EIFERISCH, adj. auß grosser eyferischer liebe die sie zům Hercules getragen (II, 35a) not in *DWb*.

EMPIRISCH, adj Vnsere doctores brauchen dz kraut auch, wiewol sie nichts in der geschrifft daruon wissen, lernen taglich von den Empirischen weibern die der Circes kunst konnen (I, 55b) Weigand states "Nach Campe bei Moritz."

ERDEPPICH, m Clauicula, das ist Erdeppich (II, 65a) not in *DWb*, which cites *Erdepheu* without an example

ERDFLOH, m.: gleich wie die Erdflohe, Pulices terrestres genant, allem jungen kraut gedrang thůn (II, 26b), wann dise junge keimlin frosts halben, oder vor den erdflohen nit zerstort werden, wachsen sie inn kurtzer zeit vff (42a). *DWb* defines as 'mordella,' without giving example.

ESELSKURBIS, m halt ich fur die wilden Cucumeren, . Cucumerem Asininum, Essels Kurbs, vnd soll der apffel sein (II, 72b). *DWb* cites Stieler.

EXPIATION, f. die Teuffel vnd febres verjagt, und das kraut zů eyner expiation wie den Beifůß gebraucht (I, 56a) not in Weigand.

FAUDE, f.. deren wurtzel ist auch schwartz wasicht zůsamen gedrungen vnd durch eynander geflochten, wie die fauden oder wasen so in den weihern vnnd brůchen wachsen (I, 163a) *DWb* defines: 'carex, scirpus, schlesisches wort (Weinhold 19a) fur eine schilf oder binsenart,' and cites Lohenstein (1680) Fischer (II, 984), cites a Suabian instance of 1559.

FELDKLETTE, f. In vnser art nent man sie felt Kletten, Acker kletten, Lappula campestris (II, 76b): *DWb* defines as 'tordylium anthriscus,' without giving example

FELDNUSZ, f Solche gemelte stuck finden wir nit an den Feldnussen oder Erdnussen (II, 15a) not in *DWb*

FLEME, FLEMME, f. (?): Im andern oder dritten jar stost die Angelica eyn langen dicken holen stengel, knopfficht, wie eyn starckes ror oder stecken, dardurch dringen am gypffel dunne flemen, als auff geblasen hole secklin, auß welchen kriechen die schone kronen nit anderst dann am Fenchel (I, 124a), im obersten

der stengel dringen die kronen durch dunne flemmen, als der Meysterwurtz vnd Angelica (128b) is this to be identified with *Fleme*, 'adeps renalis,' or *Flemle*, 'membranae et vaginae viscerum,' as recorded in *DWb*?

FOMENT, n Eyn foment, bad oder andere zapflin gemacht (I, 148a), gibt eyn edel foment, oder behung (II, 17a), Eyn foment gemacht mit Attich wurtzel vnd kraut (64a) not in Weigand.

FOMENTIREN alle geschlecht, seint dienstlich zů fomentieren vnd zů baden den weissen flegmatischen weybern (I, 2b), mit Spica wasser geriben, vnnd mit den kreuttern fomentiert (15a), Dise braucht man zů fomentieren, vnd zůr behung (32b), darmit fomentiert, vnnd geriben, erweckt die selbige, vnd macht sie . . . lebendig (100a). not in Weigand.

FREISSAM, n : Von Freyssam dreifaltigkeyt, Das cxcij Capitel (I, 166b), Das wild Freyssam acht man fur eyn vnkraut (167a): not in *DWb* as a plant name.

FUCHSLUNGE, f. neme Lungen kraut gedort, anis samen, Fuchßlungen im lufft gedort (I, 156a) *DWb* cites Lonicerus (1598).

FULLSAL, n. Maieron . . . Das kraut ist eyn edele wurtz vnd fulsal in aller kost (I, 8b), Beifuß . . . ist es eyn gůt fulsal in die gebratten Genß (98b) · *DWb* cites Stieler.

GARGARISIEREN darmit gargarisiert vnd eyn weil im mund gehalten (I, 106a), heylet das hals vnd seiten geschwer, damit gargarisiert vnd auch gedruncken (126a), heylet alle serigkeyt des mundes vnd hals darmit geweschen vnd gargarisiert (145a); ist gůt fur das essen im mund, zům hals geschwer darmit gargarisiert (149a), mit dem selben wasser den rauchen verwunten halß gargariziert, vnnd geschwenckt (II, 17a) · not in Weigand Cp Engl *gargarize, gargle*

GAUCHKLEE, GAUCHSKLEE, m. mit zů disem gehör, sunder dem Gauchclee, Guckeslauch, Alleluia genant gebüren wolle . . . (II, 2a), das dritt gebreuchlich Trifolium ist der Gauchsklee (2b) · *Gauchsklee* not in *DWb*, *Gauchklee* is cited from Nemnich (1793).

GEIßHOLZ, n. · als die gedrungene blumlin an dem Geyßholtz das man auch Beinhultzen nennet (I, 171b) : *DWb* cites Nemnich.

HOLZBIRNE, f · die frucht, anzůsehen als die kleyne wilde Holz-

biren (II, 71b) *DWb* cites the same passage from Tabernaemontanus (1588).

HOLZFARBIG, adj wie der Entian wurtzel, außwendig erden oder holtzferbig, eyns herben . . geschmacks (II, 87b) not in *DWb*

HOLZLILIE, f der den Teutschen Roßgarten gestellet, nent die Holtz lilgen oder Specklilgen auch Narcissos (II, 55b) not in *DWb*

INKLINATION, f Ich acht das es von eyner sunderlichen feuchtigkeyt durch eyn himmlisch jnclination herfur krieche (I, 35a) not in Weigand.

JASMIN, m wil aber . . . die dreifaltige blumlin oder violen vnder dem Jasmin halten, von welchen blůmen im folgenden capitel weiters (I, 166b) Weigand cites text of 1580

JUBE, f Die oberste außgeschloffene Jube oder ahern, thůn sich weitter vff, dem Ror gleich (II, 21b), thůn sich auß eynander, als die Jube oder ahern am ror (22a) · not in *DWb*.

JUNGFRAUENKNECHT, m eyn lieblichs kreutlin, es solten die jungkfrawen knecht solch kreutlin stets des gerochs halben bei jnen haben (II, 41b). not in *DWb*, which cites *Jungfernknecht* from Stieler.

KALBERARZNEI, f wir mogen solcher schlechter kalber artznei nit, es můß alles frembd vnd wol gepfeffert sein (II 43b) · not in *DWb*, which records *Kalberarzt*, 'es wird fur quacksalber gebraucht.'

KOAGULIEREN so er also uber nacht bleibt stehn, so gestehet oder coaguliert sich das wasser (I, 101a) not in Weigand

KOLBECHT, adj Die grost Gerst hat grosse kolbechte ahern (II, 17b), lange, dicke, vnnd runde kolbechte ahern, mit vilen fachen (21b), Dz sechst onkraut stoßt gantze runde kolbichte sprewer ahern, wie der fench (27b). *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus

KOLLIGIEREN: Andere wirckung der Rauten mogen auß obernenten stucken colligiert vnd erfunden werden (I, 18a), Andere wurckung mogen auß ernenten colligiert werden (69a), Andere virtutes mag eyn yeder auß obgesatzten colligieren vnd finden (125a) not in Weigand

KOMMENTIEREN · uber die kreuter so sie mit augen nie erblickt

haben, zů commentieren furgenommen (I, 14[a]) Weigand cites text of 1694

KOMPONIEREN das die eintzige gewechß, so man Simplicia nent, fur den componierten dingen den ersten rům . behalten (I, [4][b]), Hie sicht man zwar, wz man gůts kan componieren, wann wir die simplicia nit kennen (138[b]), was man fur artznei wider gifft vnd Pestilentz bereyten oder componieren will (150[a]) Weigand cites Rot (1571).

KONDIEREN Die armen wurtzen vnd condieren im herbst, den Compost oder Cappes darmit (I, 11[a]), doher es die alten haben condiert oder eingesaltzen, vnnd ist dise jnmachung so gůt (110[b]). not in Weigand.

KONFEKTION, f · Antiochus der kunig hat eyn tyriack von Dyll samen gesetzt fur alles gifft, welche beschreibung oder confection, sol in steyn gehawen sein, im eingang des tempels Aesculapij (I, 133[b]) Weigand dates it in the 19th century.

KONFERIEREN Wer nun angeregte Ochsenzung kennt, der halte sie gegen disen scribenten, conferier also, schrifft vnnd gewachs mit eynander (I, 64[a]), Hie conferier man das Capitel Lycopsis mit der wilden Ochsenzungen (64[b]), die wort Dioscor . . on zanck annemen vnd bede mit eynander conferieren (II, 81[b]) · Weigand cites Fischart.

KORNELICHT, adj. Diser runden kornelichten wurtzelen des Steynbrechs . . (das sint die rotte kornelichte wurtzelin) (I, 156[b]) not in *DWb.*

KRANKGRINDIG, adj lindert den rauhen hůsten, bekumpt wol der kranckgrindigen plasen vnd nieren (II, 88[a]) not in *DWb.*

KREUZBLUME, f. hab ich nie anderst horen sagen dann Creutzblůmen darumb das man sie in der Creutzwochen am volkomlichsten findet, darauß machen die Creutzjungfrawen jre krentzlin, &c. (I, 169[a]) · *DWb* cites no example.

KREUZBLUMLEIN, n. die andern braune vnnd bloe Creutzblumlin . . Gegenwurtige Creutzblumlin . . Creutzblumlin in wein gesotten (I, 169[a]). not in *DWb*, which records only *Kreuzblumchen*

KREUZJUNGFRAU, f. see above under *Kreuzblume.*

W. KURRELMEYER

THE CHÂTEAU DE RICHELIEU AND DESMARETZ'S *VISIONNAIRES*

Except for its influence upon stage decoration and upon the form of the theaters, architecture played little part in French seventeenth-century drama There are few references to it in the texts of the plays and those few are, with one exception, of little importance. This one exception is the extensive account of a château and its surroundings in *Les Visionnaires* One may well ask how it happened to be there and whether the author had in mind any particular château

Desmaretz was more than a favorite of Richelieu He became the "contrôleur général de l'extraordinaire des guerres" and the "secrétaire général de la marine du Levant"[1] He wrote at Richelieu's request seven plays, one of them for the opening of the Cardinal's theater, another devoted to a defense of his foreign and domestic policies He was interested in architecture,[2] when he introduced it into a play, there would be nothing strange about his having in mind a château that bore the name of Richelieu

Now Phalante, one of the monomaniacs in *Les Visionnaires*, boasts of great, though imaginary wealth and describes at length the most magnificent of the estates he hopes to inherit, a "lieu de plaisir, seiour de mes ayeux"[3] To the château leads a long avenue with four rows of trees·

> De loing l'on appreçoit [*sic*] vn portail magnifique
> De pres l'ordre est Toscan, et l'ouurage rustique,
> Ce portail donne entrée en vne grande court,
> Ceinte de grands ormeaux, et d'un ruisseau qui court
> Vne fontaine au centre a son jet élancé
> Par le cornet retors d'vn Triton renuersé
> La court, des deux costez, tient a deux bassecours,
> De qui le grand chasteau tire tout son secours
> En l'vne est le maneige, offices, escuries
> L'autre est pour le labeur, et pour les beigeries
> Au fonds de cette court paroist cette maison,
> Au bord d'vne terrace vn grand fossé plain d'eau,

[1] Fournier, *Théâtre français au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siecles*, II, 353

[2] Cf Tallemant des Reaux, *Historiettes*, edition of Monmerque et Paris, II, 140

[3] III, 5 I quote from the edition of Paris, Camusat, 1639, 12°

Net, profond, poissonneux, entoure le chasteau,
Pour rendre ce lieu seur contre les escalades,
Et l'appuy d'alentour ce sont des balustrades
Au bout du pont leurs
Se presente vn objet dont les yeux sont rauis,
Trois portes de porphyre, et de jaspe etofées,
Comme vn arc de triomphe enrichy de trophees
On entre en vne court large de deux cens pas
Le logis éleue, les ailes vn peu moins,
De quatre pauillons flanquent leurs quatre coings
Et par l'estage bas cent colomnes Doriques
Separent d'ordre egal cent figures antiques

There is a fountain in this court. Within the château are brilliantly decorated apartments. Of especial interest is the fact that

Au bout des pauillons on void deux galleries,
Où le peintre epuisa ses doctes resueries

Desmaretz makes Phalante go on to describe the gardens, mentioning a parterre, a fountain that represents Neptune and a seahorse, a wood, streams, other fountains, etc.

The frères Parfaict were so much interested in Phalante's remarks that they quoted the whole passage.[4] They seem to have been the first to publish the statement that it is a description of Richelieu's château and its surroundings, but they offered no evidence in support of this identification. Nearly a century later, Charles de Chergé [5] went so far as to assert that Desmaretz, wishing to flatter the Cardinal, gave in this passage "la description exacte du château de Richelieu" Neither he, nor Reibetanz [6] and Leopold Lacour,[7] who make similar assertions, thought it necessary to indicate on what grounds their statements were based. They may have thought there was proof enough in the fact that Desmaretz gave a more elaborate description of the same building and its grounds in his *Promenades de Richelieu* of 1653. Let us see whether a comparison of the verses in *Les Visionnaires* with what we know of the château will confirm their hypothesis.

When Richelieu had become the master of France, he decided to exalt his family by enlarging and rendering magnificent the dwelling

[4] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, v, 394-404
[5] *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, II (1836), 238
[6] *Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin*, Leipzig, 1910, pp 25, 49
[7] *Richelieu Dramaturge*, Paris (1925), p 69.

in which he had spent the early years of his life.[8] He had the estate made into a "duché-pairie" in August, 1631 He constructed a small town, laid off with great regularity—an ancestor of Green Belt,—and he had Jacques Le Mercier build him a vast château that held within it the modest building in which he had resided as a child. A good idea of this château, its approaches, its gardens, and its park can be obtained from the engravings of J. Marot,[9] Desmaretz's *Promenades de Richelieu,* and the article by Chergé to which I have referred

A long avenue with four rows of trees led to a half-moon, about 160 feet in diameter, which opened on a rectangular *basse-cour,* about 384 feet wide by 339 in depth On the left of this *basse-cour* was a smaller court for the "escuries du commun a mettre cent cheuaux, les Granges, Fenil et logement des Jardiniers et autres gens de trauail", on the right of the *basse-cour* was one for the "Fourrieres, Fenil, escuries, Boulangerie et ménagerie" After crossing the *basse-cour,* one entered an *avant-cour,* somewhat smaller, but still imposing as it was about 302 feet wide by 242 in depth. There was a fountain in the middle On either side was a large building surmounted by a dome and ending in pavilions Beyond this *avant-court* was the moat that surrounded the château itself and its inner court To cross it one made use of a drawbridge attached to the grand portal. This entrance was a handsome structure with statues of Hercules and Mars in niches on either side of the door. Above this door was a statue of Louis XIII with a jasper column on either side and a dome above, surmounted by a statue of Fame. From within, this portal showed Doric columns and niches with other statues.

The visitor who had passed through this portal found himself in a court about 218 feet by 186 Across from the entrance was the

[8] According to a seventeenth-century tradition, believed by J Marot, Tallemant des Réaux, La Fontaine, and Mlle de Montpensier, it was Richelieu's birthplace, but Hanotaux (*Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu* (1932), I, 63-5), though he takes their evidence into consideration, has shown that there is better reason to believe that he was born in Paris So far as this article is concerned, it is unimportant whether his affection for the place came from the fact that he was born there or from his spending there most of his early youth.

[9] *Le magnifique chasteau de Richelieu,* published about 1660 There is a copy of it in the Library of Congress.

main building, crowned by a dome. The portion of it to the left of the dome was the old Richelieu château Wings, projecting at right angles to the main building, enclosed two sides of this inner court Like the main building, they carried small domes and ended in pavilions They were connected with the grand portal by terraces that supported balustrades Between each two windows of the second floor there were, both in the main building and in the wings, niches containing statues, below which, in the wall of the first floor, were niches lodging busts There were about a hundred statues and busts, most of them ancient, but including two statues of captives by Michelangelo. The interior of the château was decorated with many paintings, among them canvases by Poussin and Perugino Behind the building was a parterre, a fountain that shows two sea-horses and a god, other statues, a field, a forest, canals, etc.

Now let us compare what is known of the château with the description in *Les Visionnaires* Richelieu's château, like Phalante's, had been the home of his ancestors and could be considered a "lieu de plaisir" In both cases there are four rows of trees along the drive, on either side of an outer court are smaller courts leading to buildings used in the work of the estate, the château is surrounded by a moat, there is an elaborate entrance that resembles an "arc de triomphe entouré de trophées", there is a terrace with balustrades, the main building is slightly higher than the wings, there are pavilions, Doric columns are employed; there are "cent figures antiques" and a gallery of paintings Behind Richelieu's château there was a fountain with a sea-horse and a figure that may well be, as in the play, a god's.

On the other hand, there are certain discrepancies Desmaretz mentions only one outer court instead of the two shown in Marot's engravings He exaggerates the dimensions of the inner court. He makes no mention of the *demi-lune* He describes three "portes de porphyre, et de jaspe" instead of one He refers to the workmanship as "rustique," as Marot does not do. The last two difficulties may, however, be easily explained According to Richelet, to "rustiquer" a stone is to "la piquer avec la pointe du marteau seulement, au lieu de la polir." This type of finish may have existed without being shown in the engravings. In describing the ornamented entrance, Desmaretz may have meant by the three "portes" the three

niches in which were placed the statues of Hercules, Mars, and Louis XIII. The question of the courts and the *demi-lune* remains to be considered

As the play was acted early in 1637, it was probably composed in 1636 When Mlle de Montpensier visited Richelieu in 1637, at the age of ten, she pronounced it the most magnificent château that could be found, but she said nothing about the outer courts or the *demi-lune* [10] The earliest evidence we have of their existence is given by Desmaretz's *Promenades de Richelieu* of 1653 and by Marot's engravings [11] Although, in the title of the latter work, the château is said to have been "commencé et achevé" by the Cardinal, an *Au Lecteur* declares that he had "laissé quelque chose d'imparfait à cét Edifice" and that the duc de Richelieu, the Cardinal's heir, "l'a fait achever," which means that work on the château was not completed until after 1642 It should be noted, too, that, out of some 145 lines devoted to the description, only 12 are concerned with the interior of the château, that more verses are devoted to the park and gardens than to the buildings, and that the most detailed descriptions are those of the fountains These facts suggest that Desmaretz or his informant had visited the place before its complete development It is quite possible that at that time the *avant-cour* and the *basse-cour* were one and that no *demi-lune* had been constructed

I conclude that Desmaretz's description is not "exacte," as Clergé asserted that it was, but that it is about as faithful as could be expected in view of the facts that the outer courts may not have been completed at the time he wrote the play and that he was composing a comedy, not a guide-book

Now it may be asked whether his desire to please Richelieu interfered with his art, whether d'Aubignac [12] was justified in considering the descriptive passage much too lengthy. It should be noted that the play, as the author conceived it, is one in which the comic element is far more important than the plot We are not eager to learn how things will turn out, but we are amused by the procession

[10] Cf her *Mémoires*, edition of Michaud et Poujoulat, p 7

[11] The date assigned to them, 1660, may not be correct, but they could not have been published before 1643 as the duc de Richelieu, to whom they are dedicated, is called "General des Galeres," an office that he did not hold until that year, cf Jal's *Dictionnaire*

[12] *Pratique du théâtre*, Martino edition, Paris, 1927, pp 182, 293

of "visionnaires" and, in Phalante's case, by the contrast between his boasting of his wealth, reenforced by his intimate knowledge of his supposed estate, and the extremely slight chance he has of inheriting this piece of property or any other. The more splendid the château and its grounds, the more detailed the description, the greater the fun. At the same time Desmaretz was restrained by his respect for verisimilitude He was not a Romantic poet. He did not feel free to depict "A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice" He tells us in his *Argument* that in the description of the château "il ne se trouue rien d'extrauagant, et qui ne soit imaginé selon la vray-semblance." According to this conception of his art, the best way to meet the demands of comedy without appearing over fanciful was to select as a model a magnificent, but real château. When he did so, he must have been highly pleased to find that he could simultaneously compose a comic scene, keep within the bounds of reason, and gratify his illustrious patron.[13]

H. Carrington Lancaster

NOTE ON GÉRARD DE NERVAL'S *OCTAVIE*

The life and dreams of Gérard de Nerval are the warp and woof in the many-colored tapestry of his writings. In *Octavie*, the central thread in the tale is the letter he presumably wrote to the singer Jenny Colon in 1837, in which he narrated an episode of his trip to Naples three years earlier. After her death, on June 5, 1842, he published it together with five other of his love letters, under the heading *Un Roman à faire*, in *La Sylphide* of December of the same year, ascribing them all to a "chevalier Dubourget." But he republished the same letter alone over his own name, and under the caption *L'Illusion*, in *L'Artiste*, on July 6, 1845, and he singled it out again eight years later, in 1853, to weave around it the story of *Octavie*.

The text of the letter remained virtually the same in all three published forms; it purports to divulge to his beloved one a strange

[13] It is even possible that the patron himself may have given him a hint. This hypothesis would have more weight if one could trust the *Segraisiana*, which asserts that Richelieu gave Desmaretz "le dessein des Visionnaires", cf. the frères Parfaict, *op. cit*, v, 388-9

adventure which happened to him during his brief sojourn in Naples, in October of the year 1834. In substance, it recalls his wandering alone through the streets of the town late one night after he had attended a performance of the ballet at the San Carlo theater, when he came upon a young Venetian embroiderer of church apparel whom, because of her extraordinary resemblance to the lady of his heart, he had escorted to her own home "Il me prit fantaisie," he confesses, "de m'étourdir tout un soir, et de m'imaginer que cette femme, dont je comprenais à peine le langage, était vous-même, descendue à moi par enchantement"[1]

But under the influence of the sparkling lacrima christi he had drunk at supper, the apartment he was in, and everything in it, including the hostess, finally acquired in his eyes a mysterious appearance, and his narrative of the event reflects this transformation. A black madonna, dressed in faded finery, stood on a chest of drawers Further away, a statue of Saint Rosalie crowned with roses seemed to protect a sleeping child in his cradle. The whitewashed walls were hung with old pictures of mythological divinities Bright stuffs and artificial flowers cluttered the place, and on a table lay a treatise on soothsaying which classed the woman as a sorceress or a gypsy After a while she began to speak in a strange, guttural language he could not understand, and with her tinsel jewelry, false stones, necklaces and bracelets on, she looked to him then like one of those Thessalian sorceresses to whom one bartered one's soul for a dream.

Tearing himself away from that obsessing scene, he had rushed into the deserted streets, and up the Pausilippe. Slowly the fumes of the night had lifted from his head, but soon despair and the image of death crept into his heart as he reflected that, his evening adventure notwithstanding, he was not loved, and the only creature he cared for was four hundred leagues away, and did not even suspect his very existence. The thought of suicide crossed his mind then. Twice he was moved to leap into the sea below, but an unknown power held him back, and, gratefully, he threw himself upon the ground and kissed it

The story is consonant with what we know of Gérard's inner

[1] *Les Filles du Feu*—Nouvelles Texte établi et annoté avec une étude critique par Nicolas I Popa Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931, I, 270

climate Did he, however, experience the full gamut of sensations from love to the longing for death in that one swift night, and is his account authentic, or does it contain allusions to other and later emotional experiences? A solution to this problem has been propounded by M. Pierre Audiat,[2] based on what he regards as internal and documentary evidence. The latter consists of two rough drafts of Gérard's letter, found in the Collection Spoelberch de Lovenjoul,[3] which give a variant of his Neapolitan adventure It describes his casual meeting with the Venetian embroiderer, whom he escorts home after allaying her fears of being surprised in the morning by her Swiss-guard lover with his promise to stay awake all night long Overcome with sleep, however, he is startled out of it by the ringing of morning bells, so that he has to dress in the twinkling of an eye, and rush out into the streets while he is still half asleep, and then up to the Pausilippe, and on to his suicide impulse which he narrates then as in *Octavie*.

Thus the strangely romantic setting, brooding atmosphere and weird appearance of the woman in the latter account give way in the Lovenjoul variant to a story which is simple and lighthearted and which contrasts with the gloomy suicidal aftermath of it—a disharmony that is obviated in the *Octavie* version to a large extent. "Nous sommes loin du texte de 1837," says M Audiat,[4] crediting the latter, the supposedly earlier version, with what is to him more logic and appropriateness in its expression He points out, in this respect, Gérard's declaration in *Octavie* "O Dieu! je ne sais quelle profonde tristesse habitait mon âme, mais ce n'était autre chose que la pensée cruelle que *je n'étais pas aimé*," [5] as illustration, observing that in 1837 Gérard could not have complained that he was not loved three years before, for he had not then declared his love, whereas the Lovenjoul text has the variant. "mais ce n'était autre chose que la pensée cruelle que *je ne serais pas aimé*," [6] which seems to him, at least, "vraisemblable" [7]

[2] *L'Aurelia de Gérard de Nerval* Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926, pp 77 85, 104-110

[3] *Correspondance autographe de Gérard de Nerval*, D 740, fol 10 r°, v° and 12 *Cf Les Filles du Feu*, I, 401-404, II, 251-252

[4] *Op cit*, p 85

[5] *Les Filles du Feu*—Nouvelles, I, 273

[6] *Ibid*, p 403

[7] *Op cit*, p 85

The argument is specious, however, for it was perfectly true that "he was not loved" in 1834, and so he could very well have written so in 1837, but it is not true that he could have prophesied then that he "would never be loved" Hence the internal evidence for declaring the Lovenjoul document the original 1837 version of the letter is, at best, inconclusive M. Audiat has a trump card for his case, however. In effect, upon the verso of one of Gérard's letters to Aurélia in the Collection Lovenjoul, the one beginning with "Souvenez-vous, oublieuse personne," Gérard had written a rough draft of a letter to a certain Duchâtre or Duchatel, in which he requested a service in favor of Jenny Colon "Vous savez," he wrote, "que j'ai fait avec Dumas le poème d'un opéra en trois actes dont le succès a été fort modéré, car nous sommes arrêtés après vingt-cinq représentations. Nous avons dû beaucoup au talent de notre Prima Donna, Mlle Colon qui est devenue aujourd'hui une de nos meilleures cantatrices. . ." The opera in question was *Piquillo*, which closed early in December 1837 Accordingly, M Audiat deduces correctly that the draft of the letter under discussion must date from late November or early December, 1837 "Si l'on admet que la lettre à Jenny et la requête de Gérard sont contemporaines," he adds, "il faut conclure que l'ensemble des lettres à Aurélia qui se succèdent rapidement, précède ou suit de peu le mois de novembre 1837." [8]

From this reasoning it follows that the letter which concerns us here was also written on the same date Unfortunately, there are now extant, as we have seen, two versions of this letter. the one which Gérard himself published repeatedly, the last time in *Octavie*, and the other in the Collection Lovenjoul. M Audiat does not hesitate to identify the latter as the original version of 1837,[9] upon the premises we have just reviewed. Other critics, following on his footsteps, have accepted it likewise, witness M. Nicolas I Popa, who has reproduced it in its entirety in his scholarly edition of *Les Filles du Feu*, besides giving a photographic facsimile of part of it with the caption· "Lettre de Gérard de Nerval à Jenny Colon (1837). Premier état d'*Octavie*." [10]

However, there is reason to believe that the manuscript in the Lovenjoul collection does not constitute the original draft of the

[8] *Ibid*, p 35, note 1
[9] *Ibid*, p 79. [10] I, 401-404, 272-273 (inset), II, 36-37

letter. The evidence *saute aux yeux*, and can be read in the body of the document itself. Here is what Gérard says in it:

> J'avais fait rencontre a la Villa Reale d'une Venitienne qui vous ressemblait, une tres bonne femme dont l'état etait de faire des broderies d'or pour les eglises Le soir, nous étions alles voir *Buondelmonte* à San Carlo, et puis nous avions soupe tres gaiement au café d'Europe [11]

This simple statement affords a precious indication, it fixes beyond cavil the date at which it was written, which could only have been the same as, or posterior to, that of the production of *Buondelmonte* Now this opera by Giovanni Pacini was first produced in Florence in 1845 [12] Manifestly, to speak of the letter in which Gérard refers to it as of 1837 is an anachronism Curiously enough, M Nicolas I. Popa describes *Buondelmonte* as an "opéra italien de Pacini, représenté à Florence, en 1844," [13] but nevertheless continues to refer to the text that speaks of it as of 1837.

We conclude that the manuscript in the Collection Spœlberch de Lovenjoul cannot be the original version of Gérard's third letter in *Un Roman à faire*, but must be regarded as a variant written on or after 1845 Its account of the Neapolitan adventure cannot be anterior but posterior to that in *Octavie* Gérard could not have referred to an as yet non-existent opera in 1837, and he did not then, nor in 1842, in 1845, or in 1853, in the only version of the letter he published, and which turns out to be chronologically the more authentic of the two

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DIDEROT AND CHIEF LOGAN'S SPEECH (*FRONTIÈRES DE VIRGINIE*)

Chief Logan's famous speech delivered to Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, was printed in several American newspapers during

[11] *Ibid*, I, 402 *Cf* Audiat, *op cit*, p 80

[12] *Cf* F J Fétis *Biographie universelle des musiciens* Paris, 1875, Alfred Loewensberg, *Annals of the Opera* Cambridge & New York, 1943, p 431 The *Dictionnaire Lyrique ou Histoire des Opéras* by Félix Clement and Pierre Larousse gives the date as 1844

[13] *Op cit.*, II, 252 *Cf* note 12

February, 1775,[1] from a copy supplied by James Madison It gained even greater prominence in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1782), and by the 1850's its sombre burden, "Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one," was familiar to every schoolboy exposed to McGuffey's *Fourth* and *Fifth Reader*. By 1802, French versions of the speech had been published in French journals, in the works of Raynal, Robin, Mandrillon, Bayard, and Bonnet, as well as in Morellet's translation of Jefferson's *Notes*[2]

Among the transcripts of unpublished Diderot items in Russia presented by Howyn de Tranchère to Assézat and Tourneux, was a brief piece bearing the caption *Frontières de Virginie* (*10 mars 1775*) *Gazette de France*. Not recognizing this to be a straightforward translation of an established classic, Diderot's editors published among his miscellaneous works this belated specimen of Logan's speech.[3] Oddly enough, they failed even to locate the source of this translation despite the clue given in the title 'Est-ce un extrait de la *Gazette*?" they ask. "Est-ce une amplification de Diderot? Nous avons vainement cherché dans le volume de 1775 un passage qui nous renseignât à cet égard"[4] Further obscurity arose when Tourneux, in cataloguing the Diderot manuscripts in the Imperial Library (St. Petersburg), erroneously reported the date of *Frontières de Virginie* as "4 mars 1775."[5] Momentarily on the track of the true identification (though not Diderot's source) of the Logan speech, Tourneux added ". . . cette indication, fournie par le manuscrit, est inexacte tout le passage se retrouve dans l'*Histoire philosophique* . . , par Raynal. . . ."[6]

In all this, however, there is no mystification whatsoever. Diderot had stated his source correctly, for Logan's speech was printed in

[1] For example, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* (Feb 1), *The Pennsylvania Ledger* (Feb 11), *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* (Feb 16), and *The New-York Gazette* (Feb 20)

[2] An article in preparation will describe in more detail the history of Logan's speech in France

[3] *Œuvres completes de Diderot*, ed J Assézat and M Tourneux Paris, Garnier, 1876, XVII, 503-504.

[4] *Op cit.*, p 503 n

[5] Maurice Tourneux, "Les Manuscrits de Diderot conservés en Russie ," *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, III[e] série, XII (1885), 450

[6] Logan's speech appears in Raynal for the first time in the third edition (Genève, 1780, IX, 76-77)

the *Gazette de France* on April 21, 1775, with the heading *Des Frontières de la Virginie, le 10 mars 1775*, he doubtless copied the article as an interesting example of American Indian eloquence, with no thought of publishing it in the *Correspondance de Grimm*[7] or elsewhere[8] Its presence in the Assézat edition resulted solely from the failure of the editors to scrutinize carefully the *Gazette* of 1775.

EDWARD D SEEBER

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OLD FRENCH *HERLUIN*

Mr Leo Spitzer in a recent article in *Studies in Philology*, XLI (October 1944) 521 f, traces the history of English *harlot* and connects it ultimately in convincing fashion with King Herla and the Wild Host, through one of the compound Germanic names formed on Herla such as *Herle-win* (*Herle-kin*). He shows that the middle French *hapax arlouyn* (rhyme *gain*) 'pimp,' found in the 'Jargon' ballads attributed to Villon, is merely the name *Herlewin* The first trace of *Herlewin* is to be found in the Anglo-French cleric Peter of Blois "who in 1178 denounced *nostri curiales* (i. e the English courtiers) as *milites Herlewini*" *Milites Herlewini* has been explained by Kemp Malone as 'friends of Heila' (O. E *wine* = friends),[1] i e. members of the Wild Host = 'demons, devils' > rascals Middle French *arlouyn* 'pimp' represents simply a further stage of degeneration in meaning, as Mr Spitzer explains it

If *Herlewin* is represented in Romance and French proper names

[7] *Œuvres*, XVII, 474

[8] The passage in the *Œuvres* follows closely that in the *Gazette*, with three exceptions the Shawaneses Nation becomes the "Schawanches," Colonel Cressop becomes "Colonel Cressap" (the correct spelling is Cresap), and "Qui reste t-il pour pleurer Logan?" becomes "Que reste-t-il " Considering that the answer to Logan's query is "Personne," this reading seems unsatisfactory, yet it is repeated later in the versions of both Raynal and Mandrillon

[1] *English Studies*, XVII (1935) 140, "Herlekin and Herlewin" which explains briefly and decisively the origin of *mesme Hellequin* about which so many futile conjectures have been made

of the Middle Ages,[2] its use as a common noun has been attested only in the *arlouyn* of the fifteenth century Jargon ballad It is interesting to note, therefore, that *herluin* figures as a common noun in a French literary text of about 1250. It has not been recorded by the Old French dictionaries The word occurs toward the end of the *fabliau La Veuve* of Gautier Le Leu in a manuscript[3] (M) which has not been used for editorial purposes The verse in which it occurs has been omitted in the Turin manuscript of *La Veuve* which served Scheler and more recently, Montaiglon and Raynaud[4] for their editions of the *fabliau* The new manuscript is superior throughout to the text of the *fabliau* as printed and fills in *lacunae* which are numerous towards the end The author, Gautier Le Leu, beginning with verse 573 (M)[5] pleads for peace at any price in the household between husband and wife

573 Car se me feme me dist lait,
Se je m en vois, ele le lait,
Et qui dont le volroit respondre,
576 Il feroit folie despondre
Encor vient mels que je m'en voise
Que je le fiere d'une boisse
Segnor, qui estes *auduin*
Et gilleeui et *herluin*,
580 Ne soies de rien en esmai,
Li *auduin* ont meilleur mai
Q'aient li felon conbatant
Qui les noisses vont esbatant

The author (verses 578-79) seems to mention three types of husband 1) *auduin*. those who love peace in the household at any cost.[6] 2) *gilleeur* those who practice deceit and subterfuge in

[2] For French Spitzer cites E Langlois, *Table des noms propres—dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904 *Herluin, Helluin, Arluin, Herlin*, as epic names of Christian and Saracen knights

[3] The manuscript described on p 233 f of the *Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved in Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (Historical Manuscripts Commission)*, Hereford, 1911 *Herluin* is found on folio 341 *recto a*

[4] *Recueil général des fabliaux* II (1877), p. 197 f

[5] Cf Mont et Rayn, *op cit*, II, p 213, v 491 f

[6] Poem XVII of the *Chansons et dits artésiens* of Jeanroy et Guy treats in a humorous and satirical vein the creation of a "carite (confrérie) d'Auduins," i e peace-loving and submissive husbands It is possible that *Auduin* is an adaptation of the name of Sanctus Aldoenus In the

domestic affairs 3) *herluin*· those who, in contrast to the others, are violent and noisy. The *herluin* seem to be alluded to in verses 582-583 *li felon conbatant Qui les noisses vont esbatant*

Herluin of our passage adds to the vocabulary of Old French a thirteenth century example of the word used as a common noun, and its sense 'one who is violent and noisy' is closely to be associated with King Herla and the Wild Host, the company of damned souls come from Hell, whose passage was accompanied by din and clatter[7] Furthermore *herluin*, applying to husbands who treat their wives with violence and noise, represents an interesting evolution in sense towards *arlouyn* 'pimp' of the fifteenth century Jargon ballads.

CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON

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SPENSER'S CONNECTIONS WITH HAMPSHIRE

This paper is concerned with two minor points in Spenser's life. Long ago I became interested in Samuel Woodford's statement to Aubrey that Spenser had spent some time in Hampshire and written some of his poetry there More recently my curiosity was aroused as to how Spenser was connected with Andrew Reade, from whom he obtained the estate of Kilcolman, when the latter appar-

"chansons et dits artésiens" figure a number of facetious 'confréries' placed under the protection of saints whose names are either deformed or imaginary The life of Aldoenus (St Ouen) was peaceful and its most important event was the negotiation of a truce between Neustria and Austrasia In satire XVII (v 99) an *Auduïn* is defined Çou est un hom qui het bataille In another satire of the same collection, XVIII, v 161, *auduin* is employed in the same sense as a common noun Cf *Elnol* 'cocu,' a proper noun used as a common noun in the fabliau *Connebert* (Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil général*, v, 164, v 112) and the "confrérie" of Saint Ernoul, le seigneur des cous, *Roman de la Rose* (ed Langlois, S A T. F) 9131 f [this Ernoul is the ancestor of Molière's Arnolphe, for parallel semantic developments cf. Fr *mari jobard* and *amdré* 'cocu' in Migliorini, *Dal nome proprio al nome comune*, pass., on the name *Aldoenus, Andoenus, Odoenus* cf Longnon's edition of the *Polyptique . . . de l'Abbé Irminon*, p 286—L Sp]

[7] Professor Spitzer's conjecture that O F *herle, hierle, helle* may be a regressive formation from a verb * *herlouner* finds support in *herluin* 'one who is violent and noisy' in our thirteenth century text.

ently had not been in Ireland and Spenser, as far as we know, had been absent from England for eight years Only very recently have I discovered that the answer to both these questions lies in the northwest corner of Hampshire

In the records relating to the settlers of the confiscated Desmond lands in Munster the first holder of Kilcolman is referred to as Andrew Reade of Faccombe, Hants [1] Reference to large-scale maps shows that Faccombe is close to the Berkshire border, about fifteen miles northwest of Basingstoke The *Victoria County History of Hampshire* reveals that Reade was not a native of Faccombe—indeed it appears that he was not a native of Hampshire at all—but had bought several estates in Faccombe and Linkenholt, the next town, in 1577, 1579 and 1585 The records of the Middle Temple, to which he was admitted in 1574, state that he was the son and heir apparent of John Reade of Farnham, Surrey. Neither county histories nor genealogies give any information on his father. Andrew apparently became a lawyer, for the Middle Temple records note the entrance of his son Henry in 1589 as "bound with his father." His son Robert was admitted in the following year.[2] Andrew Reade died in 1623 From the fact that his fourth son, John, was born at Faccombe in 1579 [3] we may guess that he was married in the early 'seventies.

We may now ask how Reade became interested in the Munster lands and what his connection with Spenser was. To these questions several possible answers may be found. Two prominent members of the Middle Temple in the 'eighties were Sir John Popham and Richard Wallop, brother of Sir Henry Wallop. Both were interested in these lands, Popham directly on his own account and Wallop through his brother, who was one of the commissioners The principal commissioner, however, was Sir Thomas Norris, whose secretary Spenser was Either Popham or Wallop may have interested Reade in obtaining a grant, but the connection with Spenser probably came through Norris or Sir Henry Wallop. It is

[1] R Heffner, "Spenser's Acquisition of Kilcolman," *MLN*, XLVI, 493 498

[2] C. H Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*, London, 1904, I, 200, 213, 304, 312

[3] Compton Reade, *Account of the Reades of Barton Court*, Hereford, 1899, p 122, see also article by J M Reade in *Athenaeum*, March 24, 1894 It appears that Andrew Reade was an ancestor of George Washington

of course possible that the last two knew Reade, or knew of him through legal circles in London, but it seems more likely that geographical proximity was the link To begin with Spenser's employer, Sir Thomas Norris, we know that he married the daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Sydmonton some time after 1587.[4] Sydmonton is six miles from Faccombe. Norris's own home was at Rycote in Oxfordshire, thirty miles north.

A more likely link is that with Sir Henry Wallop [5] The Wallops were a Hampshire family, and Sir Henry's residence was at Farleigh Wallop, which is between Basingstoke and Alton and is fifteen miles southeast of Faccombe He also owned land in Kingsclere, eight miles from Faccombe and only two miles from Sydmonton He had served on a commission with Sir William Kingsmill in 1569. Spenser's life in Ireland had inevitably thrown him often into contact with Sir Henry, whose wife is praised in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* [6] If he did act as intermediary between Spenser and Reade, he was probably serving two friends at once. Reade had been assigned the estate on March 14, 1587, and on April 26 was appointed to a commission to hear disputes about the lands, a commission on which he seems not to have served. The settlers were supposed to proceed to Ireland and settle English farmers on their estates, but those who attempted to do so were harrassed by governmental delays and by difficulties in gaining possession of their lands [7] In particular, Lord Roche had entered suit to claim the Kilcolman land as his own, which would have prevented any Englishman from acquiring it under the Desmond forfeiture There is no evidence that Reade made any attempt to settle the land himself, in fact, Sir John Popham implied that Reade had not done so when he reported to the government on March 4, 1589, that Reade held Kilcolman but he did not know what he had done with

[4] *DNB*, article on Thomas Norris

[5] For Wallop's career in Ireland and connections with Spenser see *DNB.*, F I Carpenter, *Reference Guide to Spenser*, Chicago, 1923, and D Atkinson, *Edmund Spenser: a Bibliographical Supplement*, Baltimore, 1937

[6] See Renwick's note in his edition of *Daphnaida and other Poems*, London, 1929, p 188 I find that he has anticipated my suggestion below that Spenser visited at Farleigh Wallop, but does not deal with the material here presented

[7] R Dunlop, "The Plantation of Munster, 1584-1589," *Eng Hist. Rev.*, III, 263

it. This document, incidentally, makes it certain that Popham was not the connecting link between Reade and Spenser, for it has been shown that Spenser had already occupied Kilcolman by this date.[8]

We may assume, I think that Sir Henry Wallop was aware—probably through his brother—by the end of 1588 or even earlier that Reade was not inclined to carry out the terms of settlement and that he suggested the transfer of the property to Spenser, who, being on the spot and in a strong political position, was ready to settle the land and fight the claims of Lord Roche. One would suppose that Reade, in spite of his discouragement, must have expected and received some payment in exchange for his grant, but of this no record has survived. In answering the questionnaire sent out by the government in 1589, Spenser stated that he had agreed to surrender the estate to Reade if the latter took possession before May 22 of that year Since Reade did not do so the estate became Spenser's by agreement at that time. The patent for it was issued on October 26, 1590, during Spenser's visit to England.

To complete this Hampshire picture we must add the picaresque figure of Sir Nicholas Dawtrey, once claimed as the original of Falstaff[9] Strange as it may seem to a modern mind, this penniless but irrepressible swashbuckler was among those said by Lodowick Bryskett to have been present at his literary meeting near Dublin early in the eighties when Spenser was asked to expound the moral virtues. More characteristic is the record that at about this time (*circa* 1584) he owed Spenser £13/6/8 At any rate he was listed in the Visitation of Sussex as of Woodcot, Hants, only six miles south of Faccombe.[10] Dawtrey was in Hampshire in 1588 engaged in surveying the defenses of the country, but it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the transfer of Spenser's estate Furthermore, I can find no trace of him in the records concerning Woodcot or its vicinity.

Let us now return to Woodford's statement Aubrey says [11]

[8] For material in this and the next paragraph see Heffner's article cited above.

[9] John Dawtrey, *The Falstaff Saga*, London, 1927.

[10] Harleian Society, LIII, 31. For the debt to Spenser see Atkinson, *op cit*, p. 3.

[11] J Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, Oxford, 1898, II, 232-233

Mr. Samuel Woodford the poet, who paraphras'd the Psalmes, lives in Hampshire near Alton, and he told me that Mr Spenser lived sometime in these parts, in this delicate sweet ayre, where he enjoyed his muse and writ good part of his verses

Now Aubrey's accounts are usually more reliable than they are given credit for, and I have long felt sure that there must have been some basis for this rather exaggerated piece of local pride. From the material presented above I think we may construct a reasonable supposition that Spenser did in truth "spend some time in these parts" and that he wrote some of his verses there, even if not "good part" Woodford lived near Alton, a town only five miles from Wallop's residence at Farleigh Wallop Sir Henry left Ireland in March, 1589, and remained in England six years He was therefore in residence during all of Spenser's visit to England in 1589-1591. During this visit Spenser composed a good deal of poetry. The *Complaints* volume was ready for the printer in December of 1590; although it contains much older material, parts of it were written that summer *Daphnaida*, an elegy on the death of Douglas Howard, which took place August 13, 1590, was written between that date and January 1, 1591, when the dedication was signed. Besides this it is perfectly possible that some parts of the last three books of the *Faerie Queene* were undertaken before his return to Ireland If we suppose that Spenser made a visit of a month or so to Sir Henry Wallop in the early autumn of 1590 and that he wrote *Daphnaida* there, to take the most probable of the three. it would coincide very well with Woodford's statement. The local fame of the visit of a great poet would easily have lasted until 1673, the date of Woodford's appointment to the parish of Hartley Maudit, especially as descendants of Sir Henry were still resident at Farleigh Wallop. Indeed, if Spenser had never visited the vicinity, it is difficult to imagine why the story should have been told at all.

LEICESTER BRADNER

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A MANUSCRIPT OF POPE'S IMITATION OF THE FIRST ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE

Through the good offices of Mr W S Lewis, I have recently come on a manuscript in Spence's hand of Pope's imitation of the First Ode of theFourth Book of Horace.[1] The manuscript version seems to me sufficiently different in text and orthography from the published poem to warrant a transcription below.[2] Differences in the text that affect the meaning I have noted by placing the readings of the first edition at the foot of the page.

Hor Lib 4 Od 1 [3] Imitated, by Mr Pope

Again! New Tumults in my breast?
Ah spare me, Venus! Let me, let me rest!
I am not now, alass, the man
As in the glorious Reign of my Queen Anne
Ah, sound no more your soft alarms;
Nor circle sober Fifty with your charms
Mother too fierce of Dear Desires,
Turn, turn to willing hearts your wanton fires,
To Number five direct your Doves
There spread round Murray all yr blooming Loves,
Noble, & Young, who wins the heart

1 Again! / Again?
4 glorious / gentle
5 your / the
6 your / thy
11 wins / strikes

[1] The MS was found by Mr Lewis, laid in a copy of Spence's *Parallel*, Strawberry-Hill, 1758, which is now in his library at Farmington, Connecticut It consists of one sheet folded so as to make 4 pages of small 4° size The writing covers all 4 pages, the Latin appearing on pp 4 and 2 (in that order), the English on pp 1 and 3. It is a fair copy of the poem without corrections One curious point in Spence's version of the Latin is that l 20 contains the unusual *Cypria* reading instead of the *citrea* printed by Pope.

I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Lewis for his courtesy in permitting me to use the manuscript.

[2] I have omitted the numberings that Spence places beside the Latin and English as guides from the one to the other.

[3] In the manuscript this first part of the title heads the Latin poem and the second part the English

With evry sprightly, every decent part
Equal the injuid to defend,
To charm the Mistress, or to fix the Friend,
He with a hundred arts refind,
Shall stretch his Conquest over half the kind,
To him each rival shall submit,
Make but his Riches equal to his Wit
Then shall thy Form the marble grace,
Thy Grecian Form, & Chloe lend the Face
His House, imbossom'd in the Grove,
His House, thy Temple, sacred still to Love,
Shall glitter o'er the pendent Green,
Whilst Thames reflects the Visionary Scene
Thither the silver sounding Lyres
Shall call the smiling Loves & young Desires,
There every Grace & Muse shall throng,
Exalt the Dance & animate the Song,
There Youths & Nymphs, in consort gay,
Salute the coming, close the parting day
With me, alass, those joys are o'er!
For me, the vernal Garlands bloom no more
Adieu, fond Hope of mutual Fire,
The still believing, still renewd Desire!
Adieu, the Heart-expanding Bowl,
And all the kind deceivers of the soul!
But why, ah tell me, still too dear!
Steals down my cheek th' involuntary Tear?
Why words so flowing, Thoughts so free,
Stop, or turn Nonsense, at one glance of Thee
Thee, drest in Fancy's airy Beam,
Absent I follow thro' th' extended Dream
Now, now, I grasp, I seize thy charms,
And now you burst, ah Cruel! from my arms
Now swiftly shoot along the Mall,
Or softly glide by the Canal
Now, shown by Cynthia's sylver ray,
And now on rolling waters snatch'd away.

16 his Conquest / thy Conquests
22 / Sacred to Social Life and Social Love
24 Whilst / Where
28 & / or
30 Salute the coming / shall hail the rising
37 still / ah
43 I grasp, I seize / I seize, I clasp
45 Now / And

Spence's manuscript is undated, but the probabilities in the case suggest that it represents an earlier state of the text than that of the printed editions[4] It seems unlikely, in the first place, that Spence would copy off a corrected version of a poem already in print without making some note to this effect and in the second, that the corrected version, if it were one, should neither have been printed in Pope's lifetime nor placed at the disposal of Warburton Furthermore, it is plain that most of the readings of the printed text excerpted above are in the nature of improvements In l 16 the phrasing *thy Conquests* not only moves the line closer to the Latin (*Late signa feret militiae tuae*) than the other reading, but functions doubly in retaining the focus of the poem upon Venus while it subtilizes the compliment to Murray The poem is similarly bettered by the printed version of l 22, where Pope allows the word *sacred* (and the situation of Murray's house. in a grove) to suggest everything that the manuscript line states—and states redundantly—with its house-temple figure The printed variants *thy* (ll. 5 and 6),[5] *where* (l 24), *ah* (l 37), *And* (l 45) all tend to eliminate repetitious or cacophanous expressions, or to intensify the whimsical tenderness of the tone, while the inclusion of *shall* (l. 30) is as clearly demanded by the grammar and rhetoric of the verse paragraph in which it occurs, as the *strikes* of l 11 is invited by the infinitives of vigorous action (ll 13-14) and the images of conquest (ll. 16-17), both of which become anti-climactical if Murray has already won all hearts[6] Since Pope, as everybody

[4] The poem was published by Pope in (1) a folio pamphlet of 1737, reprinted in a separate octavo, (2) two small octavo editions of his *Works* dated 1738 (for a description of these editions, one of which is not recorded in Professor R H Griffith's *Bibliography* of Pope, see "Pope's Horatian Poems Problems of Bibliography and Text," *MP*, XLI (1943), 33 44), (3) the small octavo *Works* of 1740 and 1743 The earlier of the two 1738 octavos prints Murray's name in full (l 10), all the later editions before Warburton return to "M———y," as in the first edition All editions except the folio print *thy* for *the* in l 5, but there are no other revisions

I have not been able to see a copy of the separate octavo edition, to which, accordingly, the foregoing remarks do not apply

[5] Only the folio (see above, n 4) has *tha* in line 5

[6] The changes in ll 4 and 43 are similarly happy In l 43 the revision substitutes two ideas (seizing and clasping) for what was earlier the same idea repeated (grasping and seizing) In l 4 the associations of *gentle* are plainly better suited to the air of amatory tenderness already mentioned than are the brilliant and energetic overtones of *glorious*

knows, was an assiduous refiner of his work, it seems probable that Spence's copy was taken from some late state of the poem which temporarily satisfied the poet, but which he subjected to further correction before publishing it in 1737.[7] In any case the Spence copy is of value in providing us with one more series of those meticulous corrections which, studied as a whole, will one day lead to a surer understanding of Pope's poetic skill.

MAYNARD MACK

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REVIEWS

John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile A Critical Text Edition Compiled and Edited by HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. Volume I. Urbana, Illinois The University of Illinois Press, 1943. Pp. 465. $20.

The four volume facsimile edition of Milton's complete poetical works from the University of Illinois is another of the recent contributions that American universities are making to the study of John Milton The edition commemorates the seventy-fifth year of the University of Illinois; and if the publication of the remaining volumes to be issued extends into 1945, then the work will in a way likewise celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the first printed book of verse to bear Milton's name

Volume I "assembles the necessary materials, in print or manuscript, for the study of the authentic texts" of Milton's minor poems, and consequently contains reproductions of all the "regular" and "irregular" seventeenth-century printings of the shorter poems, as well as facsimiles of the British Museum MS of five songs from *Comus,* the Bodleian MS. of the Ode to Rouse, the

[7] What I take to be the earliest surviving version of the poem is that reprinted in the *London Magazine* (March, 1737), VI, 158, from the *Whitehall Evening Post.* That version must have appeared in the newspaper during March (I have not been able to consult a complete file to verify this), its insertion inspired by the publication of Pope's folio text on March 9th Doubtless someone who had possession of an early draft of the poem was moved to make it public on reading Pope's folio and noticing his revisions, particularly the omission of the name of Patty [Blount] in l 37 Between this text and that which Pope finally published the Spence copy is apparently intermediate.

Bridgewater MS of *Comus* (reproduced for the first time), and the pertinent parts of the Trinity College MS [1]

The critical apparatus is the work of Professor H. F. Fletcher, who in 1941 published his new text of Milton's complete poems in the revised Cambridge edition His comparison of some 16 original and 26 photographic copies of the 1673 edition and of 8 original and 25 photographic copies of the 1645 volume testifies to the exhaustiveness of his present study His textual notes show a minute—in fact, a microscopic—attention to peculiarities of type useful in identifying printers or in establishing the actual readings of the texts And the modesty with which he speaks of the completeness of his list of variants (p 1) should not mislead students into feeling that he has slighted this part of his onerous task.[2] Thus, Miltonists are indebted to Professor Fletcher for a full and clear account of the differences that exist between and within the seventeenth century editions of Milton's minor poems,[3] and for a volume that may in many ways serve as a model for future studies of seventeenth century printed poetical texts

In a work involving so much minute and intricate detail, a reviewer is almost certain to find matters that he will question Certain inconsistencies of editorial practice [4] do not increase the use-

[1] Because of the War, the so-called Lawes MS of the songs from *Comus* was not available for this edition, not even in photographic form The volume likewise does not include the couplet that Milton penned on the back of the letter from Lawes, now preserved in the British Museum See Columbia edition, XVIII, 266, 536

[2] My own collation of a considerable portion of the volume reveals no clear cases of omission and only two instances of error, one of which may be the fault of the printer On p 45, the note to l 1 should read "Methought] Mee thought" On p 222, the note to l 46 should begin "Iuit]" rather than "luit]"

[3] Professor Fletcher's textual notes completely supersede those of the Columbia edition of the minor poems, for he shows them to be so incomplete and inaccurate that scholars should no longer depend on them in textual arguments

[4] For instance, the editor sometimes gives cross references to the pages of his volume on which reproductions of the Trinity College MS appear (pp 26, 27, 41 [Sonnet VII], 43 [Sonnet XIII], 49, 372, 373 [Vane]), on other occasions—often on the same page—where precise references seem equally called for (pp 27 [At a Solemn Music], 41 [Sonnets VIII, IX], 42, 43 [Sonnet XIV], 373 [Skinner]), he fails to do so The editor states (p 43) that the Trinity College MS contains three drafts of Sonnets XIII and XIV, but does not mention (p 27) that such is also the case with *At a Solemn Music* He points out (p 373) that the Trinity College MS draft of the Vane sonnet is not in Milton's hand, but in the same section (pp. 372-73), he fails to state that such is also the case with the Cromwell and Skinner sonnets, or that the Fairfax sonnet is in Milton's autograph In all four cases, the sonnets were not regularly printed by Milton himself, and the Trinity College MS drafts must consequently serve as the basic texts If the matter of handwriting is important in the one instance, why is it not also significant in the other three? The notes in this section, "Sonnets from Letters of State—1694" are full of repetition and could profitably be condensed

fulness of the volume as a scholarly tool, and I do not always understand the principle that governs Professor Fletcher's choice of texts for collation [5] Even more puzzling, however, is his attitude toward certain of the manuscripts involved in his study He arbitrarily refuses a place in the Milton canon to the two Latin poems discovered with the Commonplace Book [6] He will not accept as Milton's handwriting the corrections in the British Museum and University Library copies of the 1638 *Lycidas* [7] And he dismisses the Bodleian MS of the Ode to Rouse as having "no known textual value," and refuses to accord it the distinction of collation with the only other text, the 1673 printing [8] In each of these cases, Professor Fletcher has pursued a policy of what I feel to be undue skepticism, and I am consequently surprised when he departs from it in two similar and equally significant instances Without hesitation, he suggests that the Bridgewater MS is "likely" a copy "prepared at the instigation of the poet Milton, himself, by one of his father's professional scriveners" (p 300), and his argument for the superiority of the 1673 text rests primarily on the assumption that Milton saw it through the press (p 1).[9] All

[5] He collates, for instance, the Trinity College MS drafts of Sonnet XIX and *On the New Forcers* (pp 45, 49), but does not do likewise with Sonnets XI, XII, XIV, and XVIII, 5 14 (pp 42 45), which also exist in only one printed text, 1673, and in the Trinity College MS He collates the 1673 version of Sonnet XIII with the "irregular" 1648 printing (p 43), but not with the Trinity College draft I also fail to see the reason for collating the 1662 and 1694 "irregular" printings of the Vane Sonnet, when the Trinity College MS draft of it as well as the Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skinner sonnets must be taken as the basic texts, and Professor Fletcher finds no point in collating these manuscript texts with the "irregular" 1694 printing (pp 372-73)

[6] P 3 In so doing, he seems to accord little if any weight to a rather impressive chain of circumstantial evidence for Milton's authorship The manuscript was found in company with two other unquestioned Milton items, its presence there can be plausibly accounted for, it bears the name "Milton", and arguments based on differences of handwriting between it and the Trinity College MS are by no means decisive We have no authentic specimens of Milton's early handwriting beyond his signature to a marriage contract, and that signature differs greatly from his later autographs

[7] Pp 346-49 Candy's case for the autography of these corrections (*The Library*, 4 ser, XII [1933], 192-200) is the most detailed and conclusive demonstration yet to be presented in Milton scholarship If we question its conclusiveness, we might as well stop trying to identify Milton's autograph by the comparative method

[8] Pp 143, 458 I know of no good reason for doubting that the manuscript is a presentation copy prepared by an amanuensis at Milton's own bidding, particularly since the marginal correction "Graiæ" seems to be in Milton's autograph (W W Greg, *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650*, Oxford, 1932, plate LIII)

[9] An assumption flatly questioned by Beeching (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, Oxford, 1900, p (v)) This departure from the earlier practice of using the 1645 edition as the basic text needs further elucidation

these, however, are matters that Professor Fletcher can probably explain both readily and satisfactorily, for his knowledge of the Milton texts is far more intimate than mine

But I doubt seriously if a ready explanation also exists for the situation revealed by a comparison of this volume of the facsimile edition with the new text of the minor poems issued by Professor Fletcher in the revised Cambridge edition As I understand Professor Fletcher's work,[10] volume I of the facsimile edition presents the collations that he made as a preliminary step in constructing his new text The text of the revised Cambridge edition is the result of that collation In establishing the Cambridge text, Professor Fletcher made his guiding principle that of following the reading of the last edition printed in Milton's lifetime, except where such a reading was clearly in error The Cambridge text, however, does not completely and consistently follow this rule In no less than ten instances, my collation of part of the minor poems shows, the Cambridge edition retains the final, 1673, reading, even though the sense seems clearly to call for the reading of an earlier edition,[11]

and proof before scholars can safely accept it The 1645 edition, as Professor Fletcher observes (p 150), "was relatively carefully printed", and at that time Milton had good use of his eyes In 1673, however, the poet was blind, and the edition of that year contains manifest errors which remain uncorrected in the *errata* Note, for instance, in the facsimile edition, p 15, l 21, "And and"; 22, 60, "in in", 24, 54, "cown'd", 28, 3, "Ealrs", 41, 2 [Sonnet VIII], "Soln", 42, 1 [Sonnet XI), "was was", 46, 3, "tripp s" Errors of this sort do not indicate careful proofreading, even by the printer, and the 1673 version of *Comus*, 166-69, can be readily accounted for by assuming a compositor's error of the omission of one line (167 in the 1637 and 1645 texts) and the transposition of ll 168 169 This assumption accounts for the instrusive period in l 168 and the absence of the period at the end of l 169, where it is needed and indeed appears in the 1637 and 1645 texts The 1673 edition, furthermore, seems to have been set in great part from the 1645 text, and with the exception of three corrections in *Comus*, the *errata* for the English verse are concerned only with poems that did not appear in the 1645 text and were set up apparently from MS copies

[10] *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, Cambridge, Mass, 1941, p xi

[11] In this and the following footnote, the first reference is to the revised Cambridge edition, the second, in square brackets, to volume I of the facsimile edition The diagonal sets off my remarks from the textual note itself

50, 54 [16, 54] Camb, 1673 around] 1645 around / The sense here clearly calls for the 1645 colon

69, 61 [29, 61] Camb, 1673 glory] 1645 glory, / The facsimile edition observes, "The meaning of the lines certainly calls for a comma, as in 1645, but just as certainly 1673 printed a period"

69, 6 [30, 6] Camb, 1673 youth] 1645 youth, / The facsimile edition points out, "But it seems significant that all 1673 copies examined have space after the word . . for comma though none has even the slightest mark in that space"

77, 124 [34, 124] Camb, 1673 commend,] 1645 commend. / Here the

and in two instances, the Cambridge text departs from all known readings [12] It may be that these twelve instances are typographical errors. If such is the case, then the Cambridge text of the minor poems is not completely accurate. If, however, the Cambridge edition stands as Professor Fletcher intended it, then he has not given us a full statement of the principles upon which his text was constructed In spite, therefore, of Professor Fletcher's long and painstaking labors, certain matters concerning the text of Milton's minor poems require further clarification.

MAURICE KELLY

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The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. By LOUIS TRENCHARD MORE New York Oxford University Press. Pp xii + 313 $4 50

The Irish epitaph in which, it is said, Robert Boyle was described as Father of Chemistry and Uncle of the Earl of Cork comes to mind in the reading of his biography by the late Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati The subject of this last work of Dean More's is presented to us, inevitably, as a member of the family of the Great Earl of Cork, as well as one of the dynasty of intellectual giants which began with Copernicus and

sense clearly calls for a full stop, as it does in 63, 42 [26; 42] 1673 fit,] 1645 fit In this second instance, Camb, follows 1645 without noting the departure from 1673

79, 49 [36, 49] Camb, 1673 leasure,] 1645 leasure, / The facsimile note asks, "was a battered semi colon employed here because the compositor thought he was actually setting a comma?"

79, 81 [36, 81] Camb, 1673 mirth] 1645 mirth, / The situation here is the same as that found in 93, 165 [60, 165], where in 1673 a period rather than a comma separates a subordinate element from the rest of the sentence In this second instance, Camb states in a note its rejection of the 1673 reading

79, 88 [37, 88] Camb, 1673 unsphear] 1645 unsphear / The facsimile edition states that "No punctuation seems to be necessary"

81, 156 [38, 156] Camb, 1673 pale] 1645 pale, / Here, as in 92, 93 [58, 93] (1673 fold] 1645, 1637 fold,) the period destroys the syntax of the sentence In this second instance, Camb, follows the 1645, 1637 reading and records the departure from 1673 in a footnote

88, 109 [52, 109], Camb, 1673 seen,] 1645 seen / Here the punctuation of the same refrain in l 95 of the 1673 edition clearly supports the soundness of the 1645 period

551, 65 [22, 50] Camb, 1673 host] 1645 host, / The reason for preferring the 1645 reading is the same as that advanced above in my discussion of 79, 81 [36, 81].

[12] 91, 86 [58, 86] Camb, song] 1673 song.] 1645, 1637 song, / The facsimile edition notes that a comma should certainly be the correct punctuation The Camb. note "song song, in 1673" is wrong

543, 14 [144, 14, 459, 14] Camb, dolo,] 1673, MS, dolo?

included Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton It might, indeed, be argued from the evidence that Dean More assembles that Boyle's becoming Father of Chemistry was not unconnected with his being son of the Great Earl, the wealthiest and most powerful landholder in Ireland. Boyle inherited his father's industry, his alertness of mind, his social prominence, and enough of his fortune to free him from the necessity of earning his living, or seeking a profession, or currying favors of the great. Throughout his life he conducted his experiments and researches as a gentleman amateur. Seldom has a scholar or scientist been so free to devote his whole life to his work, and seldom has such work had greater influence on his successors.

Dean More, who had scant patience with historians of science who neglected the mutual influences of the sciences and the humanities on each other, has given us a study of Boyle the humanist. Among Boyle's earliest works were a study of the style of the original tongues of the Scriptures and a religious romance, *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus*, and the author therefore includes a discussion of Boyle's literary achievements, which he ranks rather higher than do most scholars He quotes with pleasure Dr Johnson's statement with reference to Boyle's romance as the predecessor of a long line of religious novels The parodies by Butler and Swift of Boyle's *Occasional Reflections* are noted, and Dr. More is inclined to give credence to the rumor that Swift got the idea of *Gulliver's Travels* from one of Boyle's *Reflections*.

Boyle is presented as perhaps the man most typical of his strangely rich and Janus-like century. He was a theologian, an alchemist, and a chemist; as ardent an investigator of Scriptural tongues and doctrines as of natural laws Indeed, Boyle's religion was of cardinal importance in his life, and his scientific and philosophical work was consciously and constantly dedicated *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. To emphasize this fact, and to illustrate the *via media* of the Anglican Church, in which Boyle was so contented, Dr. More has appended to his study the essay by his brother, Paul Elmer More, on "The Spirit of Anglicanism" But it is chiefly as a pioneer whose new philosophy of ideas directed the future course of science that Dr. More sees Boyle. His ability to expound the new scientific discipline and philosophy clearly and simply made him the ideal agent in effecting the profound change from scholastic to modern natural philosophy He was "first and last the teacher, the lay preacher, and the propagandist" Boyle, furthermore, had an interested and discriminating public, which was educated to receive and appreciate the value of the scientific discoveries of the day, and he was preeminently gifted in guiding that public. Thus, his researches and discoveries were infinitely more fruitful than those of Leonardo da Vinci, a genius which ripened out of season. "So catholic was the range of his science, so astonishing was the mass of observations and experiments, or reports collected from oral and written sources, or suggestions for

further work, and of arguments for and against the mechanistic philosophy which were published over his name, that he should be classed as an institution rather than as an individual worker. . . . The impression made on the casual reader of Boyle's work is that he was led by his insatiable curiosity to try every experiment which came to his mind and to make a memorandum of everything he read or heard, and then to publish it all indiscriminately But verbose as Boyle's works may be, a comparison with earlier treatises shows he was one of the first scientists to recognize that the advancement of science depends on a discriminating accumulation of the data of observation, and that the statement of such scientific knowledge should be expressed in a clear and simple style"

In attempting to determine exactly what and how much was Boyle's personal contribution to science and natural philosophy the author has tried to avoid claiming too much for his hero. He admits that of Boyle's forty-odd separate works *The Sceptical Chymist* is almost the only one still alive, and that few now read it. He denies the oft-made assertion that it is "the first modern treatise on chemistry" He is careful to point out fallacies in Boyle's arguments, and to illustrate how, particularly in his speculations about the nature of cold, he would, like Descartes, at times "slip into the mediaeval covert he was supposed to be clearing." That the great man could now and then be something less than purely scientific in his methods, and that he frequently lacked the patience to try the necessary experiments, Dr. More does not try to conceal. Of some of Boyle's beliefs he remarks, "Boyle was undoubtedly credulous, or, perhaps, we should say, as did Herschel, that he had an 'undistinguished appetite'" Dr More displays an abundant sympathy for and understanding of the shortcomings of Boyle and his fellow-scientists He recognizes, as not all modern critics of earlier scientists and scholars do, the difficulties under which they labored, often with the lack of essential apparatus and without the great clearing-houses of information now available. He is modest enough to admit, also, that modern scientists have not yet solved all the problems that confronted Boyle and his contemporaries Dr. More's zeal in equating some of Boyle's statements with modern pronouncements in physics, and his suggestion that Boyle's mechanical hypothesis is the ideal goal of modern physics and chemistry will not pass unchallenged in scientific circles.

The achievements of Boyle as presented by Dr. More are far too numerous to be listed here "There is no subject he discussed, and he touched on all, which he did not enrich with significant discoveries" What today seems strangest, but what in Boyle's opinion and in Dr More's was most important, is that the actions and operations of natural forces were for him a witness of the power and wisdom of the Christian God.

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The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth Poems Founded on the Affections, Poems on the Naming of Places, Poems of the Fancy, Poems of the Imagination. Edited from the manuscripts with textual and critical notes by E DE SELINCOURT Oxford Clarendon Press [New York Oxford University Press], 1944 Pp xii + 537. 25 sh [$8 50.]

The preface to this, the second volume of the new edition of Wordsworth,[1] is dated "January 1943," four months before the death of its brilliant editor Professor de Selincourt is said to have done much of the work on the remaining volumes, which will be completed by his very able friend and assistant, Miss Helen Darbishire. It is to be hoped that there will be five of these four more of the poems, including a revision of Professor de Selincourt's indispensable edition of *The Prelude*, and one of the remaining prose works. The high price may, however, discourage would-be purchasers and small sales may in turn discourage the publishers If only the subvention to American libraries which has made possible the publication of the new British Museum Catalogue could be extended to other works of prime importance so that, for example, the fifteen basic Wordsworth volumes (the poems, prose, letters, and Dorothy's journals) could be sold for $75.

The volume before us contains all the prefaces, except the brief one prefixed to *The Excursion*, and the greater part of Wordsworth's best short pieces apart from the sonnets. The notes are brief, too brief, but very valuable For the prefaces there are but two notes, except the location of quotations, and but two readings from manuscripts, only one of which has apparently survived The changes made in successive printings of these important prefaces are here noted in much greater detail than in Knight's edition, the text of which also is inaccurate Yet Knight mentions two variants which de Selincourt overlooked: "in addition to such answer as is included in what I have already said," which first appeared in the 1802 edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* preface,[2] and "which, as they must necessarily be of a less definite character, shall be selected from these volumes," which was added in 1836-7 to the Preface of 1815 and was retained in all later editions[3]

Gordon Wordsworth once remarked to me that the differences between the texts in the various printings of his grandfather's poems were so carefully recorded by Knight that some one must

[1] For volume I see *MLN* for November, 1943

[2] De Selincourt, II 398, Knight, I 65 n Knight fails to point out that "I have" was later changed to "has been"

[3] De Selincourt, II 437, Knight, II 210 n Knight incorrectly gives "other" in place of "these" Professor Broughton very kindly checked these two passages for me in the successive editions

have done them for him! Certainly they are much the same in the present volume as in the older work, and for at least one poem the older edition is the more accurate For Knight lists twenty-four readings in the 1800 edition of "The Brothers" and one in the 1802 edition which are not in the final text and are not mentioned in the present volume Professor Leslie N Broughton, who has very kindly checked the 1800 and 1802 texts for me in the Cornell collection which he has helped to make outstanding, writes that in all but two of the twenty-five instances (lines 369-74) Knight is right The rejected *manuscript* readings, which are here given for the first time and which make this edition of unique value, are very numerous, particularly in the case of the progressively-conventionalized *Peter Bell.* None of them, however, has the beauty or the significance of many of those found in the early manuscripts of *The Prelude.* The variants of "She dwelt among," "Let other bards," and "Resolution and Independence" are of more interest than the new poem (p 464), but the previously-unpublished beginning of "Nutting" and the additional passages connected with "Michael" are noteworthy.[4]

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

Writers and Their Critics A Study in Misunderstanding By HENRI PEYRE Ithaca, New York. Cornell University Press, 1944 Pp xii + 340. $3.00.

M Peyre has written a well-organized and wide-ranging book on criticism He argues that most contemporary criticism has been always blind to the merits of great authors and that even the greatest critics have made the most amazing blunders. M. Peyre analyzes then the most common sins of criticism prejudices, platitudes and the charges of obscurity which have been leveled at all great authors from Aeschylus to Valéry. Also the usual critical criteria such as "sincerity," "balance of content and form," etc, are shown to be of little use, and the myth that posterity rectifies all errors of the past is exploded very deftly. In a final chapter, M Peyre pleads for the reconciliation of scholarship, criticism and literature. He draws up a list of the fallacies of our academic scholarship and, in a conclusion surprising in view of the sad tale unfolded, exhorts American professors to devote themselves to the criticism of contemporary literature.

[4] Pages 504-6, 479-82, 484. No mention is made of the previous printing by Knight (VIII 223-31), with the omission of some seventeen lines, of passages (a)-(d) on pages 482-4. In the ninth and tenth line from the bottom of p 481 the comma after "paramount" should be after "heart" The reference to Langhorne as Wordsworth's "favourite poet" (p 472) is puzzling

M Peyre's amusing specimens of critical inanities and shrewd analyses of clichés are valuable and convincing I, for one, concur in most of his views on the abuses of our prevalent factualism and in his plea for a revival of criticism in our universities

But M Peyre has little to offer towards a positive solution of the central critical problems As criteria of the greatness of a work of art he recommends "depth, energy, and imaginative intensity" (p 272) The critic should convey the "shock" of the work of art, he should ask whether some lines "haunted" him or whether a fictional character "actually coexists" with him (p 274) Thus M Peyre ends in pure subjective hedonism in spite of his disapproval of extreme relativism Apparently M Peyre's justified suspicion against mechanical transfer of scientific methods to the study of literature has led him to an extreme anti-intellectualist position Practically all critics who have tried to lead criticism out of chaotic impressionism towards a coherent theory of literature, whether Arnold or Brunetière, Neo-humanists or Southern Critics, I A Richards or William Empson, Kenneth Burke or R. P Blackmur, are rejected or slighted Such real problems as the social bearings or the development and decadence of literature are dismissed far too easily An examination of M Peyre's own literary tastes would show that he leans heavily towards romantic subjectivism. He considers Hazlitt and Pater the greatest English critics, lavishes admiration on Shelley, Meredith, Swinburne, Poe and Whitman, and thinks that Dryden, Pope, Burke, Jane Austen, Carlyle, Newman, and Trollope are overrated Pope is criticized by expressing doubt whether "he ever felt anything as *intensely* as Blake or Shelley did" and Dr Johnson by doubting whether he 'recited Pope's verse with the same rapture that generations of young men have since felt in declaiming Shelley and Keats" (p 280) Among modern American critics, next to Edmund Wilson, M. Peyre ranks highest Waldo Frank and Alfred Kazin.

Obviously, M Peyre is quite out of sympathy with the most active promising movements in European and American criticism He has rested satisfied with the recommendation of an ultimately irrational enjoyment, rapture, and purely personal judgment.

University of Iowa RENÉ WELLEK

Rainer Maria Rilke: Poems. Translated by JESSIE LEMONT. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. XXII and 185 pp. $3

In the introduction to this volume of well selected poems Mr Henry W. Wells of Columbia University claims that Miss Lemont in her renderings has been more faithful to the poetry than to the letter of her original and insists that we "have the right to ask not only a retention of the more nervous language of verse,

but also the use in each poem, at least as far as possible, of the original rhyme, metrical pattern, and rhythmical movement" In this, on the whole, Miss Lemont succeeds rather well But, if Mr Wells contends that "to translate literally from one language into another often proves . shocking to the aesthetic sense of the reader" and therefore rejects prose translations of poetry, it does not follow that the translator should not have used such helps as Mrs Norton's well pondered and eminently intelligent prose renderings more thoroughly than was done by Miss Lemont, in order to understand the actual literal, and real meaning of Rilke's poems as well as some of the subtleties of his metaphoric expression

In the famous *Panther* for instance (p 69), where an unceasing motion slowly ebbs away, flickers, and is extinguished, Miss Lemont inverts the sequence of cause and effect by unfortunate anticipations, thus creating a static picture, and finally ends with a loud climax The weariness in the first line anticipates the result of the passing of the bars, the animal is unable to hold its impression instead of showing a *dazed and vacant stare*, its strong limbs do not *stand apart, alert* because a *flood of visions arise*, no, just one picture is received from outside, passes through these limbs, which become tense for a moment, and simply ceases to be instead of *sinking and dying*. And has Miss Lemont ever seen the white membrane which curtains the cat's eye? If so she could not possibly destroy Rilke's keen observation through a dilation of the panther's pupils

In *Leda* (p. 85) the subtle interaction of the two characters again is hopelessly inverted when it was the task of the translator to transmit the fusion of two beings, of Zeus "who steps into the Swan" (instead of *striding toward it*), while they become really one only when the second fusion with Leda is accomplished She, however, is not a *fleeing One*, but "aufgetan," sensing the god before she feels the Swan —In the *Flamingos* (p 94) the *lying unaware* of the Lady as well as the kissing of the birds are uncalled-for additions, furnishing rhymes Furthermore, these birds are not supposed to seduce *each other* (which would be only a natural biological fact) but themselves in their extreme complacent narcism. And these 'imaginary' creatures, half bird and half flower, which in Rilke's poem 'stride, each by himself, into a realm of phantasy' for Miss Lemont merrily *step forth alone in imagination—gone*

In the *Archaic Torso of Apollo* (p 84) it seems sheer nonsense that we cannot *fathom* his *mysterious* head. There is no mystery connected with it, we simply do not know it, wherefore Mrs Norton speaks of it as "legendary." A *round breast* might do for a Venus, but hardly for the "Bug der Brust" of the Apollo, neither does the *shoulders' heavy bar* transmit the lucidity and dynamic curvature of "der Schultern durchsichtigen Sturz." But aside from such and other inadequacies, the very meaning of Rilke's poem is

destroyed when Miss Lemont s statue *with kindling magic makes you live anew,* sending us back two hundred years to Winckelmann's euphoric reaction before the Apollo of Belvedere " My breast seems to expand like the one which I see swelled with the spirit of prophecy and I feel transported to Delos " What Rilke, however, expresses here with his simple and stirring words " Du mußt dein Leben andern " is a restatement of Goethe's decisive experience in Italy, " Who does not sense at such a sight at once how inadequate we are? Even though prepared, we stand annihilated ' (*Italian Journey,* April 11, 1788.) Not a happy magic transforms us, we are sternly admonished to face the necessity of an inner rebirth

These examples may suffice to indicate that such an inner rebirth, necessary also or even indispensable in a translation, has not always taken place in Miss Lemont's renderings Translating is a thankless task, it seldom satisfies anybody except the translator. Reviewing translations is even more so since it lacks even that selfsatisfaction, for the reviewer sees what is wrong without being able to right it Yet, in this case it seems that a little hard work for the purpose of understanding the German text would have furnished Miss Lemont with a more solid foundation upon which she could have achieved, with her ability of writing verse, a really good translation

ERNST FEISE

Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life. By ELEANOR RUGGLES. New York· W W. Norton & Company, 1944 Pp 305 $3 50

That Gerard Manley Hopkins belongs among the greatest English poets is now almost a truism But how short a time have we had to know him. None of Hopkins' mature poems was published in his lifetime After including a few of his friend's poems in anthologies, Robert Bridges issued a slim volume in 1918 One wonders whether Bridges' Preface to Notes did more to hamper than to extend the reading of the poems. The sheets of this edition were not exhausted for ten years. Though Robert Graves, I A Richards, F R Leavis, and their followers were already awakening an interest, the real boom in Hopkins' poetry appears to have begun about 1930 with Charles Williams' augmented edition of that year. This has been reprinted repeatedly. The letters to Dixon and Bridges were published in 1935, *The Note-Books and Papers* in 1937 *Further Letters* in 1938. Year by year the number of critiques increases And today, in 1944, the centenary of the poet's birth, *The Kenyon Review* devotes most of its Summer issue and part of its Autumn to a series of articles on Hopkins, that of Arthur Mizener being as it were a discriminating summation of the best that has been thought about the poet

Hopkins, therefore, is entering into deserved recognition. And yet what a difficult poet he is to read for the first time He tends to repel rather than to attract But, as Leavis rightly suggests, it is not Hopkins but we who are at fault So ingrained are our conceptions and conventions concerning poetry that our first acquaintance with Hopkins is likely to bewilder us totally The ordinary student (and Hopkins did not write his poems for a coterie) is stumped completely What has been needed is an introduction that with adequate explanation but without condescension would lead the neophyte over the threshold. And since Hopkins can never be understood except within the references of his Catholic framework, this introduction had to describe the man and his beliefs Father G. F Lahey's life (1930) was fragmentary Daniel Sargent's essay in *Four Independents* (1935) is an acutely enthusiastic appreciation, but it is directed at a mature Catholic audience John Pick's *Gerard Manley Hopkins Priest and Poet* (1942), excellent as it is in its insistence on the direct relationship between Hopkins' religion and his poems, overstates the case badly. Besides, Pick's interpretations of individual poems are untrustworthy. The book under review, *Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life*, by Eleanor Ruggles, admirably meets the need I have outlined.

With a poet who seems to awaken such clashing interpretations, who seems to awaken such sectarian prejudices, who almost seems to be a special property of the *avant garde*, Miss Ruggles is clear, full, unexcited, always quiet and modest, always adequate The man in his time emerges. The character, personality, and beliefs of the poet-priest are succinctly and accurately described But Miss Ruggles should receive especially high commendation for her analyses of individual poems Nowhere has this reviewer found such serene and thorough explanations. She dwells on the entity, not the particular facet.

But don't stop with this book. Consider it, as Miss Ruggles wants it to be considered, a preliminary survey. Go to Hopkins' poems and prose themselves. As poet, he will seize you with his passionate precision, once he engages you His novel prosody and diction will first surprise and then convince As man and priest, in his letters and miscellaneous prose, he will fascinate you Tolerant and rigid, puckish and earnest, gentle and hard, sensuous and saintly—there is no one quite like him. And yet there is no one who will give you such an impression of being Everyman. And as critic, Hopkins is perpetually surprising, fresh, and profound. Let me illustrate this last.

In a fine essay on *The Wreck of the Deutschland* (*Essays and Studies*, XXI), W. H Gardner pointed out that the last two lines of stanza 26 are an adaptation of I. Cor. II. 9. This is ". . . Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love

him" This verse reminded me of Hopkins' *Spring and Fall*, which is about the effects of original sin

> Nor mouth had, no nor mind, expressed
> What heart heard of, ghost guessed

I then recalled what Hopkins had written to Baillie about "two strains of thought running together and like counter-pointed" the overthought and the underthought, the latter "conveyed chiefly in the choice of metaphors, etc., used and often half realised by the poet himself, not necessarily having any connection with the subject in hand but usually having a connection and suggested by some circumstance of the scene or of the story" Well, though *Spring and Fall* be about "the blight man was born for," the lines I have quoted above with their echo of 1 Cor. ii. 9 certainly seem to carry as their underthought the antidote to original sin: man's redemption by Christ.

I repeat. Eleanor Ruggles' biography is an excellent and needed introduction to a great figure in English literature

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The Ohio State University

Thomas Traherne. By GLADYS I. WADE. Princeton, N J. Princeton Press, 1944. Pp. viii + 269 $3.00. *Lord Herbert of Cherbury's De Religione Laici.* Edited and translated by HAROLD R. HUTCHESON. New Haven. Yale University Press, 1944. Pp. x + 195. $3.00. *The Psychiatry of Robert Burton* By BERGEN EVANS in consultation with GEORGE J. MOHR, M. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. ix + 129. $2.00.

Here are three books of varying importance in themselves but highly indicative of the growing interest of modern scholars in the seventeenth-century, the one epoch in modern times that has the most affinity with our own Miss Wade's book—one that we have long expected—is, without question, the most important work of the group; it is, in fact, a pattern for subsequent books on minor figures of any period. In it, we find fact blended with conjecture and a sense of logic balanced by a discriminating aesthetic, then all of these superlative qualities are enhanced by a vigorous and attractive style.

Miss Wade's book has been years in the making, and most of what we have previously known about Traherne has been the result of her investigations. Her earlier findings augmented by some new discoveries make up the first part of her book, and we now have a

full portrait of Traherne's meager life with pencil sketches of his inn-keeping uncle, his vain and pompous brother, and that muse's friend, Susanna Hopton At times, I think, Miss Wade is too much carried away by her lengthy commerce with the facts and adopts relieving conjectures that do not find ready acceptance I am dubious about the effect of the Civil Wars on the infant Traherne, I see no reason to assume that he hated his parents (if every poet who did not write an ode to his father was assumed to have "neither love nor respect," what an unfilial lot of bards there would be), I am not convinced by the evidence of the poems that he was brought up in his uncle's inn or by the evidence of *Roman Forgeries* that he may have thought of the law as a career. It is, however, ungracious of me to quibble about these matters, for the record of Traherne's life is now before us and it is beautifully delineated.

In the subsequent section of the book, Miss Wade gives us a complete account of all of Traherne's writings This is a valuable section because of the rarity of most of his works, and we can only hope that it will encourage others to edit the *Devotions* and the *Ethics*, a work of which Slater has already given us a taste In her section on Traherne's prose and verse, Miss Wade comes to a decision that must be applauded Most of us have felt that the early enthusiasm about Traherne as a poet was unwarranted, that his real achievement was in prose Miss Wade supports this view, explaining why Traherne failed in verse and what his great contribution to the history of English prose is In another section on Traherne as Christian, Platonist, and Mystic, Miss Wade suggests what also has long been obvious, but has never been demonstrated Traherne is in truth the laureate of the Cambridge Platonists He is close in his thinking, I should add, to Mersenne, which establishes his position in relation to Descartes and the rationalists The figure that emerges from these studies is a just one When Dobell discovered Traherne, the young Osrics of that age (the golden worded lads who have no use for scholarship) rushed in with their "appreciative" and "critical" exhausts wide open and proclaimed Traherne a great poet, who had the simple mind of a child. Time passed and other "critics" added their stones to this tower of Babel. Now Miss Wade has come to the rescue of Traherne, and we see him to be what scholars had long thought him—a minor poet but a complex thinker. The miracle is that all of this is revealed without recourse to the critical jargon which the modern critics have been borrowing from their copesmates in the Department of Education

Mr. Hutcheson's dissertation consists of an introduction, text and translation, and bibliography. The translation is, as far as I can judge, quite accurate and the original text is not without difficulties. The introductory material, which consists of a biography

of Herbert, a discussion of the *De Veritate* and other opuscula, and a chapter on Herbert's deism, contains standard but not particularly new material Students whose Latin has faded will find this translation an interesting contribution to the history of seventeenth-century confessions of faith Mr. Evans' book is, I assume, written for psychiatrists rather than for students of literature. The first half of the book is devoted to a life of Burton and an account of the *Anatomy*, in these pages the reader of Burton will find little that he does not know The second half of the book consists of gleanings from Burton catalogued under the headings of symptomatology, etiology, and therapy. The conclusion is that in some ways Burton was an able psychologist and in others he was not The modern psychologist is advised not "to drudge through his long digressions," for "all that he has to say about psychology can now be obtained elsewhere with a great deal less effort" The *Anatomy*, it seems, proves that modern psychiatry "is the continuation of an interrupted process whose origins are almost coeval with any human record"

D C A.

Professor Longfellow of Harvard By CARL L JOHNSON. University of Oregon Press, 1944 Pp. xii + 112.

This monograph is an elaboration of appendix material contained in Dr Johnson's Harvard dissertation submitted in 1933 under the title, *Longfellow and France* Supplying brief connective links, background material and documentation, he has arranged fifty letters written by Longfellow in chronological order with an equal number of letters and documents addressed to or pertaining to the Professor In twenty-one fragmentary chapters, one of which deals with the transplanting of elm trees from the college yard to the grounds of the Craigie House, Dr Johnson squeezes every Longfellow reference of possible interest from the Harvard College Papers, the Corporation Papers and the College Record The essence of this factual information has already been covered by Longfellow biographers

Dr Johnson's painstaking and meticulously scholarly assemblage of grain and chaff indicates that Professor Longfellow suffered an unpleasant series of rebuffs at the hands of the stiff-necked and reactionary Gentlemen of the Corporation. It is apparent that Longfellow's eagerness for communicating his enthusiasm in foreign languages and literatures, together with his colorful methods of teaching which delighted and enthralled his students, generated considerable jealousy and disapproval among the Gentlemen of the Corporation until they used peremptory and officious measures in curbing his ardor. One point which Dr. Johnson fails to develop, although the evidence is ample, is that Longfellow's dominant in-

terest in creative writing could never have been reconciled with academic drudgery. His initiative and imagination in facing problems connected with teaching at Harvard were gradually blunted not only by the conservatism of the overseers but also by his growing delight in his own poetry The major factor which kept Longfellow in the academic treadmill at Harvard for nearly twenty years was economic necessity.

If one considers the labor involved in compiling this exhaustive monograph, one may be inclined to wish that Dr Johnson had been content with his original evaluation of the subject matter as appendix material—which it most certainly is. Here again occurs proof that graduate school training in research methods too frequently places false stress on facts and not enough stress on ideas, so that the detective game of tracking down trivia becomes a mistaken end in itself. Consequently, most of us are guilty of occasional literary scavengings which produce little noises like those made by a mouse in a wastepaper basket. Because some of my own misguided detective work on Longfellow trivia has been embalmed in so-called learned periodicals, I could not exempt myself from such criticism even if I tried. Nevertheless, I now look askance at such aberrations to such an extent that I am tempted to sermonize on a text which Dr. Johnson quotes. It is the last Longfellow letter of his monograph—and makes a fitting conclusion

"I am so little a collector of relicks, that I am afraid I have not so much reverence for them as I ought to have Even the one you mention fails to move me to any great enthusiasm. But doubtless someone, somewhere, [is] looking and longing for this particular thing"

LAWRANCE THOMPSON,
Lieut, U S N R

Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele. Edited with Notes and Commentary by RAE BLANCHARD Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944 Pp. xvii + 663. $5 50.

This collection is planned to include "every tract and every short piece of writing in pamphlet form known certainly to be Steele's" Except for *The Christian Hero* the material included has never been reprinted since the eighteenth century, if at all. Though every account of Steele refers to his *Apology* of 1714, it is almost startling to learn that this important document has never been reprinted since the appearance of *The Poltical Writings of Mr. Steele* (1715). The present edition treats bibliographical and textual detail with scrupulous care, even minor typographical features are retained as far as possible; twenty-nine title pages are reproduced in facsimile, and the book is beautifully and spaciously printed, with no signs of scamping in materials or format.

The editor's plan excludes issues of periodicals except in a few cases—when they were reprinted as separate pamphlets (*Guardian* 128, *Englishman* 57), when they represent isolated contributions by Steele to periodicals conducted by others (*Medley* 23, *Pasquin* 46, 51), and sometimes, apparently, when they are of special political interest (*Town-Talk* 5, all four numbers of the *Plebeian*) The collection is naturally slanted in the direction of politics But it is hard to draw the line between the periodicals and the separate pamphlets For example, *The State of the Case* (1720), growing out of the controversy with the Lord Chamberlain about the revocation of Steele's license for Drury Lane, connects closely with the *Theatre*; likewise the South Sea pamphlets, *The Crisis of Property* and *A Nation a Family*, call for references to the same periodical. There is something to be said for John Nichols's plan of reprinting the pamphlets along with the minor periodicals, which the student may not have at hand However, even such a generously produced edition as this must have its limits. As Professor Blanchard says, we have here the basic materials for a study of Steele's important work as a Whig pamphleteer Certainly the editor, with her unmatched special knowledge of Steele, could best undertake such an estimate A consecutive reading of these pieces has given me a new respect for Steele's candor and moderation in an age of political hatchetmen

Concise introductions to the individual pieces give the needed context and sometimes helpful comment on special points Additional comments could have been given where needed without taking up much more space No one would urge that students who are likely to use this book need to be told who Sacheverell was, or Archbishop Tillotson. But since Professor Blanchard does give relevant information about such well known people as Maynwaring and Atterbury, she might well have told us, for example, about "Archibald Hutcheson's pronouncements" on the South Sea Bill (pp. 557-58), or have identified and commented on the references to Molesworth's *Account of Denmark* and Robinson's *Account of Sueden* [*sic*] in *Plebeian* 1 (Molesworth's work figures prominently in Whig discussions). Occasionally the reader needs help in smaller matters, as in the same important pamphlet, when he is confronted with the cryptic reference "Ub, Em. des Re. la, Gr," which turns out, not very obviously, to be *Graecorum respublicae ab Ubbone Emmio descriptae.* Steele does not offer many difficulties of this kind, and I raise the point only in the interest of students who may use books like this in bibliographical isolation It may seem ungracious to ask for still more when so much has been given, and these comments on some details of editorial policy must not be taken as detracting from the merits of a thoroughly sound piece of scholarship

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

The Rice Institute

BRIEF MENTION

The Owles Almanacke Edited with an introduction by DON CAMERON ALLEN Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 103 $1 50 Professor Allen has once again made accessible to us the most important rare work of its class in the Elizabethan field, this time a burlesque of prognostications He bases his text on the very best originals now available In the introduction he interprets with scholarly perspective and humor the prognostications and the burlesques Scholars interested in Samuel Rowlands will be interested in Allen's ascription of this important work to him. Allen's comments throw light on genres such as the character books and satires and on the quality of the Elizabethan mind, particularly in connection with astrological lore It supplements his *Star Crossed Renaissance.*

The *Almanacke* is of literary value. Although associated with the lowest levels of Elizabethan thought, it connects itself with the very highest levels of that thought. Burlesques are sophisticated. Montaigne, Robert Hegge, Scot, Jonson, and Shakespeare, however we may discount their motives, certainly in their literary expressions were utterly sceptical when the occasion demanded of all the tomfolleries of the superstitious world

Now that we have this work of Allen's alongside of the researches of C Camden (*Isis*, v xix, April, 1933), Larkey, Arnold Foster's reprints, we are in a favorable position to analyse exhaustively the matter of Elizabethan prognostications

University of North Carolina GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

CORRESPONDENCE

"CHRESTIENS DE LA SAINCTURE"—A FRIENDLY REJOINDER. The issue of *MLN* for Nov 1944[1] contains an interesting note by Professor G L Della Vida on the phrase *Chrestiens de la saincture* which occurs several times in the fifteenth century *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* [*sic*] *du Seigneur D'Anglure*[2]

[1] Vol 59, pp. 484-7

[2] Ed F Bonnardot and A Longnon, Paris, 1878 (Soc des Anciens Textes Français) The *Voyage* has survived in two mss · (1) FR 15217 (Bibl Nat), (2) No 189 (Bibl d'Epinal), written at Metz in the 15th Cent but later than (1) The editors have selected (1) as the basis for their text, but give also the variant readings of (2) The phrase cited

The springboard for Professor Della Vida's wrestlings with the phrase is a study [3] of the journey of Ogier, eighth baron of Anglure (who in 1395-96 made the afore mentioned *Saint Voyage*) written by the undersigned and entitled "Fourteenth Century Jerusalem and Cairo through Western Eyes," which appeared in *The Arab Heritage*, ed by Dr N Faris, Princeton Univ Press 1944 [4]

My friend, Professor Della Vida, takes the editors of *Le Saint Voyage*, and *per consequens* myself, to task and declares that we have been "misled" in taking Ogier's phrase, *Chrestiens de la saincture*, "Christians of the Girdle," [5] to designate the "Christians of Saint Thomas,' *i e* the Malabar Christians belonging to the Nestorian sect The Malabar Christians were to be found chiefly on the northwestern coast of India, though they had become pretty well diffused throughout the Near East, there being noticeable numbers of them in Palestine and Egypt especially

But since I and my predecessors have been "misled" in our identification of the "Christians of the Girdle," it would seem appropriate to investigate the matter at further length

Now it so happens that shortly before Ogier set out for the Orient, a party of Florentine merchants made the tour of "les sains lieux" (1384-85) though in a direction opposite to that of Ogier, beginning the trip at Cairo, and ending it at Jerusalem Two of them, Simone Sigoli [6] and Lionardo Frescobaldi,[7] have left us accounts of their journey and in both these accounts there are references to the *Cristiani della cintura*, and in both the phrase is explained as in my footnote 5, *i e* the *Cristiani della cintura* are equated with the Malabar Christians Ogier does not explain the meaning of his French phrase that parallels the Italian *Cristiani della cintura*, but he does use the phrase, and apparently to denote the same people as those to whom the Italians refer

But is it a fact—as Professor Della Vida seems to believe—that Messrs Bonnardot and Longnon, and, before them, Sigoli and Frescobaldi, were 'misled' or 'misinformed' in taking the phrases *Chrestiens de la saincture*, *Cristiani della cintura*, to refer to the St Thomas Christians?

This phrase occurs four times in Ogier's narrative (§ 134, p 31, § 168, p 40, § 170, p 41; § 174 *bis*, p. 43) In three cases of its occurrence the

above occurs four times in the edition of Messrs Bonnardot and Longnon, and is not explained by the author (Ogier) Professor Della Vida's strictures apply only to the explanation given by the editors.

[3] A "study," not a "condensed translation," as Professor Della Vida calls it (p 484).

[4] Incidentally one might call attention to the fact that one of the best studies in that volume is from the pen of my friend, Professor Della Vida.

[5] So called, because (according to legend) St Thomas, reputed founder of the Church of Malabar, received the girdle which the Virgin let fall at her Assumption

[6] *Viaggio al Monte Sinai di Simone Sigoli*, Firenze, 1829

[7] *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolo Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa* . Roma, 1818

Metz Ms offers a different reading On p 40 and again on p 43 where the Paris Ms reads as usual, the Metz Ms suppresses the last three words of the phrase (*de la saincture*) On p 41 what appears to be an important correction occurs, for the Metz Ms reads *et sont crestiens greique*, i e the Paris Ms "Christians of the Girdle" are identified with the Greek Orthodox (?) Christians

Now Professor Della Vida remarks that it is "quite obvious that the 'Chrestiens de la saincture' are plainly the native Christians,[8] who under the regulations of the Islamic law were obliged to distinguish themselves from the Moslems by wearing blue girdles and turbans"

It is difficult to explain these readings of the Metz Ms Do they correct Ogier's (or his scribe's) carelessness in the writing of the Paris Ms? Or was Ogier himself a better observer than those in Metz who copied down his words after he had made his famous journey? But whatever be the reason for these variant readings, their presence in the later ms rather tells against any theory that the "Christians of the Girdle" were the "native" Christians If they were "native" Christians, why should the scribe of the Metz ms find it necessary in two passages to delete the last three words of Ogier's phrase? Why did he not let Ogier's original readings stand? In the case of the emended reading on p 41, the fact of the change contradicts Professor Della Vida's views, for the scribe identifies our mysterious "Christians of the Girdle" with the Orthodox (?) Greeks, only one group of the whole body of native Christians[9]

But let us, for the sake of argument, assume the hypothesis that the "Christians of the Girdle" were the "native" Christians The "native" Christians would then include all the sects and groups who lived in Palestine under Moslem rule—Roman, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian, to name some of them According to Professor Della Vida, all these (and perhaps more) would be included under the title *Chrestiens de la saincture* A suggestive and seemingly probable explanation, if there were no evidence to contradict it But there is evidence to contradict it which Professor Della Vida has not cited One passage in Ogier's narrative (§ 134, pp 30 31) speaks of the four chapels outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, each one under the auspices of a different

[8] Credit for first making this suggestion belongs to I R Khalidi; see *The Arab Heritage*, p 209 n 11 Professor Della Vida refers us to Miss Ilse Lichtenstaedter, "The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries," *Hist Judaica* 5 35-52, and to A S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930, but neither author specifically states that the girdles of the native Christians in Moslem states were blue This footnote does not occur in the words quoted from Professor Della Vida

[9] Even if the scribe of the Metz Ms. was seeking by the cancellation of the last three words of the phrase to prove what Professor Della Vida seeks to prove, that the reference is not to the St Thomas Christians, then in the mere fact of cancellation there would be some implication that the sect of those Christians was one so well known in Palestine that there was danger of confusing it with other sects

Christian sect "and these chapels are administered by the Greeks, the Armenians, (*nota bene*) the Christians of the Girdle, and there are also the Christians of the Land of Prester John" [Abyssinian Christians?] [10] Here, quite definitely, the "Christians of the Girdle" are *not* synonymous with the "native" Christians who live in Arabia and Palestine, for the "native" Christians would be all those Christians who live under the power of the Moslem rulers of Palestine In brief, they are but a part and not the whole that Professor Della Vida would make them Indeed, the query raised by Professor Della Vida may perhaps here find its final answer Since all the native Christians were compelled to wear girdles, Roman, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Abyssinian, etc, why is it that Ogier and his Italian forerunners so pointedly distinguish the "Christians of the Girdle"? What is the reason why the members of a particular sect should be designated as "Wearers of the Girdle" when the mark of all sects under Moslem rule was a costume in which a girdle was a particular distinguishing feature? The only adequate explanation is that given by both Sigoli and Frescobaldi *questo nome e dirivato che, come voi sapete, quando la nostra Donna vergine Maria n' andò in cielo lascio la cintura sua a santo Tommaso apostolo* [11] Further research may lead to a different interpretation of the term, but at the present time, despite Professor Della Vida's efforts, this one is the most adequate and satisfactory With the Malabar sect there was associated the tradition of the especial honour conferred upon their founder, St. Thomas

Before concluding I ought to point out an inconsistency in my friend's argument On p 485 footnote 8, he tells us that Francesco Poggi, editor of Sigoli's *Viaggio* "correctly identified the 'Christians of the Girdle' with the Copts" Now, whoever they may be, the "Christians of the Girdle" cannot be both 'native' Christians and Copts at the same time, for the Coptic Church was not the only church of the 'native' Christians in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt If it is "correct" that these brethren of the Girdle are Copts, then they cannot be the "Latini, Greci, Nubini, Giorgiani, Tiopiani, Ermini" of Frescobaldi's list [12]

I close with a general reflection which has been evoked by Professor Della Vida's remark that the "mistake" of which I and Messrs Bonnardot and Longnon are guilty goes back to the narrative of the Florentine Sigoli

[10] Note that Ogier carefully differentiates the "Christians of the Girdle" from the Abyssinian (?) Christians This differentiation would run counter to Professor Della Vida's belief (see p 485 note 6 of his article) that the Egyptian *Cristiani della cintura* were identical with the Copts, since the Abyssinian Church may at this time have had affiliations with the Coptic Church

[11] *Viaggio* di S Sigoli, p 95

[12] If the *Cristiani della cintura* who, Frescobaldi tells us, officiated in some of the Coptic churches in Old Cairo, are Copts, why should F go out of his way to assure us that Copts officiated in *some* of the Coptic churches? One is tempted to ask "Who officiated in the others?"

who was undoubtedly "misinformed by a local cicerone" Possibly he was, but I, for one, am somewhat reluctant to believe that details that will not fit into an explanation offered by a scholar of the present day are due to the original author's being "misinformed" or "misled" Sigoli and Frescobaldi were members of a group of Italian merchants, Ogier one of several French noblemen Presumably each party, the Italian and the French, would have been wealthy enough to hire good dragomen, men who knew their business Any dragoman worth hiring, be he Moslem or Christian, would have known and could have told (as indeed he did tell) his employers the identity and something of the characteristics of the numerous Christian sects whom they met on their journeys Therefore, I conclude that present day scholars are more likely to be "misinformed" or "misled" than writers who reported what they themselves had seen, or learned from sources that were not as far removed from them as from us

Princeton University Library HENRY L SAVAGE

REPLY Professor Savage's long rejoinder to my short remarks on the "Christians of the Girdle" will fail to convince anybody who is acquainted with the history and organization of the Eastern Churches This subject is far from being an unexplored field, open to personal guesses, as Professor Savage seems to consider it Copious sources in half a dozen Oriental languages and the combined work of many generations of Western scholars have thrown sufficient light on it to allow me to dispense with explanations which may be found in any elementary book, and furthermore, would be of little or no use to the readers of *MLN*

It is out of the question that such reports as d'Anglure's, Sigoli's, Frescobaldi's etc, interesting as they are for the history of travel, add anything to our actual information upon the Eastern Churches In my note I declared that my aim was not to take exception to a trifling error, which does not affect the merits of Professor Savage's excellent essay and for which (as I would like to emphasize again) not he but the old editors of the *Voyage du Seigneur d Anglure* should be held responsible I wanted only to call attention to a possible relationship between the French and Italian narratives

This is a topic of literary history, French and Italian, which is not devoid of interest especially since Leonardo Olschki's brilliant investigations have shown how often bonafide travellers (Marco Polo and Columbus are no exceptions) while reporting on what they have actually seen unconsciously deform their recollections under the influence of literary sources with which they are familiar I candidly admitted my "ignorance of Romanic studies" and asked for the help of those who are competent in them On the other hand, I would humbly expect to be credited with a modest amount of competence in my own field

G LEVI DELLA VIDA

The University of Pennsylvania

SECOND REJOINDER I think that the discussion between my friend Professor Della Vida, and myself can safely be left to the judgment of the reader However, in fairness to the editors of *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem*, I ought to remind him that Professor Della Vida has yet to prove his point, namely that the "Christians of the Girdle" were not the Christians of St Thomas Let me add in conclusion that I have never doubted Professor Della Vida's competence in his own field

Princeton University Library HENRY L SAVAGE

G BONFANTE "THE ROMANCE DESIDERATIVE *se*" (*PMLA*, LVII, 930-50) M Bonfante revient sur la question du *se* desideratif en anc roman (ital *Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza solietemi quel nodo*, fr *mais ce me di, se Dieus t'ait*, port *Dizede me, se Deos vos parmon* etc) et, apres avoir soigneusement catalogue, avec l'aide de M McKenzie, les exemples qu'on trouve dans Dante et dans d'autres poetes anciens italiens, s'arrête, ni à la thèse de M Nicholson (*se* = *sit*) ni a la mienne (*se* = *sī* hypothétique), mais à la supposition d'un *sīc* latin qu'il atteste amplement (p ex Properce *dic mihi de nostra quae sentis vera puella sic tibi sint dominae, Lygdame, dempta uiga*, cf Plaute *neque, ita me di ament, credebam*)

The identity of the Latin and the Italian type is absolute first the speaker expresses a wish in favor of the interlocutor by the means of a sentence constructed with *sic*, *se* and the present subjunctive, then, in exchange, he asks or begs something from the same interlocutor by means of an imperative . , very often, a verb meaning 'I pray you,' 'I beg you' is also found Very frequently the imperative is a verb meaning 'to tell,' 'to answer,' 'to speak' From the phonetic point of view, it is true that Lat *sic* has given Old Italian *si*, O Fr *si*, Port *sim*, Rum *şi* But there is no difficulty in admitting that, with a different meaning, and consequently with a different intonation, it has given at the same time *se* (*sĕ*) in the same languages The case is exactly the same as with Lat *magis*, which has given Ital *ma* and *mai*, Port *mas* and *mais* That *sic* in the Romance languages was weakening in stress, is proved by the modern forms Ital *così*, Fr *ainsi*, Sp *así* Port *assim*, Rum *aşa*

Je ne crois pas que, malgre la soigneuse documentation, cette nouvelle théorie puisse emporter la conviction Et d'abord le parallèle *ma—mai* etc n'est pas solide *ma* 'mais,' la forme affaiblie, est une conjonction, *mai* 'plus, jamais,' la forme forte, est un adverbe, dans le cas de *se* desidératif, si nous admettions l'étymon *sic*, la forme affaiblie servirait là où au contraire en latin l'adverbe apparaît a la place forte (*sic tibi sint dominae* 'qu'ainsi [aussi vrai que] '), où *sic*, en tête de phrase, porte tout l'accent On s'étonnerait particulièrement d'y trouver une forme *se*, qui avait beaucoup de chances de se confondre avec le *se* hypothétique issu de *si* 'si,' là ou les langues modernes emploient la particule forte (*così mi sia questo cammin felice*, fr *ainsi puisse la France être toujours prospere*, esp *así*) Ce serait d'autant plus étonnant que l'anc fr a a côte du type *se Dieus m'ait* le type *si m'ait Dieus*, construction étudiée avant moi par

M Foulet et dont M Bonfante ne parle pas du tout [1] il est pourtant évident que la construction *sic tibi sint dominae dempta uuga, ita me di ament* se continue précisément dans cette construction *si m'ait Dieus*, où le *si* (non pas *se*) est nettement un *sic* fort, appelant l'inversion du sujet (comme dans *si est vrais* 'et c'est vrai,' *trop est bels* 'il est très beau' etc), alors que dans *se Dieus m'ait* nous avons l'ordre des mots normal apres la (faible) conjonction *se* = *si* L'ample documentation [2] de M Bonfante pour le *sic* desideratif en latin ne sert en somme qu'à établir la survie de cette construction latine dans la construction *si m'ait Dieus*, non pas dans *se Dieus m'ait* Il serait extraordinaire que le roman eût scindé la construction latine *sic tibi sint* en deux constructions tout à fait indépendantes, et eût fait, avec un trop admirable esprit de systeme, intervenir l'inversion après un *si*, l'eût supprimee après un *se*! Si le roman avait vraiment 'senti le besoin' d'affaiblir son *si* (= *sic*) en **se*, pourquoi aurait il conserve le type *si m'ait Dieus*? La langue protoromane, en affaiblissant *si* en *se*, s'exposait au danger d'atténuer le caractère d'adjuration ('qu'ainsi [= aussi vrai que je désire que] Dieu m'aide'), puisque, comme je disais plus haut, ce *se* (forme affaiblie de *sic*) devait être compris comme un *se* = *si* hypothétique Si vraiment le dédoublement de *sic* en *si* et *se* était une realité, on s'attendrait à voir la forme *se* apparaître aussi dans d'autres cas remontant indubitablement à *sic* (p ex **s'est vrais* = si est v, **se beau*! = si beau!) et non pas là ou une autre explication (précisément celle par *se* = *si*) est possible une prohibition instinctive devait interdire la constitution d'un type aussi mal protégé contre l'ambiguité imagine-t on un **ma pus* 'jamais plus' (avec **ma* forme affaiblie de *magis*), qui serait susceptible de signifier aussi 'mais

[1] Ou plutôt, il la mêle avec l'autre, p ex à la p 140 où il cite l' a prov *sim sal le filh sancta Maria* sur le même plan que l'anc fr *se t'ame ait ja salu* (cf Levy *si* nº 1, 6 et *si* nº 2, 1—il faudrait, après Stronski et Schultz-Gora, reprendre la question de la répartition de *si* et *se* dans notre type de phrase en anc prov—y trouve-t-on des *se*?) et à la p 942, note où il est vrai, il joint l'anc fr *si m'ait Dieus* au type moderne avec *ainsi*, sans dire expressément que ce sont ces deux types qui contiennent véritablement, textuellement, le lat *ita me di ament* L'impression génerale que gagne le romanisant étudiant les succédanes de *sic* et *si*, est que *sic* se maintient très robustement (à part les cas d'enclise a fr *si l* > *sel*),—même s'il est renforcé comme dans le fr. *ainsi*, l'esp *así* etc, le *si* reste intact—alors que *si* = *sī* admet la variante *se* (en prov anc *si* et *se* servent au lieu du lat. *si*—l'esp. dit *si* pour *sic* et *sī* et ne fait qu'une distinction orthographique par l'accent), ce qui semble montrer que la confusion de *sī* et *sic* au sens hypothétique n'est pas grave (et en effet l'all a *so Gott helfe* avec *so* 'ainsi' > 'si'), pas aussi grave en tout cas que serait la confusion de l'adverbe 'ainsi' avec la conjonction hypothetique *sī*

[2] La documentation 'complète' de MM Bonfante et McKenzie, loin de nous avoir revélé du nouveau, n'a au fond fait que confirmer ce que nous savions, la limitation du supposé *se* = *sic* au désidératif, c'est à dire à un cas qui peut être expliqué d'une autre façon

plus'? Il sera plus logique, puisque en general *si* = *sīc* et *se* = *sī* sont aussi nettement distingues en anc rom que le sont *ma* et *mai* en italien, d'admettre une conjonction hypothétique quand c'est *se* qui apparaît, et un adverbe fort 'ainsi' la ou apparaît *si* D'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas de difficulte insurmontable a expliquer le type *se Dieus m'ait* par un *se* hypothetique 'si [il est vrai que je desire que] Dieu m'aide' c'est le subjonctif qui est appele à traduire l'idee 'je desire que'[3] (de même en all *so* [= *wenn*] *Gott mir helfe* sans inversion, absolument parallele a l'indicatif hypothetique *so Gott lebt*, sans inversion) M Bonfante ne discute pas la partie de mon travail où j'ai montre que c'est notre parti pris moderne qui nous empêche—mus que nous sommes sans doute par un désir d'éviter le cumul d'idees (dans le cas qui nous occupe, le cumul de l'idée de la subordination de la phrase marquee par *se*, + l'idee du désir exprime par le subjonctif), c'est à dire, par l'esprit analytique—d'imaginer un désidératif (ou un impératif) dans une incidente (alors que l anc fr a dit couramment *te pri que tu me conseille*—avec *conseille* impératif), et de voir dans le fr mod *c'est pourquoi tais-toi*, reste de la construction ancienne, une conjonction pétrifiée *c'est pourquoi* = *donc*, j'ajouterais aujourd'hui[4] le type populaire interroman it *corri che corri'*, esp *camina*

[3] Nous voyons dans un des textes plus recents cités par M Bonfante, à savoir dans celui d'Arioste censé être une imitation de Dante, comment un *se* + subjonctif est interpreté et explicite *par le poète lui même* dans le sens que je propose

Se Dio tronchi ogni ala ,
non ti dispiaccia che'l tuo stato intenda,
e se vuoi che di te porti novella
nel mondo su, per satisfarti sono

Dante n'aurait peut-être pas hésité d'écrire **s'io di te porti novella* (comme *E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge* [= redeas])

[4] Voici encore d'autres cumuls paralleles Dam-Pichon II, 422 citent de Parny 'Adieu tout, *puisqu'adieu l'Amour*' ('adieu l'Amour' est une exclamation dependant de *puisque*), je trouve dans une lettre adressee à *Pour la victoire* 'Vive de Gaulle *pour que vive la France*' (= pour qu'[on puisse esperer que] vive la Fr), il y a d'ailleurs le même cumul dans *qui vive?*, ce qui a provoqué l'erreur d'interpretation de Jeanroy, *Rom*, XXXVII, 294, réfutée par Thomas *ib*, XLIV, 100 *qui vive* est égal à *qui doit vivre* [selon vous]? l'ordre des mots *qui vive?* (pas **vive qui?*) est dû au désir de commencer par le pronom interrogatif, comme c'est la norme, et le subjonctif du désir a toute sa force comme dans notre *se Deus aït*, je note encore dans la *Preface de Cromwell* 'Nous ne bâtissons pas ici de systèmes, *parce que Dieu nous garde des systemes*' (il y a un point à la fin de cette phrase, V Hugo n'ayant pas ose mettre un point d'exclamation dans l'incidente), dans *l'homme que voici* il y a aussi un impératif ou une question (*voi'* ou *vois?* dans l'incidente Pour l'esp, je note *Don Quijote* II, 20 '*aunque asi suceda, ¡oh Sancho*'—respondió Don Quijote—nunca llegara tu silencio á do ha llegado lo que has hablado' ('bien que [je desire que] cela arrive ainsi')

que camina! 'cours, marche ce que [pas 'ce que tu peux marcher,' mais]—*marche!* [= tu dois marcher],' cf *RFH*, IV, 256 Dans ces circonstances, je ne vois pas pourquoi on devrait corriger un *si valeas* de la *Historia Appolonii* du VI^e^ siecle en un *sic valeas* (attesté dans une inscription pompéienne) puisque nous avons au XII^e^ siècle un *se Dieus t'ait* à côté d'un *si t'ait Dieus*, pourquoi ne pas admettre un couple *si valeas* 'si je veux que tu prospères' à côte d'un *sic valeas* 'ainsi puisses tu prospérer!' au VI^e^? Et qui peut affirmer que le *si me Deus aduuvet* du IX^e^ siècle, que M Bonfante a reussi a identifier comme traduction d'un a h all *sam mir got helfe*, ne peut absolument pas remonter, malgré le *sam* 'ainsi' du modèle,[5] à cette même tradition latine vulgaire? Et qui sait enfin si, vu les parallélismes connus entre le latin de Plaute et le latin vulgaire, le *si te di ament* dans Plaute (a côte de *amant* dans quelques mss) n'est pas l'antécedent de notre construction (latine vulgaire et) romane? Voilà donc par trois fois (dans Plaute, la *Hist Apoll*, les *Altdeutsche Gesprache*) que le grammairien moderne corrige le *si* + désidératif (soit en éliminant le subjonctif, soit en remplaçant *si* par *sic*)—qui se retrouve en roman N'est-ce pas le sort typique de tant de romanismes, qui avaient éte méconnus et éliminés dans les textes latins avant l'avènement de M Lofstedt, qui, lui, en établissant soigneusement une liste de ces prétendues 'aberrations' et en les rattachant au roman, a reussi à elargir considérablement notre connaissance du latin populaire et à établir la continuité avec le roman dans une mesure que nous n'avions pu imaginer? Je fais mienne, en la retournant contre lui, la remarque de M Bonfante "We must never forget how incomplete is our knowledge of Vulgar Latin"[6]

LEO SPITZER

[5] Ainsi, à mon avis, le biblique *sic Dominus sit vobiscum* a été rendu dans la traduction anc fr par *se Deus vos aït* (*Rom*, LXV, 305), c'est à dire par une construction toute differente, mais qui a l'avantage de maintenir minutieusement les mots dans l'ordre du texte-modèle

[6] Dans *RFH* VI, 186, M A Alonso a exprimé son assentiment à la théorie de M Bonfante Selon lui, il faudrait comprendre dans les exemples suivants *si Dios de mal me guarde* (J Ruiz, 984), *se Dios me vala* (ms P de l'*Alexandre*), *si mala rabia vos mate* ('romance de la rota de Roncesvalles') un *sí* = *así* (< lat *sic*), selon la théorie de Bonfante, exactement comme dans les phrases du type *si vos vala el Criador*, *sim salve Dios* du *Poema* M Alonso ne tient donc pas compte non plus de l'observation de M Foulet sur l'ordre des mots Il me semble évident que l'inversion dans les derniers cas témoigne pour *sí* = *sic*, alors que le manque d'inversion dans la série citée plus haut milite pour *si* = *si* (et le *se* de l'*Alexandre*, forme affaiblie de *si* conjonction, milite en ma faveur) Puisqu'on pouvait dire *el Criador vos vala* (*Poema*), on pouvait préposer *si* conj hypothetique, sans rien changer à la structure de la phrase *si*] *Dios me vala* 'si [je désire que] Dieu m'aide'

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HAZLITT AND MALTHUS

For William Hazlitt the *Essay on Population* was a symbol of oppression As a means of discouraging imprudent marriages, Malthus had proposed the withdrawal of poor relief, and Malthus's principle of population, or frequently some perversion of it, had been cited in support of similar measures that Hazlitt thought unjust to the poor. In his *Reply to the Essay on Population*,[1] therefore, Hazlitt attacked both author and principle, as well as the perversions, in order to weaken Malthus's political influence.

Comment on the *Reply*, although generally more favorable than not, has been slight Hazlitt himself thought well enough of his arguments against Malthus to repeat them throughout his political essays [2] and to defend their originality at least twice,[3] but although the *Reply* has been recognized as "a serious contribution to the

[1] *A Reply to the Essay on Population by the Reverend T R Malthus*, *Complete Works*, ed P P Howe (London, 1930 34), I, 177-364 All references to *Works* in this article are to this edition Published anonymously in 1807 in one 8vo volume, the *Reply* comprises five "letters" and a series of "extracts" from the *Essay* with "notes" The first three letters appeared originally in Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, March 14, 1807, May 16, 1807, and May 23, 1807

[2] *Political Essays*, *Works*, VII, 113, 332-61, 408-10, *Literary and Political Criticism*, *Works*, XIX, 280-85, 299-301, 309; *The Spirit of the Age*, *Works*, XI, 103-14

[3] Letter to Leigh Hunt, April 21, 1821, quoted in Ford K Brown, *The Life of William Godwin* (London, 1926), p 334, n , Letter published in the *London Magazine* for November, 1825, quoted in Thomas DeQuincey, "Malthus on Population," *Collected Writings*, ed David Masson (London, 1897), IX, 20-22.

Malthusian controversy," [4] the nature of this contribution has been only suggested in scattered writings [5]

Undoubtedly the length of the *Reply*, its repetitions, its contumely, and, most of all, its misrepresentations of Malthus's argument have caused it often to be ignored or underestimated [6] Caring less for "Mr Malthus's nonsense" than for the "opinion of the world respecting it," [7] Hazlitt attacked Malthus and his followers indiscriminately, often identifying false and even absurd inferences from the *Essay* with Malthus's meaning and intent To examine these inferences and their political force is to give relevance to parts of the *Reply* that in relation to the *Essay* alone may seem obtuse or wilfully perverse. Yet Hazlitt's contribution to the Malthusian controversy goes beyond refuting "the opinion of the world"; for his interest in the practical effects of the *Essay* led him to anticipate, more fully than other early critics, the adaptation of Malthus's principle that has been made to explain population phenomena since Malthus's time.

I.

Malthus's first edition (1798) is a reply to Godwin's *Political Justice* Since "the power of population is indefinitely greater

[4] Alfred Cobban, "William Hazlitt," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed Edwin R A Seligman and Alvin Johnson, VII (1932), 286 Cf James A Field, "The Malthusian Controversy in England," *Essays on Population*, ed H F Hohman (Chicago, 1931), p 41, Crane Brinton, *The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists* (London, 1926), p 133

[5] Probably the most detailed treatment of the *Reply* printed heretofore is Catherine Macdonald Maclean's analysis in *Born under Saturn* (New York, 1944), pp 225-32 The *Reply*, Miss Maclean points out, is directed against the practical effects of the *Essay*, rather than Malthus's speculation, and against the "vulgar selfishness" which the *Essay* seemed to typify and encourage. Seeking an "understanding of [Hazlitt's] character" in the *Reply*, she shows that it was Hazlitt's devotion to liberty that led him to oppose Malthus, but with "Malthus's theories as such" she has "no concern," nor does she mention Hazlitt's counter-theories

[6] Dr. James Bonar (*Malthus and His Work* [2d ed , London, 1924], pp 85, 372, 394) dismisses Hazlitt as one of the critics who "say the doctrine of the essay is a truism" Cf Dr Bonar's Foreword to Field, *op cit*, p VIII Professor Norman Himes, in the introduction to his edition of Francis Place's *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population* (Boston, 1930), speaks disparagingly of the length of the *Reply* but attempts no further evaluation. (Introduction, pp 35, 57-58)

[7] *Reply*, p. 203

than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man," Malthus deduces "a strong and constantly operating check on population from the difficulty of subsistence"[8] This check is evident in "vice and misery"—conditions antithetical to the "morality and happiness" that Godwin expected to follow political justice[9] Beyond the influence of government, Malthus concludes, population pressure will always exist and will always result in vicious sexual practices, selfish competition for goods, crime, and privation[10] In his second edition (1803) Malthus shifted his attack from Godwin to the Poor Laws Although the first *Essay* classifies the preventive checks as vice or misery, the second *Essay* includes a third check—"moral restraint," or the postponement of marriage until one is able to support a large family and, in the meantime, the practice of "strict chastity"[11] Malthus did not foresee "any great change in the conduct of men on this subject' and therefore not any great diminution of poverty, but, he believed, if the poor could not count on relief and if they were taught their responsibility for poverty, they would work harder, produce more food, have fewer children, and, consequently, attain an appreciably higher standard of living[12]

The pessimism and selfishness fostered by the *Essay* seemed, to Hazlitt, inimical to any improvement whatsoever.[13] Answering the "opinion of the world" as well as Malthus, Hazlitt argues that (1) since, in some of their forms, vice and misery can be traced to other causes than the lack of food and since these causes are removable, (2) since the insufficiency of food may be remedied by producing more food and distributing it more equitably, and (3) since a reduction in the vice and misery resulting from both lack

[8] Thomas Robert Malthus, *First Essay on Population 1798* (London, 1926), pp 13-26

[9] Cf T R Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, or, a View of Its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Inquiry into Our Prospects Respecting the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils Which It Occasions* ([2d ed], London, 1803), Bk. I, chap II, pp 11-12, n , and William Godwin, *Political Justice* (London, 1793), Bk I, chaps. IV-VI, Bk II, chaps II-III, VI, and *passim*

[10] *First Essay*, pp 185-90

[11] *Essay* (2d ed), Bk IV, chap II, pp 495-96

[12] *Ibid*, chap. III, pp 504, 507, chap VII, p 538, and *passim*

[13] *Reply*, pp 181-82 Cf "What Is the People?" *Political Essays*, p 270, "William Godwin," *The Spirit of the Age*, pp 21-22

of food and other causes will at the same time encourage the prudential check—since as experience shows, all these propositions are true, vice and misery are not (1) unavoidable or (2) expedient to prevent overpopulation [14]

This argument, like most of the objections to the *Essay* written during the twenty or twenty-five years following its publication, premises that, according to Malthus, (1) the amount of food and its distribution are determined by "nature" rather than human "institutions," (2) all forms of suffering or immorality spring from the disparate rates at which population and subsistence are supposed to increase, (3) any increase in population is therefore undesirable, and (4) vice and misery are expedient to keep population within safe limits These propositions are not found in the *Essay*

The Poor Laws, in fact, are an "institution" condemned as reducing total as well as relative subsistence, and the "institutions" of marriage and private property, because they make every man responsible for supporting his own children, appear as the "natural and obvious" means of increasing subsistence [15] To be sure, Malthus minimizes the power of the ruling classes to help the poor, and stresses the role of the laboring class in bringing about a favorable proportion between their numbers and the wages fund, or the "aggregate quantity of food possessed by owners of land beyond their own consumption" [16] This fund, Hazlitt objects, is fixed not by the "laws of nature" but by the interest of employers, so that labor can obtain an adequate share only through

[14] To diminish the *Essay's* influence, Hazlitt also charged Malthus with plagiarism, although Malthus had adequately acknowledged his debt to Robert Wallace's *Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence* (1761) (*Reply*, pp 189 90, *First Essay*, p 8, *Essay* [2d ed], Preface, p iii)

[15] *First Essay*, pp 189 98 When Malthus writes, " Though human institutions appear to be the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to mankind, they are, in reality, light and superficial, in comparision with those deeper seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature," he is not, as the passage quoted out of its context suggests, denying the effect of institutions on subsistence but referring particularly to property and marriage, the evils resulting from which are shown to be light in comparison with those which they avert (*Essay* [2d ed], Bk. III, chap ii, pp 367 ff. Cf *Reply*, p. 244.)

[16] *First Essay*, p 203.

the right to strike,[17] a right which had been denied by the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800 But Malthus, too, although he suggests no means of limiting the employers' power, regrets that "combination among the rich" drives wages below their "natural" level[18] Similarly, he agrees with his critics that other institutions alter the degree of poverty,[19] maintaining only that regardless of the amount of food produced or allotted as wages, population will always so increase that some members of the laboring class must endure poverty and even actual want.[20]

Furthermore, Malthus acknowledges "immediate" checks "independent of . . scarcity," subsistence being "necessary" only as an "ultimate" check to population[21] For however complete the utilization of the world's resources may be, the biologically possible increase of population cannot permanently be realized; and at any time, whatever the immediate checks may be, the capacity for producing food is the ultimate limiting factor The greater the productive capacity diverted from producing food to creating other goods, the higher the standard of living, but the smaller the population.[22] Between population, then, and want of food Malthus wished to interpose a barrier or cushion in the form of a higher standard of living, and to this end proposed getting rid of the Poor Laws. The *Essay* does not oppose populousness *per se* but distinguishes between what seemed to Malthus the desirable and the undesirable means of encouraging population. that is, between (1) increasing production and income through "free" competition among both laborers and capitalists and (2) methods, like charity, regulation of wages, or common ownership, which, he thought, would increase population without increasing subsistence proportionally.[23] The *fear* of vice and misery, therefore, might be considered expedient as a means of checking population, but Malthus denies the expediency of these checks themselves, and in

[17] *Reply*, pp 312-13, 331-33

[18] *First Essay*, pp 35-36

[19] Malthus, *Essay* (5th ed , London, 1817), Vol II, Bk III, chaps VIII-X

[20] *First Essay*, pp 252-54, 277.

[21] Malthus, *Essay* (3d ed ; London, 1806), Vol I, Bk I, chap II, p 15.

[22] Cf Henry Pratt Fairchild, *People, The Quantity and Quality of Population* (New York, 1939), pp 134-35

[23] *Essay* (2d ed), Bk III, chap XI, pp 470 ff , Bk IV, chap III, pp 509-10 Cf *Essay* (5th ed), Vol III, Bk III, chap XIV, pp 28-34

his second edition, which Hazlitt frequently quotes, he expresses his "mortification" that it should have been inferred from the *Essay*[24]

There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence that the inferences attacked by Hazlitt were basic in arguments affecting legislation ". . Political writers of every class," according to a contemporary critic, attributed "the most ridiculous . effects to the new subsistence principle In their theoretic fury, they seemed to consider all the evils of human nature as springing from the increase of population"[25] Malthus's statement that "population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio," whereas "subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio,"[26] led to the fear of any increase in either population or subsistence If population should double, Hazlitt points out, it was thought that subsistence could increase only fifty percent, or, if subsistence should be tripled, population would be raised to the third power, the repressive action of vice and misery becoming, in the meantime, catastrophic.[27] Other hostile critics testify to this fear,[28] and the *Quarterly*, in a review favorable to Malthus, agrees that each ratio was often, though erroneously, thought to be "a philosophical maxim no less indisputable than the principle of motion or gravitation, or any of the ascertained and unerring laws of nature" The difference between the ratios, measured in numbers of people, was considered as "natural" or "necessary" [meaning "inevitable"], so that vice and misery were also thought "necessary" [meaning, often, not only "inevitable" but "expedient"] "to reconcile them and bring them to a level."[29]

Effects of the *Essay* may be noted as early as 1800. At that time Pitt dropped his Poor Bill, which had proposed supplement-

[24] *Essay* (2d ed), Bk III, chap III, p 381

[25] [Simon Gray, under psuedonym of] George Purves, *Gray versus Malthus, the Principles of Population and Production Investigated* (London, 1818), p III

[26] *First Essay*, p 14

[27] *Reply*, pp 219-22

[28] Cf William Godwin, *Of Population* (London, 1820), pp 135, 237, 300, and *passim*, George Ensor, *An Inquiry Concerning the Population of Nations* (London, 1818), p 12, Charles Hall, *The Effects of Civilization* (2d ed , London, 1813), pp 325 26.

[29] "Malthus on Population," *Quarterly Review*, XVII (July, 1817), 378

ing wages out of the poor rates, because of objections "by those whose opinions he was bound to respect" [30] In 1807 Whitbread's Poor Bill, which first directed Hazlitt's wrath against Malthus, had cited the principle of population as reason for giving the wealthy more power in administering the poor rates,[31] but the bill was not voted on Wartime prosperity apparently deterred the ruling classes from pressing the charge that the Poor Laws had created a redundant population. In 1816 and 1817, however, Robert Owen reports "an outcry and great alarm created by the Malthusians, who asserted that the sufferings of the poor and the want of employment . arose from an excess of population" [32] The Committee of the House of Commons on Poor Laws refused Owen a hearing for his Villages of Co-operation partly, at least, because the members feared that, as the proposed villages extended the cultivation of the soil, population would increase disproportionately.[33] Sir Egerton Brydges, a member of the Committee, testifies that among the objections "(felt, rather than clearly expressed), to the employment of the Poor on waste lands, was the fear to hasten overstepping [of the limits of production]." [34] After 1816, apparently, as suggested by the Poor Bills of 1818 and 1819 and by the fate of Poor-Law legislation proposed to the Committee or introduced into Parliament,[35] the interest of the ruling class was in curtailing relief, and mistaken inferences from the *Essay*, as well as more accurate ones,[36] were used to support this interest.

[30] Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, XXXIV (1800), 1428-29. The rest of the passage suggests that Pitt was referring to Bentham and Malthus Cf [William Empson], "The Life, Writings, and Character of Mr Malthus," *Edinburgh Review*, LXIV (January, 1837), 483

[31] Samuel Whitbread, *Substance of a Speech on the Poor Laws* (London, 1807), pp 54-57

[32] Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen by Himself* (New York, 1920), p 201 Cf pp 266, 290

[33] Robert Owen, "Letter Published . July 30th, 1817," *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of the Life of Robert Owen* (London, 1858), pp. 74-75

[34] Sir Egerton Brydges, *The Population and Riches of Nations* (Paris and London, 1819), pp 81-82

[35] Sir George Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Law* (London, 1854), II, 192-200, William Smart, *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1910), I, 638-40, 705-07.

[36] Cf Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, XXXIII (1816), 1115

II.

Although identifying popular misconceptions with Malthus's thesis, Hazlitt, unlike many critics, understood that population pressure results from disparity between *actual* subsistence and the *power* of population to increase [37] But he wished to show (1) that this pressure is not proportional to total population, (2) that increased income would not, therefore, aggravate poverty, and (3) that prudence among the poor must begin with an adequate return for their labor More clearly than Malthus, therefore, he correlates the prudential check with "improvement." "Excess" population, translated into a certain amount of privation, is limited at the point where people, responding to the "difficulty of providing for . . . a family," refrain from marriage or sexual intercourse in order to maintain a standard of living [38] This responsiveness does not depend, as Malthus indicates, on only a "calculation of consequences" but is increased by a greater command of goods, by consequent notions of "comfort and decency," and by "moral causes" such as the "manners," "habits and character" of the people.[39] Therefore, as long as employers control the wages fund, cutting off relief would depress and degrade the poor still further without making them more prudent [40] On the other hand, extending cultivation would not overpopulate the earth since population can increase only in "consequence of greater industry and knowledge," the actual increase "would denote of itself, that people would be . . . less likely to involve themselves in wilful distress than before" [41]

Thus, writing in 1807, Hazlitt anticipated the usual adaptation of Malthus's principle made to explain the rising standard of living that was simultaneous with increasing population during the nineteenth century. Malthus, of course, was aware that "habits of

[37] Notes to *Political Essays*, *Works*, VII, 409-10

[38] *Reply*, p 231 Hazlitt does not, like Malthus, explicitly limit "moral restraint" to the postponement of marriage, but I have found no evidence that he uses the term to include contraception

[39] *Reply*, pp 281-82, 314, 360 Cf *An Essay on the Principles of Human Action*, *Works*, I, 1 ff , "A New View of Society," *Political Essays*, p 103, "William Godwin," *op cit.*, pp. 18 19, Brinton, *op cit* , p 135

[40] *Reply*, pp. 314, 329-33, 339, 360, and *passim*

[41] *Ibid* , pp. 208, 213, 225, and *passim*

prudential restraint . most frequently arise from the custom of enjoying conveniences and comforts," [42] but, skeptical of any "great change" in the practice of such restraint and used to thinking of extended cultivation in terms of inferior soils,[43] he believed that "sudden cultivation" would improve the condition of the poor only for "a time," [44] and even suggested that it would give such impetus to population that labor would "continue flowing into the market" after the means of supporting it had "essentially contracted." [45] But through improved transportation and manufacturing, which by 1850 "for practical purposes more than doubled the area and resources of Europe," [46] England enjoyed the equivalent of "sudden cultivation," and population, while increasing rapidly, did not increase rapidly enough to prevent a rise in real wages This higher level of living has been usually explained [47] by the fact of a differential birth rate, the inference that it results from voluntary restraint on the higher economic levels, and the further inference that (1) conditions making for a higher level of living or (2) simply the attainment of that level enforces the preventive check. Looking back upon part of the period of expansion, John Stuart Mill explained the rising level of living much as Hazlitt had in anticipation. There is a "habitual standard . . . down to which [the labouring class] will multiply, but not lower," and every advance in "education, civilization, and social improvement" tends to raise the standard of comfort that people will not sacrifice for larger families [48] The declining birth rate after 1870 has been

[42] *Essay* (5th ed), Vol II, Bk III, chap VIII, p 392

[43] *Essay* (3d ed), Vol I, Bk I, chap I, pp 8, 11

[44] *Essay* (2d ed), Bk III, chap XI, p. 78

[45] *Essay* (5th ed), Vol II, Bk III, chap. IV, pp 304-05.

[46] Warren S Thompson, *Population Problems* (2d ed ; New York, 1939), pp 44-45

[47] There are, of course, theories at variance with the Malthusian explanation of population growth and decline Some Catholic writers reject Malthus's theory, even in modified form, as not proved or as incapable of proof (Cf. Edward B Reuter, *Population Problems* [2d ed. rev , Chicago, 1937], p 172) Another theory is that reproductive power varies in cycles, the fall in the European birth rate in the nineteenth century being due, therefore, to a decline in human fertility (Cf Corrado Gini, "The Cyclical Rise and Fall of Population," *Population Lectures on the Harris Foundation, 1929* [Chicago, 1930])

[48] John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (London, 1923), I, 161, 190-93

cited by modern writers as evidence that, when additional labor could no longer effect a proportional growth in income, people had recourse to the preventive check to maintain their higher standard of living [49]

According to this explanation, what Hazlitt calls the "responsiveness" of the prudential check to changed conditions seems to have increased, as he predicted, with greater income and the resulting increase in population. Increased income, however, is not enough in itself to raise the standard of living. The rate of increase may also be a factor. Since a larger population cannot immediately follow greater income, whereas improvement in the standard of living can take place almost immediately, the latter is more likely to benefit from the increased availability of goods, and, once established, a higher level of living resists downward pressure But if resources are exploited gradually, time is allowed for population to grow up to the limit of increased income, leaving the standard of living unchanged [50] There are, moreover, "non-material" factors, such as unhappy family life and antagonisms between social classes or nations, that may accompany greater income and a higher standard of living but tend to retard further increases in wealth and material well-being [51] But although we must qualify Hazlitt's theory that prudence in sexual relations and the standard of living are always functions of either income or population, a higher standard of living has been achieved as a result of greater income, and, contrary to Malthus's expectation, maintained at the expense of the birth rate, and the usual explanation of this phenomenon is the one offered by Hazlitt.

Most of the early critics, to challenge Malthus's arithmetical ratio, cite the possibility of increased food production and more equitable distribution, but to maintain a standard of living many relied not on any check but only on the "naturalness" of producing enough food to keep pace with population. Further opportunities for the division of labor, it was often thought, would

[49] Fairchild, *op cit*, pp 131-39, Reuter, *op cit*, pp 174-75, 213-14 The use of contraceptives probably was not a factor. Until dealing with very recent population phenomena, it is not necessary to distinguish between sexual desire and the desire for children (Fairchild, *op cit*, pp 129-30.)

[50] Fairchild, *op cit*, pp 131-32

[51] Carle C Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living* (New York, 1936), pp 212 13.

increase productivity more rapidly than population could increase Any "natural" disparity between population and subsistence and, therefore, any need for checking were supposed to be centuries away [52] The preventive check was deprecated as obstructing populousness and therefore improvement and, usually, as irreligious or immoral [53] Forced to admit eventual population pressure, however, and noticing varying birth rates on different economic levels, some critics foresaw safety in physiological checks, in an inverse proportion between fertility and the standard of living [54] Others were willing to sanction the preventive check as a last resort, but only when finally necessary [55] Coleridge and Southey vaguely correlate "improvement" and "chastity," but "improvement" remains a general term—more rational and moral than economic—and the "chastity" seems to be something indefinitely postponable [56] Godwin clearly correlates the prudential check and the standard of living, but infers only that his communal society of rational beings

[52] James Anderson, *A Calm Investigation* (2d ed , London, 1801), Ensor, *op cit* , Edward Gardner, *Reflections on the Evil Effects of an Increasing Population* (Glocester, 1800), James Grahame, *An Inquiry into the Principle of Population* (London, 1816), Gray, *op cit* , Hall, *op cit* , Robert Acklom Ingram, *Disquisitions on Population* (London, 1806); Shelley, *Proposals for an Association of Philanthropists, The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* ed Ingpen and Peck (London and New York, 1927-30), v, 226, John Weyland, *The Principles of Population and Production* (London, 1816), and Arthur Young, *The Question of Scarcity* (London, 1800)

[53] Ingram, *op cit*, pp 4-6, 30-35, 100 ff, and *passim*, Jarrold, *op cit*, pp 54-56, 245 52, Gray, *op cit*, pp 291-98, 382, 425, Weyland, *op cit*, pp 165 66 and *passim*, Shelley, *A Philosophical View of Reform, Works*, VII, 33, Ensor, *op cit*, pp 181, 195-96, 498

[54] Jarrold, *op cit*, pp 261 64, Gray, *op cit*, pp 122-31, 146-60, 283-89, Weyland, *op cit*, pp 62 83, 107-08

[55] Gray, *op cit*, p. 162, Ingram, *op cit*, pp 39-40, Ensor, *op cit*, p 355, Hall, *op cit*, pp 343-47

[56] For Coleridge's marginalia in his copy of Malthus's second edition, see Bonar, *op cit*, pp. 371-74; George Reuben Potter, "Unpublished Marginalia in Coleridge's Copy of Malthus's *Essay on Population*," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 1061-68, and Kenneth Curry, "A Note on Coleridge's Copy of Malthus," *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 613-15 As Professor Curry points out, Coleridge had evidently been writing his comments for Southey's use Cf [Robert Southey], "Malthus's Essay on Population," *Annual Review*, II (1803), 297-98

would not, therefore, be destroyed by over-population [57] He does not conclude that increased responsiveness of the prudential check to changed conditions could improve the condition of the poor under a system of private property Until England is ready for common ownership, he would depend largely on more extensive and intensive cultivation to provide for an unchecked population [58] More fully than any of these writers, or probably any other critic writing during the first two decades of the controversy, Hazlitt understood the relationship between the standard of living and the preventive check and the possibility of improvement implicit in that relationship.

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LYTTON STRACHEY'S REVISIONS IN *BOOKS AND CHARACTERS*

When the time comes to study thoroughly the development of Lytton Strachey's mind and style, considerable attention will doubtless be given to the revisions which he made in his original articles and reviews before republishing them in *Books and Characters.* Many of the originals appeared early, the earliest of all in September, 1904 Eight were in print before 1912, when Strachey published his first book, *Landmarks in French Literature*, only two date after *Eminent Victorians* (1918) Furthermore, the revisions made for *Books and Characters* were numerous and, at times, extensive and complex The book was published in 1922, not long after *Queen Victoria* (1921). In the revisions, therefore, we find an opportunity to observe the changes which the mature Strachey made before republishing a fairly large body of his early work.

I have made a line-by-line collation of the essays in *Books and Characters* with their originals and give below a complete list of the variants. In another paper I intend to discuss at some length the nature and significance of the changes. A few general observations

[57] *Op cit*, pp 526-28, 597-98, William Godwin, *Thoughts Occasioned by . Dr Parr's Spital Sermon . .* (London, 1801), pp 72-73

[58] *Of Population*, pp 469, 497-98

concerning them may, however, be noted here Some are relatively unimportant changes such as corrections of typographical errors Awkward and redundant phrases are likewise corrected Other changes are made necessary by new facts or a new perspective brought by time Still others are motivated by the desire to convert journalistic articles and reviews into literary essays There are also rather important changes in phrasing and diction prompted by considerations of accuracy and good taste Strachey does not overlook possibilities for improving the paragraphing; sometimes he breaks up a long paragraph, far more frequently he brings two paragraphs together to achieve the effect of mass and weight Many of the revisions indicate clearly a desire for economy and restraint Others may develop parallel constructions or add quotations and illustrations in order to achieve greater force and emphasis When there is opportunity Strachey may also add information or even a puckish trick much in the manner of the mature biographical works

What Strachey does not change is fully as significant as what he changes. Born in 1880, he already possessed an unusual sense of style in 1904 when he published the earliest essay in the book, he was able to write much then that would still seem good to him in 1922. But the revisions provide ample evidence that his skill and taste continued to develop with time To study these revisions is to watch a talented and careful literary craftsman at work

In the list below the variants are given in page-by-page sequence within essays, but the essays are arranged in the order of their first-publication dates rather than in the order which they have in *Books and Characters*. In republishing, Strachey placed at the end of each essay a date, sometimes erroneous, for the first publication I give the correct date and the title of the periodical in which each essay first appeared. Page and line reference are to *Books and Characters*, referred to by the symbol *BC* (New York Harcourt, Brace, 1922), rather than to sources. Line references are approximate. Brackets enclose the earlier reading The symbol > means *becomes*

I. "Shakespeare's Final Period" *Independent Review*, III (September, 1904), 405-418. Erroneously dated 1906 on page 69 of *BC*.

P 51, l 1 ["of modern Shakespearian criticism"] > "of the modern criticism of Shakespeare"

P 52, l 12 omits everything in brackets· "deeply absorbed in the

awful problems of human existence [Mr Sidney Lee has, indeed, drawn an exactly opposite conclusion, for the only inference he feels justified in making from the facts before him is, that Shakespeare was so extraordinarily stupid that he never discovered how clever he really was But this theory demands as much pure faith as the other, and has the additional disadvantage of commending itself less to common sense] It is not, however"

P 52, l 13 ["paper"] > "essay"

P 53, l 14 ["Even Mr Sidney Lee"] > "Sir Sidney Lee, too"

P 53, l 18 combines a paragraph which began "Now it is clear" with the preceding paragraph So with the paragraphs which began "Racine's way is different," on p 17, l 12, "The truth is," p 38, l 6, "Such were the cruel maxims," p 150, l 18, "The present edition, however," p 220, l 18, "We wonder very much," p 227, l 6, "It is easy to imagine," p 230, l 12, "What dark and terrible visions," p 232, l 7, and "And sometimes Blake invests," p 232, l 18 On the other hand, Strachey breaks up paragraphs by starting new ones with "There is something inexplicable," p 3, l 20, "But what is it," p 16, l 15, "It is particularly," p 17, l 18, "But, as a rule, Racine's," p 24, l 20, "Apparently it did not occur," p 195, l 15, and "It would be vain," p 259, l 9

P 56, l 8 ["Professor Raleigh's"] > "Sir Walter Raleigh's" So pp 224, l 12, 225, l 6, 226, l 11, 227, l 6, 231, l 9 P 226, l 23 ["Professor Raleigh"] > "Sir Walter"

P 57, l 16 ["'Italian friend'"] > "'Italian fiend'"

P 59, l 10, to p 60, l 17 rewrites, filling in the quotations from Shakespeare and expanding the original passage, which read ["are entirely of a piece with the grossnesses of *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*. Let the reader cast his eye over the soliloquy which Posthumus delivers when he hears of Imogen's guilt (*Cymbeline*, Act II, Scene 3), or the words of Leontes, half spoken in horrid irony to the child Mamillius (*Winter's Tale*, Act I, Scene 2), let him examine these passages, and let him reconcile them, if he can, with Professor Dowden's dictum 'In these latest plays the beautiful pathetic light is always present'

"But how has it happened"]

II "Voltaire's Tragedies" *Independent Review*, V (April 1905), 309-319

P 147, title ["The Tragedies of Voltaire"].

P 147, l 9. ["but Hyperion was written on the morrow of Salamis, and the Odes of Pindar were dedicated to George the Fourth"] > "but Hyperion might have been written on the morrow of Salamis, and the Odes of Pindar dedicated to George the Fourth"

P 149, l 16 ["has been drawing"] > "is drawing" *BC* adds a footnote dating the essay "April, 1905"

P 149 l 18. ["three hundred years hence a literal translation of Zaire will not be holding the English boards"] > "a hundred years hence, etc"

P 150, l. 1· ["in 1736, when Voltaire's fame as a dramatist was already

well established "] > " in 1736, when Voltaire was forty two years of age and his fame as a dramatist already well established "

P 150, l 18, paragraphing see I, p 53, l 18, above

III " Sir Thomas Browne " *Independent Review*, VIII (January, 1906), 158-169

P 33, l 12 [" Mr Gosse, in his new volume on Sir Thomas Browne "] drops *new*

P 35, l 11 [" Such is Mr Gosse's account of the influence of Browne and Johnson upon the later eighteenth century writers of prose Nothing could be more superficial To dismiss Johnson's influence as something altogether deplorable, is to misunderstand "] > " Such is Mr Gosse's account of the influence of Browne and Johnson upon the later eighteenth century writers of prose But to dismiss Johnson's influence, etc "

P 38, l 1 omits everything in brackets " ' quodlibetically ' altogether [The harbourei of such thoughts, he feels,

> ' Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils,
> The motions of his spirit are as dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus ! ']

" The truth is " See also I, p 53, l 18, above

P 38, l 9 [" curious irrelevance "] > " curious self-contradiction " Then Strachey omits this passage, which followed immediately [" Madame Geoffrin's husband was once given a volume of the *Encyclopedia*, printed in double columns The good man went through the book from cover to cover, reading every line straight across the page, as if there had been no division At the end he pronounced the work an excellent one, ' mais un peu abstrait ' Comments on *Urn Burial* from a reader who has no taste for the ornate are precisely as valuable as those of Monsieur Geoffrin upon the *Encyclopedia* "]

P 43, l 13 [" ' Cato seemed to dote upon a Cabbage ' "] > " ' Cato seemed to dote upon Cabbage ' "

Pp 44, l 13 [" Browne's ultimate object was to create some such vast and appalling effect as that "] > " Browne's ultimate object was to create some such tremendous effect as that "

IV " The Poetry of Blake " *Independent Review*, IX (May, 1906), 215-226.

P 219, l 1· [" The new edition of Blake's poetical works, lately published "] drops *lately*

Pp 220-232, paragraphing see I, p 53, l 18, above.

P 222, l 20 [" Editors may punctuate afresh the text of Shakespeare with impunity, and even with advantage "] Inserts *perhaps* between *and* and *even*.

Pp 224-231 see I, p 56, l 8, above

Pp. 226-227. Strachey originally set off the whole quotation from Raleigh beginning " The sentimental enthusiast " with quotation marks and also used quotation marks inside the quotation to set off " and who " and, with commas, " Sir Walter wittily adds " In revision Strachey drops the

quotation marks enclosing the whole passage and substitutes brackets for the two interior pairs of quotation marks and the commas

V "The Lives of the Poets" *Independent Review*, X (July, 1906), 108-113

P 74, l 7 ["of too much of modern criticism"] > "of too much modern criticism"

P 75, last line ["what the canons of poetry precisely were"] drops *precisely*

P 79, ll 4-5 ["is now issued"] > "has been issued"

VI "The Last Elizabethan" *New Quarterly*, I (November, 1907), 47-72

P 237, l 9 ["could we"] > "would we"

P 237, l 12 ["this great poet—for, as I hope to show, he deserves no meaner title—has not only never received the recognition"] > "this extraordinary poet has not only never received the recognition"

P 242, l 18 drops everything in brackets below "to resume his work [The interlude has not survived, but if, as is highly probable, it contained the first sketch of the concluding scene of *Death's Jest Book*, one cannot be surprised at the flight of the locksmith The enmities of Beddoes were as numerous as they were intense, and, wherever his warfare carried him, he was followed by a faithful squadron of his schoolfellows His ascendency, doubtless, depended in part upon physical strength, but it was nourished and animated by an invincible potency of spirit, a bright and inward flame He knew the right word for each predicament, he hurled a nickname, and it stuck, his slang language lived on at Charterhouse long after he had gone Heading his myrmidons, he braved the masters, or waged war with pensioners, celebrating his victories with lobsters and oysters, porter and gin, and crowning the feast with extemporaneous songs and dances On these occasions, says Mr Bevan, 'Beddoes shone forth in all his glory', we can believe it, but it is clear enough that Mr Bevan himself, though he was able to appreciate the prowess of his leader, was not always quite at his ease He joined the campaigns, he tells us, 'by no means as a volunteer', he was afraid of floggings from the school authorities, he was equally afraid of some sudden and inexplicable chastisement at the hands of his redoubtable friend One day his worst fears were realized In order to bring about an elaborate scheme of vengeance, Beddoes managed to abstract the fire-irons from every room in the school, and tying them all together, fastened them, at midnight, round Mr Bevan's neck, while he attached Mr Bevan himself to the knocker on the gate of the College Every movement produced an incredible concatenation of noises, which completely answered Beddoes' purpose, 'though,' as Mr Bevan adds, 'at the expense to me of a licking, at the hands of the assembled servants' One cannot but suspect, from the tone of some of his remarks, that, at the time he wrote, this amazing piece of impishness was still rankling in Mr Bevan's mind Perhaps that was only natural, for he never seems to have reflected that even a 'licking' may have been, after all, a small price to pay for the

delightful and extraordinary memory of being loaded by a poet with innumerable pairs of tongs] "

P 245, l 2 ["Lenora's speech (too long to quote in full) ends thus'] > "Lenora's speech ends thus"

P 249, l 10 ["he would shut himself for days into his bedroom"] > "he would shut himself for days in his bedroom"

P 259, l 9, paragraphing see I, p 53, l 18, above

P 262, l 20 drops everything in brackets below "drink to the health of Death [One may weep over the ruin of beauty, one may long for the approaches of annihilation, one may return to the living, and whisper to them the lesson one has learnt from the old ghost—'Who knows? Perhaps you are the dead yourselves'] "

P 263, l 17 Hamlet ["lugged the guts into the other room"] > Hamlet "lugged the guts into the neighbor room"

VII "Racine" *New Quarterly*, I (June, 1908), 361-384

P 3, original title ["The Poetry of Racine"]

P 3, l 1 ["When David painted his vast 'Apotheosis of Homer'"] > "When Ingres painted his vast 'Apotheosis of Homer'" So l 10

P 3, l 15 ["an English popular painter"] drops *popular*

Pp 3-24, paragraphing see I, p 53, l 18, above

P 4, l 8 ["The question is perplexing, and it has lately been illustrated in a singular way Mr J C Bailey, in his recent volume of essays entitled *The Claims of French Poetry*, has discussed the qualities of Racine at some length, has placed him, not without contumely, among the second rank of writers, and has drawn the conclusion"] > "The perplexing question was recently emphasised and illustrated in a singular way Mr John Bailey, in a volume of essays entitled *The Claims of French Poetry*, discussed the qualities of Racine at some length, placed him, not without contumely, among the second rank of writers, and drew the conclusion"

P 4, l 17 ["qualified panegyric is sounded"] drops *is*

P 6, l 2 ["this article"] > "this essay"

P 6, l 4 ["Mr Bailey's essay"] > "Mr Bailey's paper"

P 6, l 18 ["is to have learnt a new happiness, and to have discovered something exquisite and splendid, significant beyond the boundaries of art"] > "is to have learnt a new happiness, to have discovered something exquisite and splendid, to have enlarged the glorious boundaries of art"

P 7, last line ["a great park"] > "an open forest"

P 10, l 7 ["the lack of local colour"] > "the absence of local colour"

P 11, l 8 ["to find fault with Tintoretto for not painting with the scrupulosity of De Hooghe"] > "to find fault with a Mozart quartet for not containing the orchestration of Wagner"

P 13, l 14 ["our poetry, our prose, and our whole conception of the art of writing has fallen"] > "our poetry, our prose, and our whole conception of the art of writing have fallen"

P 19, l 10 ["When we come across an abyss of mystery in a single perfectly simple phrase—

'La fille de Minos et de Pasiphaé

we are apt not to see that it is there"] > "When we come across the mysterious accent of fatality and remote terror in a single perfectly simple phrase—

La fille de Minos et de Pasiphae

we are apt not to hear that it is there"

P 19, l 14 ["But there is another reason the craving"] > "But there is another reason—the craving"

P 19, l 18 ["'key to the secret of life'"] > "'key to the secret life'"

P 23, l 22 ["agricultural instruments"] > "agricultural implements"

P 28, l 12 ["to ask whether he is better or worse than Shelley or than Virgil—is to attempt impossibilities, one might as well try to weigh the merits of cold salmon and a rose But there is one fact"] > "to ask whether he is better or worse than Shelley or than Virgil—is to attempt impossibilities, but there is one fact"

VIII "The Rousseau Affair" *New Quarterly*, III (May, 1910), 147-157 Erroneously dated 1907 on p 215 of *BC*

P 205, l 17 ["These *Memoires* were first printed in 1818, and the concluding quarter of the book contains"] > "This work was first printed in 1818, and the concluding quarter of it contains"

P 206, l 12 ["Mr Morley"] > "Lord Morley" So p 211, l 18

P 207, l 12 ["that the narrative in the *Memoires* cannot be regarded"] > "that Madame d'Epinay's narrative cannot be regarded"

P 207, l 18 ["printed *Mémoires*"] > "printed version"

P 207, l 23 ["*Memoires*"] > "book" So p 212, l 21

P 209, l 8 ["the garbled and concocted manuscript of the *Mémoires* of Madame d'Epinay"] > "her garbled and concocted manuscripts"

P 213, l 19 ["an 'excellent reason,' which would have delighted that good knight Sir Andrew Aguecheek"] > "an 'exquisite reason,' which would have delighted that good knight Sir Andrew Aguecheek"

IX "Madame Du Deffand" *Edinburgh Review*, CCXVII (January, 1913), 61-80 Apparently the first publication signed "Lytton Strachey" rather than "G L Strachey" Even *Landmarks in French Literature* (1912) is signed "G L Strachey"

P 83, footnote drops the last three of the four titles listed in the original review article So p 115 On p 167 all five titles, and on p 269 all six, are dropped

P 95, l 28. ["the whole existence of Madame du Deffand hinged"] > "the whole of her existence hinged"

P. 97, l. 8 ["talk continuously flowed"] > "talk continually flowed"

P 102, l 12 ["this old lady of high society, who had never given a thought to her style, and wrote by the light of nature"] > "this old lady of high society, who had never given a thought to her style, who wrote—and spelt—by the light of nature"

X "Henri Beyle" *Edinburgh Review*, CCXIX (January, 1914, 35-52

P 269: see IX, p 83, footnote, above.

P 285, l 2 ["joined with—an exactitude of exposition"] > "joined with such an exactitude of exposition"

P 290, l 20 ["the extraordinary pages of Nietzsche"] drops *extraordinary*

P 293 At the end of the final paragraph Strachey omits everything in brackets "In such a Paradise of Frenchmen we may leave Henri Beyle [Of him, even more than of other mortals, our judgment must be ambiguous and undecided But of one thing at least we may be sure in his unaccommodating case It may be difficult to strike a balance between the blemishes and the genius of his writings, between the profundities and the narrowness of his thought, between the charm and the futilities of his character, but this, at any rate, we may say of him with certainty he was an extraordinary man]"

XI "Voltaire and England" *Edinburgh Review*, CCXX (October, 1914), 392 411

P 115 see IX, p 83, footnote, above

P 115 rewrites the first paragraph

["The visit of Voltaire to England marks a turning point in the history of civilisation It was the first step in that long process of interaction between the French and English cultures whose results have been so momentous in the development of Europe, and are sufficiently visible at the present hour Before Voltaire the forces of mutual ignorance and political hostility had combined for centuries to keep the two nations apart It was he who planted the small seed of friendship which, in spite of a thousand hostile influences, in spite of Napoleon, in spite of all the powers of hereditary enmity and instinctive distrust, was to grow and flourish so mightily Doubtless the seed fell on good ground, doubtless if Voltaire had never left his native country some chance wind would have carried it over the narrow seas, and, in the main, history would have been unaltered Yet it is worth remembering that actually his was the hand which did the work That close and singular relationship between the French and the English, which, underlying and transcending the combinations of politics, has found its consummation at Mons and at Cambrai, on the Oise and on the Marne, began to exist when a remarkably thin young man, with darting eyes and a smile of ambiguous significance, stepped briskly on shore at Dover nearly two hundred years ago"] >

"The visit of Voltaire to England marks a turning-point in the history of civilisation It was the first step in a long process of interaction—big with momentous consequences—between the French and English cultures For centuries the combined forces of mutual ignorance and political hostility had kept the two nations apart Voltaire planted a small seed of friendship which, in spite of a thousand hostile influences, grew and flourished mightily The seed, no doubt, fell on good ground, and no doubt, if Voltaire had never left his native country, some chance wind would have carried it over the narrow seas, so that history in the main would have been unaltered But actually his was the hand which did the work."

P 116, l 10 ["has made French scholarship one of the unique glories of European culture"] drops *unique*

XII "Voltaire and Frederick the Great" *Edinburgh Review*, CCXXII (October, 1915), 351 373

P 167 see IX, p 83, footnote, above

P 182, l 18 ["still he is uncertain"] > "still he lingers on"

P 184, l 1 ["Each knew well enough the weak spot in his own position"] drops *own*

P 195, l 15, paragraphing see I, p 53, l 18, above

XIII "Lady Hester Stanhope" *Athenaeum*, April 4 and April 11, 1919, pp 131-133, 166-167

P 297 omits [I] from just beneath the title

P 300, l 3 ["not but for long"] > "but not for long"

P 302, l 16 [II] is omited in *BC* before the paragraph beginning "The rumour of her exploits"

P 302, l 16 ["Lady Hester's exploits"] > "her exploits"

XIV "Mr Creevey" *Athenaeum*, June 13, 1919, pp 453 455, and *New Republic*, XIX (June 7, 1919), 178-9 Collation with the *Athenaeum* shows no revisions

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UNNOTICED TRANSLATIONS OF BALZAC IN AMERICAN PERIODICALS

Balzac's literary fortune in the United States has been studied by Professor Benjamin Griffith in a book entitled *Balzac en Amérique* [1] In the introductory chapter,[2] where he stresses the small number of readers which the French novelist reached in the United States until the first American translation of the whole of the *Comédie Humaine* began to appear in 1885, Griffith speaks briefly of the

[1] Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1930, 283 pp This book was reprinted by Les Presses Modernes in 1931 under the title, *Balzac aux Etats-Unis*, 267 pp, and a supplement consisting of a list of errata and an index with a separate pagination (pp 3-8) The second edition differs from the first only in very minor details The most significant of these is the omission of two pages dealing with Miss Margaret Murray Gibb's study, *Le Roman de Bas-de-Cuir, Etude sur Fenimore Cooper et son Influence en France* (Paris, 1927) In the first edition of Griffith's book the passage in question runs from p 167 to p 169.

[2] "La Vogue de Balzac en Amérique," pp 8-17, 1930 ed ; 8-16, 1931 ed

Balzac materials published in American periodicals previous to that date, and confines his list to six items [3] A check of early American periodical literature by Dr Albert L Rabinovitz [4] has since revealed four translations which the author of *Balzac en Amérique* failed to notice [5] The purpose of this article is to call the attention of the reader to nine additional items, to which no reference has been made either by Griffith or by Rabinovitz It may not be without interest to point out, moreover, that, out of these nine items overlooked by them, eight are to be found in the *New York Mirror*, and one in the *Democratic Review*, magazines in which five of the translations which they mention were published.[6]

The fact that a large portion of the materials listed below are relatively brief and that several of the early editions of Balzac s works are not available in this country would make it impossible

[3] Griffith's list contains the following items "Madame Firmiani," *New York Mirror*, January 14-21, 1837, Joseph Price, "The Countess with two Husbands" (*Le Colonel Chabert*), *ibid*, July 22—September 9, 1837, Edward S Gould, "Father Goriot, or Scenes of Life in Paris," *The New World*, March 16—May 18, 1844, "Melmoth Redeemed," (*Melmoth Reconcilié*), *ibid*, October 5, 1844, "Sworn on the Crucifix" (*La Grande Bretêche*), *Every Saturday*, June 29, 1872, and Balzac's review of Fenimore Cooper's novel, *The Pathfinder*, *Knickerbocker*, XVII, January, 1841, pp 72 77 The French original had appeared in the *Revue Parisienne* of July, 1840

[4] *New York University Index to Early American Periodical Literature, 1728-1870 No. 5 French Fiction* (New York, 1943), pp 11-14

[5] These are "La Femme comme il faut" (Approximately 4000 words from *Autre Etude de Femme*, Conard edition, VII, pp 379-392), *Corsair*, November 16, 1839, pp 575-576, "El Verdugo," *Democratic Review*, September, 1843, pp 303-308, reprinted in *Anglo-American*, September 23, 1843, pp 515-516, "La Grande Bretêche, a Tale," *Democratic Review*, November, 1843, pp 529 535, Mrs F A Butler, "La Vendetta, or the Feud A Tale," *ibid*, September, 1845, pp 173-182, October, 1845, pp 276-289, November, 1845, pp 364-379

[6] Griffith refers the reader to Royce's *Bibliography of Balzac* in connection with two translations published in the *New York Mirror* They are, however, nowhere listed in Royce's book It may be added at this point that, of all the translations mentioned in this article, "An Episode under the Terror," *Lippincott's Magazine*, March, 1912, pp 431-445, and "A Passion in the Desert," *Booklovers' Magazine*, Nov 1903, pp 477-489, are the only ones to which a reference is to be found in Royce's bibliography, where they are listed as items nos 1689 and 2780 We list them in this study, because in Royce's work they are lost among thousands of titles, and are therefore very difficult to find.

to ascertain in every case which version the translator used as well as to study in detail the changes made by him It is therefore our intention to point out only the most important divergences from the French text as reproduced in the Conard edition All selections contained in the nine items overlooked by Griffith and Rabinovitz have been identified with the exception of two passages of seventeen and thirty-seven words respectively [7]

1 Joseph Price Popular French Literature Scenes of Private Life Adapted from De Balzac, for the *New York Mirror* *New York Mirror*, Sept 17, 1836, pp 89-90

I	(170 words)	*Une double famille*, Conard, III, p 228
II	(150 words)	*Ibid*, pp 229 230
III	(540 words)	*Ibid*, pp 235 237
IV	(1025 words)	*Ibid*, p 245-251
V	(800 words)	*Ibid*, pp 251-256
VI	(1735 words)	*Ibid*, pp 297 303

2 Joseph Price Popular French Literature Scenes of Private Life Adapted from De Balzac, for the *New York Mirror* *New York Mirror*, Sept 24, 1836, pp 101-102

I	The Usurer (2920 words)	*Gobseck*, Conard, v, pp 383-389
II	A Business Transaction (1860 words)	*Ibid*, pp 408 415

3 Joseph Price Popular French Literature Thoughts, Feelings and Fancies Adapted from De Balzac *New York Mirror*, Oct 18, 1836, p 117

True love independent of personal beauty (430 words)	*La Recherche de l'Absolu*, Conard, XXVIII, pp 140-141
The ardour of youthful fancy (350 words)	*Le Message*, Conard, IV, pp 206-207
Husband and Wife (355 words)	*Ibid*, pp 212-213
A Spanish Woman's Love (85 words)	*La Recherche de l'Absolu*, Conard, XXVIII, p 146
A Mournful Truth (37 words) [8]	Unidentified
A Nice Distinction (17 words) [9]	Unidentified

[7] (1). "Religion and its ministers are two things which are confounded together in a great many persons' mind" (2) "Love and repugnance must be ever on the growth between people who are constantly brought into contact. Each instant, and every occasion, must suggest reasons and motives for the increase of love and the aggravation of dislike"

[8] For text of this passage, see note 7 (2).

[9] For text, see note 7 (1).

4 J P Popular French Literature Thoughts, Feelings and Fancies Adapted from De Balzac *New York Mirror*, Oct 15, 1836, pp 125-126

The cause why old maids are disagreeable (860 words)	*Le Curé de Tours*, Conard, IX, pp 199 201
A Spanish Beauty (275 words)	*Les Marana*, Conard, XXIX, pp 68-69
The Food of Passion (345 words)	*La Femme abandonnée*, Conard, IV, p 306
The Life of an Artist in Paris (290 words)	*La Fille aux yeux d'or*, Conard, XIII, p 333
Contrast of Parisian Features (250 words)	*Ibid*, p 338
The Boudoir of the Girl with the Golden Hair (840 words)	*Ibid*, pp 380 383

5 Joseph Price Popular French Literature The French Dragoon and Spanish Maiden Adapted from De Balzac *New York Mirror*, Oct 29, 1836, pp 140-141

Three extracts of 1845, 185, and 2415 words respectively	*Les Marana*, Conard, XXIX, pp 81-86, 88-89, 89-96

6 Joseph Price Popular French Literature Portraits and Sketches *New York Mirror*, Nov 19, 1836, p 165

A Mother and Daughter (395 words)	*Sarrasine*, Conard, XVI, pp 393-394
A Sculptor's Illusion (1245 words)	*Ibid*, pp 411-415.

7 J P Original Sketches from the French A Glance at High Life *New York Mirror*, June 10, 1837, p 396.

An extract of 1565 words	*Le Père Goriot*, Conard, VI, pp 370-373

8 Anon Sketches of Parisian Manners The Police Spy and Gentleman Convict *New York Mirror*, Feb 24, 1838, pp 276-277, and March 3, 1838, pp. 284-285

February 24 A Touch of Juvenile Philosophy (675 words)	*Le Pere Goriot*, Conard, VI, pp 361-363
How to bait a Mantrap (2150 words)	*Ibid*, pp 390-397
March 3 Putting a little salt on the Bird's Tail (640 words)	*Ibid*, pp 415 417
The Falling of the Trap (2560 words)	*Ibid*, pp 417-431.

9. Anon The Mother and Son A Tale of the French Revolution *Democratic Review*, June, 1843, pp. 618-626

	Le Réquisitionnaire, Conard, XXIX, pp 133-153

The signature J. P at the end of the excerpts in the *New York Mirror* of October 15, 1836, refers undoubtedly to Joseph Price, whose name appears in full at the bottom of six other Balzac items published in the same periodical. It can be assumed that Price also translated the unsigned selections from *Le Père Goriot*, which appeared in the *Mirror* of February 24, and March 3, 1838 The style of these English versions is similar to that of earlier translations made by him All efforts to find any biographical data about Joseph Price have been unsuccessful No clue has been discovered either concerning the identity of the anonymous translator of *Le Réquisitionnaire*, published in the *Democratic Review* of June, 1843.

Price's translations are mediocre They fail to bring out the niceties of the original His style is flat and conventional and the difficult phrases are often loosely rendered In the shorter selections Price follows the French closely and drops only insignificant details In the longer ones, to be more specific, those from *Une double famille, IV, V, VI, Gobseck*, and *Le Père Goriot*, he makes longer and more numerous excisions. 350 words have been omitted in the moral and physical description of Gobseck, and 650 more in the long monologue in which he explains his views about money and power. The passage devoted to his family history, some 630 words, has been also dropped. The second extract from the same novel contains numerous, although shorter omissions. The episode of Vautrin's capture as related by Balzac in *Le Père Goriot* has been considerably abridged by Price These changes in *Une double famille, Gobseck*, and *Le Père Goriot* seem to have been dictated by a desire to eliminate long developments and save space, which was very necessary since the *New York Mirror* printed only eight pages of text.

The item found in the *Democratic Review* of June, 1843, as well as the other three already noted in the same periodical by Rabinovitz, is very different from those which appeared in the *New York Mirror*. The first of these magazines published translations of short stories by Balzac, while the second offered mostly extracts from his longer works The majority of these extracts were quite brief and presented slight narrative interest Short stories constituted, of course, an intrinsically more interesting type of material

than that found in the *Mirror* The translations published in the *Democratic Review* were also of a higher quality. The text of the French original was faithfully reproduced except in the case of *La Grande Bretêche*, where many omissions were made

In his chapter, "Les Traductions," [10] Griffith restricts himself entirely to a study of complete translations of *La Comédie Humaine* since 1885 and does not take into consideration translations of individual works or stories I have succeeded in locating ten versions of Balzac's short stories in American periodicals between 1885 and 1929 The first edition of Griffith's study came out in 1930 The list which follows does not claim to be exhaustive

1	J Alfred Burgan A Passion in the Desert *Booklovers' Magazine* (Philadelphia),[11] Nov 1903, pp 477 489	*Une Passion dans le désert*, Conard, XXII, pp 387-403
2	Anon The Conscript *Outlook*, July 25, 1908, pp 714-725 [12]	*Le Réquisitionnaire*, Conard, XXIX, pp 133-153
3	J Berg Esenwein [13] An Episode under the Terror *Lippincott's Magazine*, March, 1912, pp 431-445	*Un Episode sous la terreur*, Conard, XXI, pp 1-25.
4.	Anon El Verdugo *Golden Book*, April, 1925, pp 555-560	*El Verdugo*, Conard, XXIX, pp 155-169
5	Anon A Passion in the Desert *Golden Book*, Nov 1925, pp. 696-702	*Une Passion dans le desert*, Conard, XXII, pp 387-403
6	Anon Christ in Flanders *Golden Book*, Dec 1925, pp. 743-751	*Jésus-Christ en Flandre*, Conard, XXVII, pp 295-316

[10] Pp 54-69, 1930 ed , 50-64, 1931 ed

[11] I have been unable to find any information about this translator *The Booklovers' Magazine*, published from 1903 to 1905, was later continued under the name of *Appleton's Magazine.*

[12] This item and the next one are listed in the bibliography at the end of Griffith's book, but without any comment or explanation, so that it is impossible to tell whether they are translations of these short stories or articles about them

[13] Joseph Berg Esenwein was born in 1867 He has been successively manager of *The Booklovers' Magazine*, 1903-1905, manager and editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1905-1914, and editor of the *Writer's Monthly*, since 1916 Mr Esenwein has written extensively on public speaking, English composition, and the technique of the short story

7	Anon La Grande Bretêche *Golden Book*, Oct 1927, pp 534 543	*Autre Etude de femme*, Conard, VII, pp 406 430
8	Anon Gaudissart the Great *Golden Book*, Jan 1928, pp 97-114	*L'Illustre Gaudissart*, Conard, X, pp 3-50
9	Anon A Seaside Drama *Golden Book*, June, 1928, pp 809 818	*Un Drame au bord de la mer*, Conard, XXIX, pp 171-196
10	Anon In the Time of the Terror *Golden Book*, Feb 1929, pp 102-108	*Un Episode sous la terreur*, Conard, XXI, pp 1-25

These versions are all close reproductions of the original The only deviations noticed were found in *A Passion in the Desert* and in *The Conscript* In *A Passion in the Desert* the entire introduction (some 400 words), as well as three long passages and a short one (approximately 950 words in the body of the story), has been dropped in the text reproduced in the *Booklovers' Magazine*. In *The Conscript* the translator has omitted only six lines from the original.

By way of concluding this article, eight other translations which have come out since the publication of Griffith's study in 1930 may be mentioned here They all appeared in the *Golden Book* and, except for one of them, are the work of anonymous translators.

1	*The Elixir of Don Juan* Sept 1930, pp 60-69	*L'Elixir de longue vie*, Conard, XXX, pp 345-364
2.	B. Williams,[14] *Facino Cane's Lost Treasure* April, 1931, pp 80 84	*Facino Cane*, Conard, XVI, pp 371-387
3	*The Red House* Feb 1932, pp 163-176	*L'Auberge rouge*, Conard, XXIX, pp 273-317.
4	*Innocence* June, 1932, pp 515-516.	*Naïveté, Contes Drolatiques*, Conard, XXXVII, pp 175-179.
5	*Lost by a laugh* June, 1933, pp 523-527	*Autre Etude de Femme*, Conard, VII, pp 398-405.
6	*Christ in Flanders* December, 1933, pp 488 500	*Jésus-Christ en Flandre*, Conard, XXVII, pp 295-316
7	*Madame's Last Reception. A Story of Intrigue and Sacrifice during the Reign of Terror* Nov 1934, pp 560-570	*Le Réquisitionnaire*, Conard, XXIX, pp 133-153

[14] Blanche Colton Williams (1879-1944) taught English at Teachers College, Columbia University, from 1908 to 1939 Miss Williams wrote

8	*False Courtesan* 457-462	May, 1935, pp	*La Faulse Courtisane, Contes Drolatiques*, Conard, XXXVII, pp 311-326

Christ in Flanders reproduces closely a version published in the *Golden Book* of December, 1925 Whatever differences occur are due in the main to changes in paragraphing A few cuts, amounting in all to about twelve lines, have been made in *Le Réquisitionnaire* (*Madame's Last Reception*).[15] The American version of *L'Elixir de longue vie* (*The Elixir of Don Juan*) does not carry the note containing the text of the song "Le Convoi du Duc de Guise"[16] *Facino Cane* has been shortened by suppressing the long philosophic discussion which served as an introduction in the original[17] *La Faulse Courtisane* has been reduced very considerably through the omission of several passages, all of a licentious character, except for one[18] At least one third of *L'Auberge rouge* (The Red House) has been left out in the English text. *Innocence* (*Naïveté* in the French version) and *Lost by a Laugh*, an extract from *Autre Etude de Femme*, are accurate reproductions of the original and need no comment.

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SOME DEBATABLE WORDS IN *PEARL* AND ITS THEME

Stanza 5 of *Pearl* would seem to indicate quite definitely the homiletic character of the poem·

> Bifore þat spot my honde I spennd
> For care ful colde þat to me ca3t,
> A deuely dele in my hert denned
> þa3 resoun sette myseluen sa3t

extensively on the short story She also edited, alone and in collaboration, several collections of short stories

[15] The longest of these cuts, seven lines in the Conard text, is represented by the omission of the last sentence of the story.

[16] Conard, XXX, pp 363-364

[17] Conard, XVI, pp 371-373, approximately 700 words

[18] Four lengthy passages and one short one, approximately 1500 words in all, have been omitted from the English text of "La Faulse Courtisane" published in the *Golden Book.*

I playned my perle þat þer wa3t spenned
Wyth fyrte skylle3 þat faste fa3t,
þa3 kynde of Kryst me comfort kenned,
My wreched wylle in wo ay wra3te
I felle vpon þat flory fla3t!
Suche odor to my herne3 schot
I slode vpon a slepyng-sla3te
On þat prec[i]os perle wythouten spot

Deuely (51), which like many other words in *Pearl* has puzzled editors and translators,[1] is probably OE *deoflic*, 'devilish,' 'wicked' The line reads then—

A wicked grief lodged in my heart

The grief of the jeweler was wicked because it was contrary to reason (52) and to Christian teaching (55), and because it was deliberately indulged (56). And it is the jeweler himself who comments thus upon his own culpability He was guilty of one of the 'seven deadly sins,' *covetyse*, inordinate love of earthly goods Walter Hilton, the *Pearl* author's contemporary, writes of this sin as follows·

Covetousness also is slain in a soul by the working of love, for it maketh the soul so covetous of spiritual good and so influenced to heavenly riches that it setteth right nought by all earthly things It hath no more joy in the having of a precious stone than a chalk stone It setteth all things that must perish at one price for he knows well that all these earthly things which worldly men set so great price by and love so dearly must pass away and turn to nothing both the thing itself and the love of it And therefore he worketh his thoughts betimes into that judgment and esteem of them which they must come to hereafter, and so accounteth them as nought[2]

This passage from Hilton might well furnish a key to the theme of the poem A jeweler, having lost a pearl which he particularly (*in synglure*, 8)[3] prized—prized above his very spiritual welfare

[1] Richard Morris and Israel Gollancz (ed 1891) read the MS, *denely*, C G Osgood, Jr (ed 1906), emends *de[r]uely*, glossing, adv as adj, 'sudden', G G Coulton (trans 1906) ignores the difficulty, translating the line, 'Dinned in my brain a doleful song'

[2] Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (reprint of Cressy's text, 1901) Bk III, ch IX, 267 ff

[3] The MS. *synglure* may stand, since in the poem *er* and *-ur* words of French origin are not distinguished Cf *gyngure*, 43, and probably *lere*, 616. (See n. *infra*). The form is found elsewhere, as, e g, 'Synglure

and to such a degree as to make nought of his sins (*deuoyde my wrange*, 15)[4]—is gradually won to a conviction of the nothingness (*noȝt*, 274) of earthly riches in comparison with the value, the beauty, and the bliss of the immortal soul This doctrine—held of paramount importance and in origin divine by spiritual teachers down the centuries since Our Lord's utterance of it in the words· 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?'—was a doctrine which the *Pearl* author—if he is also the author of *Patience* and *Purity*—had much in mind Cf *Patience* (ed. Bateson), 13-14.

> Thay ar happen þat han in hert pouerte,
> For hores is þe heuen-ryche to holde for euer

Purity (ed. Menner) 177-181 lists covetousness or the absence of this poverty of spirit among the faults which may so obliterate the thought of eternal happiness as to endanger a man's ultimate vision of God

> For fele fauteȝ may a freke forgete his blysse,
> þat he þe Soverayn ne se þen for sloþe one,
> As for bobaunce and bost, and bolnande pryde,
> þroly into þe develeȝ þrote man þrungeȝ bylyve,
> For covetyse, and colwarde and croked dedeȝ

The word *perle* throughout the poem (*Peaȝl*) stands sometimes for the material gem (1, 12, 24, 36, 48, 60, 1173), sometimes for the soul, the peaȝl of great price (258, 1182, 1192), sometimes for the kingdom of Heaven itself or the bliss thereof (732, 733-39) The jeweler at the beginning of his dream-vision identifies *perle*, the soul, with his material jewel—a natural error, as dreams go, since immediately prior to the *slepyng-slaȝte* (59), he had been absorbed in grief over his loss.

The concluding stanzas of the poem emphasize the theme Stanza 99 is particularly relevant

> Me payed ful ille to be outfleme
> So sodenly of þat fayre regioun—
> Fro alle þo syȝteȝ so quyke & queme

persone I doo none name,' *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (ed C Brown), No 173 Gollancz (ed 1891) emends *synglere*, Osgood (ed 1906), syng[u]l[e]re, Gollancz (ed 1921) accepts Osgood's emendation

[4] *Wrange* here as in *Patience* (ed Bateson) 376 *þat þat penaunce plesed him þat playnes on her wronge*

A longeyng heuy me strok in swone 1180
& rewfully þenne I con to reme
'O perle,' quod I, 'of rych renoun,
So watȝ hit me dere þat þou con deme
In þys veray avysyoun
If hit be ueray & soth sermoun
Þat þou so stykeȝ in garlande gay,
So wel is me in þys doel doungoun
Þat þou ait to þat Prynseȝ paye'

For 1182-1184, I suggest the translation

"O pearl," quoth I, "of rich renown,
So [i e, to a like degree] was *it* precious to me
which thou didst appraise
In this true vision"

Hit (1183) refers to the material pearl, which had been deemed of highest value by its owner until the vision maiden (*of rych renoun*) had explained its nothingness. Lines 1185-1188 may be paraphrased as follows 'If I am to believe that you (the soul) will be thus set in a bright garland (the heavenly procession in which she had appeared to him), then my sufferings upon this earth are right—provided that you (the soul) please God'

The MS *stykeȝ* (1186),[5] OE. *stician*, may be retained, with its ordinary meaning. The present may be used as future—a not uncommon use in ME, and occurring elsewhere in *Pearl*, e g, *schyneȝ* (28)—though the verb may be read as present without impairing the sense Parallels to *garlande*,[6] as I have translated it, appear in Dante. Cf *Paradiso* x, 91-93, of the souls encircling Beatrice.

Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s'infiora
questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia
la bella donna ch'al ciel t'avvalora

Paradiso xii, 19-20, repeats the figure·

Così di quelle sempiterne rose
volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande

[5] Gollancz and Osgood emend, *st[r]ykeȝ*, yet Osgood, *op cit*, n. 735-736, quotes from the hymn of St Ephrem, 'Like pearls in a diadem, children are inserted in the kingdom.'

[6] *garlande*, according to Gollancz, Osgood, and G G Coulton, is the crown worn by the maiden (205).

Souls are described as 'precious stones,' *lapilli*, *Paradiso* xx, 16, and specifically as 'pearls,' *margarite*, in xxii 29 Having also the appearance of rubies—*Parea ciascuna rubinetto*, xix, 4—souls are addressed by Dante as 'everlasting flowers'—*perpetui fiori*, xix, 22.

The last stanza of *Pearl* lends weight to the argument in regard to the author's homiletic intention.

To pay þe Prince oþer sete saȝte,
Hit is ful eþe to þe god Krystyin,
For I haf founden Hym boþe day & naȝte
A God, a Lorde, a Frende ful fyin
Ouer þis hyiil þis lote I laȝte, 1205
For pyty of my perle enclyin,
& syþen to God I hit bytaȝte
In Krystes dere blessyng & myn,[7]
þat, in the forme of bred & wyn,
þe preste vus schewes vch a daye
He gef vus to be Hys homly hyne
Ande precious perles vnto His pay

I offer a literal translation.

To please the Prince or be reconciled,
It is quite easy for the good Christian,
For I have found Him both day and night
A God, a Lord, a Friend full fine,
Upon this hill this destiny I grasped, 1205
Prostrate in sorrow for my pearl,
And thereupon to God I gave it up,
Through Christ's dear grace and love,
Whom, in the form of bread and wine,
The priest to us shows every day
He granted us to be His household servants
And precious pearls unto His pleasure

þis lote (1205) looks back to 1201-1204, the lot or destiny of a Christian being service of God and friendship with Him—a truth comprehended (*laȝte*, 1205) by the jeweler through the vision-maiden's teaching. The impediment to this service and friendship—inordinate attachment to the lost pearl—is by the grace of God removed (1207)

[7] For *in*, 'by,' 'through,' cf *in Godes grace*, 63 The usual translation of *in* is 'in' or 'into' *Myn* is usually translated as the pronoun, with, I think, an unsatisfactory sense Imperfect rhyme, here occasioned by *myn*, 'love,' is not exceptional in *Pearl*

Gef[8] is no doubt the preterite indicative as in 174, 270, 734, 765, stating the fact of the Redemption, with which the poem is so largely concerned. It was Our Lord, the jeweler says, Who brought it about that we are not outcasts—as we were after the sin of our first parents (639 ff.)—but are truly His household servants and precious pearls pleasing to Him. The phrasing is recognizable as an echo of St. Paul, *Ephesians* 2. 18, 19: 'For by him we have access both in one Spirit to the Father. Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and domestics of God.'

The theory—for many years accepted without question—that *Pearl* is subjective, its author's lament over the death of his two-year old daughter, receives its strongest support from l. 483,

> þou lyfed not two 3er in oure þede.

If it is remembered, however, that the jeweler's pearl was not of the inferior type found in British waters,[9] but a peerless jewel imported from the Orient, this line and those following it take on a meaning consonant with the interpretation of the poem offered in the present article. 'You are an Oriental,' the jeweler says to the maiden of the dream vision, still mistaking her for that pearl which had glittered away (*aglyȝte*, 245)[10] from him into the grass. 'You lived not two years in our country—not long enough to learn even the ordinary Christian prayers, the *Our Father* and the *Creed*. How, therefore, could you possibly be made queen immediately upon your arrival in Paradise?'

The visionmaiden replies to the jeweler's question not directly, but with a discourse upon the vocation of every soul to that high estate (*lere*, 616)[11] which was hers, with a discussion of the sacraments of Baptism and Penance, of God's grace and of rewards.

[8] *Gef* here is pronounced a present subjunctive by Gollancz and by Carleton Brown, *MLN*, xxxiv (1919), 42-45, both expecting the conventional mediaeval prayer at the end of the poem. Osgood, also expecting the prayer, calls *gef* (pret.) a 'probable error for *gyue* (pres. subj.)'.

[9] Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 3, and Gollancz (ed. 1921), p. 115, n. 3, emphasize the fact that the best pearls came from the Orient.

[10] *aglyȝte* (cf. *glyȝt*, 114), derived by both Gollancz and Osgood from ON *glúa*, 'shine, glitter'—a meaning particularly applicable to a jewel—is forced by both into the meaning 'slip away,' as if from *aglíden*.

[11] The MS *lere*, emended [*h*]*ere*, 'hire, wage,' by Gollancz and Osgood may possibly be the same as *lure* with the meaning 'estate'. Cf. E

But why did she not instantly correct the jeweler's error regarding her identity? Why did the poet represent her as almost encouraging the jeweler in his obsession? Why but because the poet wished his poem to go on? As a whole, the poem surely attests the diligence of the author in gathering an abundance of material from Holy Scripture for the edification of his readers That material would have been completely wasted had he permitted his imagined jeweler to understand immediately the truth about the vision-maiden If he, the jeweler, had at once recognized her as the soul, all the appealing narrative of the Laborers in the Vineyard, all the pageantry of the subject matter appropriated from the *Apocalypse* would have been lost to the poet's readers There would have been no further opportunity for the exercise of that joy of mediaeval writers, the debate. The theme itself would have lacked the persuasive force lent to it by an incomparable artistry

For, inspired by objective truth, a maker of beauty out of material already at hand, the author was, in the mediaeval sense, a true artist He was, in addition, a theologian conversant with that branch of the sacred science known as mystical theology, and, therefore, clear on the mystical status of his fictional jeweler. The latter is depicted as in what might be called the primary grade of mysticism, the primer class In the course of the vision-experience he was instructed in the *A, B, C* of the mystical life, renunciation. It was through his rash attempt to reach Paradise—where the highest state, the unitive, is enjoyed by the soul—that he incurred expulsion from the vision-land His act of contrition and of humility followed promptly (1189-1194) 'Had I always bent to that Prince's Will, and yearned for no more than was granted to me, and kept myself there (i e, on the hither side of the dividing stream) as the pearl that was so blessed (i e, the vision-soul) exhorted me, thus disposed,[12] drawn to God's Presence, to more of His mysteries I should have been led'

Fenimore, "A Monetary Question in *Gautier D'Aupais*?" *MLN*, LV (1940), 338-42 For *-er* and *-ur* in words of French origin, v *supra*, n 3, *synglure*

[12] MS *helde*, pp of *helden*, defined in *Prompt Parv* 'inclino,' may repeat the idea of *bente* (1189) or express a common meaning even of classical Latin, 'favorably disposed' The form, *helde*, is the regular preterite The final *-d*, even if the participle required it, could be dropped here in accordance with the usage of NWM dialect, especially in this poem Cf *hope*, 185 Gollancz glosses *helde* as the adv, 'likely,' Lancas dialect, though, as he says, it is not found in ME Osgood emends held[r], 'rather'

Man is wont, he continues, to grasp at more than justly belongs to him (1195-96) There is such a thing as covetousness even in spiritualities. For this fault he, the jeweler, was cast out from regions that last forever Thus Heaven is not to be secured by presumption or by opposition to God's Will (1199-1200) but by co-operation This co-operation is evidenced by those who reject the thraldom, the love-dominion (*luf-daungere*, 11)[13] of earthly goods, purchasing by renunciation of such inordinate attachment to them, that flawless pearl (743-44), eternal happiness This teaching, as has been already said, belongs to the centuries—even to the twentieth[14]

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MODERN TEXTUAL CORRUPTION IN MS CAMBRIDGE ADDITIONAL 3470

When John Bale quotes the *Catalogus scriptorum* of Boston of Bury, he often differs from the text as it survives in the single extant manuscript, MS Additional 3470 in the University Library at Cambridge (MS A), which was transcribed about 1700 for Thomas Tanner[1] The editors of Bale's notebook compare his quotations from Boston of Bury with the extracts from MS A in the introduction to Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* and point out many discrepancies, but make no reference to the fact that any medieval text which, like Boston's *Catalogus*, survives in a unique modern manuscript, will usually prove to have been revised

[13] *luf daungere*, Gollancz (ed 1921) unjustifiably translates 'Severing Love,' which, he says (*op cit*, n 11) means 'God's Will' Thus he quite reverses the sense of the line, and, at the very outset, blurs the theme of the poem

[14] Cf Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, O S B., *Saint Andrew Missal* (St Paul, Minn, 1937), p. 1511 'The Duke (St Hedwig's husband) having died, Hedwig, like the merchant mentioned in the Gospel, gave away all her riches to acquire the precious pearl of eternal life.'

[1] The MS is inscribed on a flyleaf, "To the Rev'd Dr Tanner, Chancellor in Norwich" The date is earlier than Thomas Hearne's reference to Tanner's transcript, September 22, 1709, in his *Collections*, Oxford Historical Society, II (Oxford, 1886), ed C E. Doble, p 24

in modern times if it can be put to a test Bale cites his manuscript of the *Catalogus* as belonging to Aylotus Holte Buriensis,[2] the same person doubtless as Ailot Halstede alias Holte who was pensioned as a monk of St Edmund's, Bury, at the dissolution of the monasteries[3] Evidently after Holte had left the abbey he had in his possession the manuscript of Boston's *Catalogus* which had formerly belonged to the Bury abbey library, presumably Boston's autograph and the only medieval copy, for Bale would have known of any other through Holte The MS was apparently one of the books which Bale left behind in Ireland when he went into exile. In the seventeenth century it was in the possession of James Ussher archbishop of Armagh (d 1656), and of Thomas Gale in Tanner's time, and it was known to other scholars[4] Hearne notes hearsay that the MS "whence Dr Tanner took his transcript" was in the hands of John and Awnsham Churchill, the London booksellers, and nothing further is known of it.[5] The material in Bale's notebook is the nearest we have to the original manuscript

Bale quotes only a few fragments of the *Catalogus*,[6] but he includes authors who are not in the excerpts in Tanner's *Bibliotheca* except for their names, and some who are left out altogether.[7] And the text of the *Catalogus* as it appears in the *Bibliotheca* includes authors and titles and other matter not in the *Catalogus*

[2] John Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed R L Poole and Mary Bateson (Oxford, 1902), p 49

[3] *Letters and papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (1539), part II, no 462, p 168

[4] Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britanneo-Hibernica sive de scriptoribus*, ed. David Wilkins (London, 1748), in his account of Boston of Bury. For references to other scholars who knew the *Catalogus*, see E A. Savage, "Notes on the early monastic libraries of Scotland with an account of the *Registrum Librorum Angliae*." in the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, *Papers*, XIV (1930), 1 ff.

[5] Hearne as in note 1 above, VII, 24, June 29, 1719, and IX, September 11, 1725

[6] Out of 670 odd entries in MS A, as in Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, pp xvii-xliii, about 107 are quoted by Bale.

[7] All the authors in Bale's excerpts are in MS A, including Columban and Nicholas Byard. Ricardus de Pratellis and Robert de Mt Michaelis are said to be from Boston of Bury in Bale's second edition of his *Summarium scriptorum* (Basel, 1557-9), pp 131-2, but Ricardus de Pratellis is now only in the summary list of authors at the end of the *Catalogus* in MS A, and the excerpt on Robert de Mt Michaelis is identical with that from the Norwich catalogue, cf note 15 below

itself but only in the extensive marginalia in MS A, which an eighteenth century annotator copied from the kindred text in MS Tanner 165 in the Bodleian Library (MS T) entitled *Registrum Angliae de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, a thirteenth century compilation of the English Franciscans sometimes called *Tabula septem custodiarum fratrum minorum*[8] and Boston's model and chief source in his record of libraries.[9] The annotator compared the two catalogues with care, marking titles in MS A which are in MS T, and interpolating supplementary matter from MS T in the margins and between the lines of MS A, wherever he could crowd it in, usually in brackets or with the citation *MS S* or *S* meaning MS Sancroft as MS T was then called,[10] but although the annotations are obviously insertions and in a hand distinctly not that of the scribe, these marks of differentiation are ignored in the *Bibliotheca*, and the brackets and citations are often omitted, so that the annotations are not always distinguishable from the text of the *Catalogus* In short, for comparison with Bale's excerpts the *Bibliotheca* is not only scant but misleading

If both MSS A and T are compared with Bale's excerpts,[11] however, traces of modern revision of the text of the *Catalogus* are quite clear. In Lanfranc, for instance, Bale parallels MS A closely except that he has the title, *Consuetudines monachorum*, which is not in MS A, although in Tanner's *Bibliotheca* the title, *Liber consuetudinarius*, is printed as though it were in the *Catalogus* while in reality it is an annotation from MS T.[12] That is, the

[8] This older catalogue is not to be confused with the Norwich catalogue which contained authors not in the *Registrum Angliae* and not in Boston Henry Wharton misunderstood the *Registrum* as a short form of Boston's *Catalogus* (cf Tanner on Boston of Bury), occasioning various mistaken statements, as in J W Thompson's *Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939), p 618, where Boston's *Catalogus* is described in terms of the *Registrum* more or less, with every detail erroneous.

[9] M R James, "The list of libraries prefixed to the catalogue of John Boston of Bury and kindred documents," British Society of Franciscan Studies, x (London, 1922), 37 ff, A G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), pp 164-7, 235-7

[10] Tanner on Boston of Bury.

[11] Photostats are used here, by courtesy of the Bodleian and Cambridge libraries For the photostats, acknowledgment is due the American Association of University Women.

[12] MS T, f 117v: Opera Lanfranci, Epistole eius,] Contra Berengarium,

title, *Consuetudines monachorum*, was originally in the *Catalogus* but had disappeared from the text before Tanner's time The many other additional titles which Bale's editors point out in his excerpts from Boston,[13] are all presumably authentic, though now lost from the text For instance, his excerpt on Robert Grosseteste begins with the twelfth title in MS A, *Exameron*, which is followed by two titles not in MS A,—*Sermones*, with the incipit *Pauper inops laudabunt nomen*, and *de humilitate domini*,—while his fourth title is the second in MS A, *De originali peccato*, and the rest are all as in MS A and in the same order In a few instances, the additional title occurs in MS A but in a different part of the text For instance, where MS A has an entry for Wilhelmus Parvus with the date 1197 and the title, *Super cantica canticorum* beginning *Crebra*, and another entry for Wilhelmus Neuburgensis with the date 1160 and the title, *Historia de gestis Anglorum* beginning *Historiam*, Bale has one excerpt with the name, Wilhelmus Parvus Neuburgensis, and the date 1160, and both titles with the same incipits, and where MS A has an entry for an author called *Gregorius post Guidonem* with one title, *De musica*, beginning *Debitum*, and also an entry for Gregory of Bridlington with one title only, *Super cantica canticorum*, Bale's excerpt on Gregory of Bridlington includes both these titles, and there is nothing in his notebook on the other Gregory[14] Is he combining material from two separate entries in these excerpts? He does this where he adds to his excerpt on Guido de Columpnis a sentence from the Dares Frigius entry in MS A But even here he holds to the information in Boston of Bury and does not add to it He never, in Guido or elsewhere in the notebook, deliberately emends Boston of Bury in ascription or any other matter, so that there is no ground to suppose that he turned to other sources for authority to attribute the *De musica* to Bridlington and to identify Newburg with Wilhelmus Parvus, as would have been necessary if he had found these authors in his copy of the *Catalogus* as they are in MS A

105 9 j 20 53 xxiiii xv Regula eiusdem, 8 Liber consuetudinarius, 81 De corpore et sanguine domini, 15 1

[13] Cf Gervase of Tilbury, Walter Bokedene, Walter of Exeter, William de Altone, John of Cornwall, Osborn of Canterbury, and Warner, and note 16 below

[14] See also the two entries, Robert Holcote and Holcote in Boston of Bury, and Robert Molindensis and Bale's Robert Criklade and Robert Loreyn

Bale usually marks his excerpts from Boston with the citation phrase, *Ex catalogo Bostoni Buriensis*, but he sometimes quotes a passage from Boston of Bury which he found also in a catalogue from Norwich not otherwise known but evidently in part a parallel text, and here he uses the phrase, *Ex utroque catalogo Nordovicensi et Buriensi* or *Ex utroque Anglorum catalogo* [15] All the authors in these excerpts are in MS A (but not in MS T) and mainly as in Bale [16] Bale's form is different, for he usually omits Boston's elaborate headings except for the date which he places at the end His incipits are often longer [17] and he has no explicits, and almost none of the library record. And there are countless slight variations in diction, word-order, syntax, and the like, in his excerpts. Except for these characteristic differences, he is usually in short entries in close agreement with MS A, as, for example, in Radulphus Niger, where he has the same titles in the same order and with the same incipits, though without explicits, while MS A is corroborated by

[15] According to Bale's notebook there were authors in Boston of Bury not in the Norwich catalogue, and authors in the Norwich catalogue not in Boston, but see note 7 above on Robert de Mt Michaelis which suggests that Boston did not always trouble to cite both catalogues where he found them in agreement

[16] Bale agrees with MS A except in these particulars 1) Where the citation phrase is *Ex utroque Nord et Bur*, in the excerpt on Abbo he adds four incipits, on Alred of Rievaulx, two titles, *De adventu domini* and *Dialogus*, both in MS T, and two incipits, omitting one title and two incipits, on Nequam, one title, de *assumptione*, with minor variations in the heading, longer incipits, and omission of two titles, on Alcuin, see below note 20 and accompanying text, 2) where the citation phrase is *Ex utroque Anglorum catalogo*, he adds, in the excerpt on Adelard of Bath, one title, *Questiones naturales*, on Arnulphus, one title, *Disputationes*, and lacks the identification with Ernulphus of Rochester though it is in Bale's *Summarium scriptorum*, on Bede, he adds three titles, all in MS T, *De purgatorio Patritii*, *De ponderibus et mensuris*, and *Exameron*, omits many titles, and has longer incipits, on Henry Costessey, he adds the date and extends the incipit, on Johannes Scotus, he adds the detail that John's *De eucharistia* was condemned at the Council of Vercelli, which is in Boston's cited source, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, XXIV, 42 (in Boston of Bury by error XXVIII, 83), on Robert of Oxford he parallels the entry for Robertus Molinensis in MS A, omitting two titles and differing in the order Wherever MS T is paralleled in Bale but not in MS A, Bale is corroborated by MS T

[17] Cf in Bale's notebook, the editors' note on Osbert of Clare that the incipits are extended in different ink

Boston's cited source, Niger's own canon of his works in his *Chronicon*, or as in Leporius, where Bale reproduces the entry in MS A which is a paraphrase of Gennadius in his continuation of Jerome's *de viris illustribus* [18] Where the entry in the *Catalogus* is long, Bale often selects, but he still follows MS A closely, as in Richard de St Victor or Anselm [19] Sometimes he seems to simplify a wordy passage, as in Alcuin, where, though he lacks half of Boston's titles, everything he has is in MS A in the same order, both the titles and the long heading which is marked by two striking peculiarities, viz the identification of Alcuin with Albinus of Canterbury, Bede's contemporary, and a long quotation from Boston's chief source in this entry, the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, XXIV, 173 [20] Sometimes Bale's minute differences are so distinctive as to seem authentic, as in the excerpt on Edmund Rich, *Edmundus Abendonensis archiepiscopus Cantuariae scripsit contemplande dictatis Speculum*, instead of the fragmentary passage in MS A in which the scribe was apparently unable to make out his copy, *Edius archiepiscopus Cantuariae floruit A Ch et scripsit Librum qui vocatur Speculum Edi*, or in the excerpt on Johannes Scotus, where Bale preserves matter which is in Boston's source, Vincent of Beauvais, and so was undoubtedly in Boston originally but is not in MS A.[21]

There is little or nothing in MS A to indicate that the scribe observed differences in ink or handwriting or any other evidences of revision. After the Arnulphus entry there is a note in the scribe's hand that part of the entry is in a "recent hand," but this may have been in his copy [22] Another passage in MS A is obviously alien, and it is not in Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, viz *Houden scripsit de processu Christi et redemptionis nostrae, Ave verbum .. verbum ens in principia. Est inter fratres Min Norwic* This is at the end

[18] Niger, *Chronicon*, ed Robert Anstruther, Caxton Society (London, 1851), p 97, and Gennadius, no 59, and MS A Leporius Monachus et Presbyter praesumens de puritate vitae Pelagianum dogma caeperat sequi sed per B. Augustinum admonitus et emendatus scripsit de emendatione sua libellum, 1 Item, de incarnatione Christi, li 1

[19] Cf Tanner's *Bibliotheca*

[20] See above note 16

[21] See note 16 above

[22] The note, very faint in the photostat, reads, NB Quae hic mini[o] subnotantur manu recenti inferuntur

of the section for authors whose names begin with H What marks it as certainly alien is the source of information, a manuscript at the Franciscan priory at Norwich, for this is not one of the libraries in the preliminary key list of libraries either in Boston's *Catalogus* or in the *Registrum Angliae*, so that it has no number and is therefore mentioned here by name, and it does not occur at all in MS T nor elsewhere in MS A. But this passage appears verbatim in Bale's notebook, except that the citation phrase is *Ex Minoritis Nordovici*, so that the source is not Boston of Bury but, as in MS A, a manuscript belonging to the Franciscan priory at Norwich. It seems likely that this interpolation in MS A originated with Bale himself.

Thus Bale has preserved slight but conclusive evidence of revision of the text of the *Catalogus* of Boston of Bury in modern times In quoting from Boston where he is borrowing from such sources as Vincent of Beauvais or Gennadius, Bale witnesses the authenticity of all material in MS A from these sources, but to reconstruct the text, the very same manuscripts of these sources which Boston used would be necessary, and at present it is not known whether they exist.

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'HUDIBRAS' BUTLER ABROAD

The Duke of Buckingham was sent on a diplomatic mission to France in the summer of 1670 Accompanied by Buckhurst and Sedley, he was immediately preceded or followed—the records are not clear—by a distinguished entourage which is said to have included the historian of the Royal Society Thomas Sprat, the comedian Joe Haines, and the satirist Samuel Butler.[1] Although, apparently, V. de Sola Pinto was certain of Butler's presence in Buckingham's suite, it has never been satisfactorily proved. The last person publicly to doubt it was E. S. de Beer, who wrote,

I have been unable to look up Mr Pinto's references to the papers in the Archives étrangères Of the other documents to which Mr Pinto refers the letters in the State Papers, France (Public Record Office), alone mention

[1] V de Sola Pinto, *Sir Charles Sedley* (New York, 1927), p 114.

a "Mr Butler" Unless the papers in the Archives étrangeres are more explicit the question of identification must remain open [2]

At the moment, of course, the Archives étrangères cannot be consulted However, a section of the commonplace book Butler kept between 1650 and 1680 provides almost incontrovertible, if circumstantial, evidence for Mr Pinto's contention [3]

At the beginning of the book appear several pages which Butler devoted to observations on France and the French and to an English-French dictionary Happily, he set down among the observations some which make it possible for the opening section to be dated with relative precision "The present King [Louis XIV] is building a most Stately Triumphall Arch (which is called a triumphall arch) in memory of his victories and the great actions which hee has performed. . . ." And further,

Hee is now building a magnificent fabrick upon a Hill without the towne [Paris] which hee pretends to bee a Colledge for Astronomers & builds it High that they may have a freer prospect of the Heavens from all parts. But the Strength and fortification of the design of It makes It plaine that hee intends it for a Castle to overtop and command all parts of the Citty & to have a free view of all the Houses in that Rather than those in the Heavens .

These suspicions of Butler's were ill founded; the castle-like structure really was an observatory for the stars The arch was unquestionably the Arc de Triomphe du Trône set up in the Faubourg S. Antoine to celebrate the victories of Louis XIV in Flanders and la Franche-Comté in 1666-1667. Designed by Claude Perrault, it was partially erected between 1668 and 1680 when construction finally stopped altogether, very little work, however, was done after 1670. The Observatory—so it was actually called—was also designed by Perrault. On a site selected by the most prominent astronomers in Paris, the building was begun in 1667 and com-

[2] E S de Beer, "The Later Life of Samuel Butler," *RES*, IV (1928), 164

[3] Butler's commonplace book was lost to the academic world between 1793, when Treadway Russel Nash brought out his edition of *Hudibras*, and 1941, when Dr A S W Rosenbach listed it in his catalogue of *English Poetry to 1700*; as a result, only a small part of it has ever been published and its contents are relatively unknown

I am deeply indebted to Dr Rosenbach and Mr John Fleming for permitting me to use the manuscript in the preparation of a doctoral dissertation and this article It is pleasant to be able to record here my appreciation to both

pleted five years later.[4] Obviously, since it was unfinished when Butler described it, he must have done so before 1672.[5] Since, moreover, the first entry of payment for both the Observatory and the Arc de Triomphe is dated 1669, it is unlikely that Butler's references were set down earlier.[6] If Butler did make the trip to France then, there is small reason to doubt that he did so in 1670.[7]

But did he make the trip? The English-French dictionary leads one to the affirmative answer as do his Gallic observations, by reason of their number, isolation, and content. Many of them, indeed, sound amusingly like the prejudiced mutterings of a typically provincial tourist. In point of fact, Butler's impressions of France, often interesting *per se*, show his insularity to have somewhat beclouded his perceptions.[8] Though he made no mention of Molière, Racine, and Corneille, for example, he yet maintained that the "Theaters & Stages & Actors [of the French] are most intellerable, in Comparison of ours & their musick much worse than punchinello's." And he rambled on at length about playhouses and diction.

Their Pitts are made [of] Shelving, like ours but without Seates, which makes them stand very uneasily & *to save their money, Buy pleasure with Paine.*

[4] Sir Reginald Blomfield, *A History of French Architecture* (London, 1921), I, 84 f.

[5] On the basis of the arch passage from Butler's commonplace book which Nash quoted in his edition of *Hudibras*, Jan Veldkamp believed that Butler visited France and dated the trip 1673, assuming that the arch was the Porte Saint Denis and that it was near completion since Butler called it "stately." This arch was built in 1672-1673, but, as Veldkamp acknowledges, Butler apparently knew of no arches honoring the king which were built before the one he spoke of. Veldkamp, *Samuel Butler* (Hilversum, 1923), p. 210, n. 2.

[6] Blomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 1, apparently quoting "Blondel, 'Arch. Franc,' II, 57."

[7] The fact that Butler's "Ode on Claude du Val, the [French] Highwayman" was published in 1671 suggests that Butler's visit to France, if he made one, were in 1670 or early 1671. On the other hand, it is true that du Val actually worked in England and was hanged at Tyburn. A trip to France, however, might have stimulated Butler's interest in French nationals, particularly those who were notorious!

[8] All the following quotations save the one referred to in note 10 are from unnumbered pages in Butler's commonplace book, they have not been published before. For a complete picture of Butler's impressions of France, see also the observations quoted by Nash in his edition of *Hudibras*.

They have no manner of passion in their pronunciation, nor change of their voyces according to the Sense But run on as they used to doe in Speaking & make a short stop at every Rhime which is most Lewd & ridiculous for without Cadence & Accent, in pronunciation the best Sense cannot but lose much of its grace and Elegance, in any Language, But the French who use to pronounce a whole Line without any distinction, as if it were all but one word, lose that Advantage of Humouring Sence (if they had it) which other more Sober & Significant Languages, never omitt [9]

It is entertaining, when one considers the English language, to find Butler criticizing the French also on the grounds that "for pronouncing words otherwise then They are written they make the most confounded Stuff in the world"

Butler was evidently not altogether at home in an alien tongue. Yet his English-French dictionary, although it was never completed, shows that he did make an effort to understand Even so we are not surprised to find him complaining, "The French use so many words upon all occasions that if they did not cut them so Short in pronunciation that they are allmost Inarticulate, They would grow tedious & insufferable." [10] And "when they meete in Conversation they all (like Jackdaws & Rookes) chatter rather then talk together & no man minds what another saies because he knows before Hand, that it is not worth his attention." Further, "*every man has a speciall Regard to what Hee sayes Himselfe, but none at all to what he heares from others*. And by these meanes They are all better pleased, then if they talkd ever so much to the purpose" Again, the French

are naturally *so Incontinent of their Tongue* that there is nothing so uneasy to Them as to be Silent Their Loquacity is so naturall to them, that whosoever has to do with any of them, though in the smallest matter Imaginable shall never come off without a long Dispute & wrangling

Apparently, Butler, who was perhaps himself also naturally loquacious, was pained almost beyond endurance by French garrulity, for he recurred on several occasions to the subject, even declaring that

[9] In his edition of *Hudibras* (New York, 1847), p 15, Nash gives the following passage from the commonplace book. "They find it much easier to write playes in verse then in Prose, for it is much harder to imitate nature then any Deviation from Her, *And Prose* requires a more proper & naturall sense & expression, then verse; that has Something in the Stamp & Coyne to answer for the Alloy & want of the Intrinsiq value." It is to be found in the French section of Butler's manuscript

[10] Nash quoted this complaint in his *Hudibras*, p 15

when finally the French become speechless, their physicians realize death can no longer be kept away

Quite probably, the provincial Butler found himself gulled by French tradesmen He maintained, at least, that "in Paris they gaine most by Cheating of Strangers either in the Price of whatsoever they have occasion for, or the fantastique value of their money which they reckon by *livers, Though they have no such Coin in the World.*" He even came to feel that "the French nation is like a Tavern to the English that drink up their wines & are ever wrongd & Cheated by Them" However, he asserted also,

> Nothing does more demonstrate their poverty then the Baseness of their *money* the most common being of Alloyd & debased Brasse And the difference that is between the Coyn (which is the common measure of all things) of the 2 nations seemes to bee the very same in Every thing else

Moreover, "there is nothing Great nor magnificent in all the Country (that I have seen) but the building & furniture of the King's houses & the Churches, All the rest is mean & paltry, The shops little & dark & poorely furnished with wares" Not without some significance is the allusion to "the King's houses," which a member of Buckingham's suite would have been sure to visit Still more important is the parenthetical "that I have seen." It is as close as Butler ever approached to stating explicitly that he made a trip to the continent.

But nearly all Butler's observations are those of an eyewitness Without doubt, three of them in particular are derived mainly from personal experiences in Parisian streets. There his attention was evidently drawn to lawyers and ladies, both of whom provoked him to record the impressions they produced Of the former, he wrote

> The Lawyers seeme to bee more Numerous then ours at London For though in the vacation of the parliament[?] the pallace was fuller upon a small Court day then ever I saw Westminster Hall in full terme[11] They walk the Streetes in great state & Every man has his Lacquey or two to bear up the taile of his Gowne They plead at the Barr in the same fashioned Capes that priests wear in Procession Both they and their Clyents must of necessity bee admirably Litigious That doe so naturally abound with words & their own Sence all trades sett up among them as

[11] If Butler did visit France as a member of Buckingham's entourage, he left England in July and returned in September The Parliament of Paris was on vacation throughout September

they do with us to shew that Justice Itself is but a Commodity & to be bought & Sold to Him that will give most

Butler's attitude toward the ladies was decidedly ungallant Said he,

If the Citty of Paris were far more Beautiful then It is, It wants one ornament with which London abounds, Beautiful women, that are the greatest rarities in the world in Paris & make It looke like a great fair House Ill furnished For those that have not Seen It cannot fancy How unpleasant it is to find a perpetuall defect of those objects which all men naturally take delight to looke upon, & which are so common with us that we take no notice of Them untill by the want of them, wee find how uncomfortable a Great Citty appeares without Them *For the same things that Excellent pictures are to Galleryes Beautiful women are to Streetes*

Although most of Butler's judgments are derogatory, he did pay one tribute to Paris, to Louis XIV, and to France 'And indeed it is Wonderfull to what a great Quietnesse hee has reduced the one halfe of it [Paris] i e. the filous That used to gouvern as freely in the night as the Magistrates did in the day for there is no Citty in the world that is freer from those people nor any Country in which the High wayes are Safer." Surely no man could make such statements as these if he had not himself observed the streets and highways of both the English and the French. It is safe, therefore, to conclude that in 1670 a somewhat prejudiced, if intellectually curious, Samuel Butler did embark for France.

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SWIFT AND SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE—A CONJECTURE

Swift, in his correspondence, frequently refers to the two illnesses which plagued him recurrently from his young manhood onward—giddiness and deafness In his later years he sometimes referred to the events which he supposed to be the causes of these misfortunes During his last visit to England, in the course of a light-hearted exchange of letters with Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk, he wrote:

Twickenham, August 19, 1727

Madam,

About two hours before you were born I got my giddiness, by

eating a hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond, and when you were four years and a quarter old bating two days, having made a fine seat about twenty miles farther in Surrey, where I used to read and sleep, there I got my deafness [1]

In his fragmentary autobiography, written at about the same period, Swift said,

The troubles then [1688-9] breaking out, he [Swift] went to his mother, who lived in Leicester, and after continuing there some months, he was received by Sir William Temple, whose father had been a great friend to the family, and who was now retired to his house called Moor Park, near Farnham in Surrey, where he continued for about two years For he happened before twenty years old, by a surfeit of fruit to contract a giddiness and coldness of stomach, that almost brought him to his grave, and this disorder pursued him with intermissions of two or three years to the end of his life Upon this occasion he returned to Ireland by advice of physicians, who weakly imagined that his native air might be of some use to recover his health, but growing worse, he soon went back to Sir William Temple, [2]

About 1738 Swift, or another (possibly Dr John Lyon at Swift's direction), added the words "in 1690" after the phrase "returned to Ireland."

Finally, in a letter to William Richardson, dated April 30, 1737, Swift wrote, "In England, before I was twenty, I got a cold which gave me a deafness that I could never clear myself of." [3]

It has been held that these three statements by Swift about his illnesses are inconsistent We know that at the age of twenty-one, about the beginning of the year 1689, he left Dublin; that after visiting his mother in Leicestershire he joined the household of Sir William Temple at Moor Park in Surrey, and that in the summer of 1690 he went back to Ireland, where he stayed a year and a half before returning to England.[4] If, then, the "surfeit of fruit" occurred after he joined Temple's household at Moor Park it did not take place "before twenty years old," nor, presumably, did it take place at Richmond, if we assume, as all biographers do, that by Richmond Swift meant Temple's estate at Sheen, which Temple had given to his son John in 1688 Various interpretations have

[1] *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (ed Elrington Ball), London, 1910, 3 413-14.

[2] Forster, John, *Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1875, p 13

[3] *Correspondence* (ed Ball), 6 13

[4] *Correspondence* (ed Ball), 1 2 and note 1 1 3, note 3

been put upon Swift's statements some biographers have dated the "surfeit" in 1689, ignoring the words "before twenty"; others have accepted "before twenty" and have located the "surfeit" in Ireland rather than in Richmond. There is an additional contradiction in the 1737 letter, where Swift assigns the cold that caused his deafness, instead of the surfeit that caused his giddiness, to the period before he was twenty, though in the 1727 letter he has the deafness beginning when he was about twenty-four.

The last inconsistency is so undeniable that it must be attributed to Swift's failing memory But it must be remembered that that memory did not begin to deteriorate noticeably until about 1730,[5] at the earliest, so that its failure does not provide a very satisfactory explanation of the discrepancies between the two statements made in or near 1727.

One biographer of Swift, however, has let fall a chance remark which may shed some light on the problem. In a note to a discussion of the origins of Swift's illnesses Forster remarks casually,

> That the illness [giddiness] began in England he repeated ten years later [than 1727], and if his memory is not at fault in the date given here, it must have happened during one of his boy-visits to his mother.[6]

This is the only reference to these "boy-visits" by Forster or anyone else. What, if any evidence is there that such visits ever took place? Elsewhere, and in another connection, Forster mentions an entry in one of Swift's notebooks which speaks of his voyage from England to Ireland in the spring of 1704 as his tenth voyage between the two countries.[7] Ball comments that this must be a mistake, since fourteen voyages are known up to this date—two in Swift's infancy, when he was carried away by his nurse, six in connection with his three visits to Temple, and two each in 1701, 1702, and 1703-4. He also notes that Lyon speaks of this last as Swift's sixteenth voyage (ostensibly relying on the same notebook entry), and suggests that Forster misread "10th" for "16th."[8] It is possible that Forster was right, however, and that by a voyage

[5] See *Correspondence* (ed. Ball), passages cited in index under Swift, gradual loss of memory, 6 370, col. 1.

[6] Forster, *Life of Swift*, p 48, note.

[7] Forster, *Life of Swift*, p 131

[8] *Correspondence* (ed Ball), 1. 48, note 1.

between the two countries Swift meant a voyage to and from England. In this event there would have been twenty single voyages, with six unaccounted for If Lyon was right, two voyages would be unaccounted for In either event there would be a strong case for at least one "boy-visit" Nor is Swift's failure to refer to it in the autobiography significant there would have been no place in that concise document for the chronicling of boyhood vacations.

The next question is the date of the visit on which the "surfeit of fruit" may have occurred There are good reasons for putting it late in Swift's youth. The older he became the more able he would have been to make such a journey unattended. And the statement that the surfeit occurred before Swift was twenty suggests by its phraseology that it was not long before his twentieth birthday (November 30, 1687), while the repetition of the statement ten years later, though now transferred to the inception of the deafness, shows how deep an impression the incident had made on his mind.[9] It seems unlikely that he was very much less than twenty at the time of which he spoke

There are additional clues in the letter to the Countess in which Swift places the surfeit and the cold four and a quarter years apart, the first having taken place at Sheen, the second at Moor Park. It is important to establish, if possible, the dates of Temple's residence at each place. He appears to have moved to Moor Park in November, 1686, to have returned temporarily to Sheen (which he had given to his son John) at the outbreak of the Revolution (i e, not long after November 5, 1688), and not to have returned to Moor Park until late in 1689[10] Unfortunately some of these dates depend on the testimony of his sister, who was notoriously inaccurate in such matters[11] Everything would, of course, be much

[9] Forster, *Life of Swift*, p 49, remarks of this episode that it so impressed Swift that for the rest of his life he refrained from eating fruit, though he was passionately fond of it

[10] Woodbridge, Homer E, *Sir William Temple*, London, 1940, pp 214, 216

[11] *Ibid*, p. 220 An example of this inaccuracy which apparently has not been remarked is the statement that Sir William on his way from Sheen to Moor Park, which he reached in November, 1686, visited King James at Windsor. The *London Gazette* for September 30-October 4, 1686, announces that the King and Queen returned from Windsor to London on October 1, and subsequent issues show that the King remained in London at least until the end of December.

simpler if we knew the date of the birth of the Countess of Suffolk, or at least what Swift believed it to be The tone of his letter to the Countess suggests that this subject had been discussed by them recently, and perhaps that her birthday came at a time of year not far from the date of his letter, August 19 Unfortunately, however, both the day and the year of the Countess' birth are unknown. The year is commonly given as 1681, it is so stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*[12] Apparently the only authority ever given for this date is the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1767, which, in listing the deaths of the month gives the age of 86 for the Countess[13] There seems to be nothing behind this more authoritative than items in various London daily papers (the earliest I have found is in *Lloyd's Evening Post* for July 27-29, 1767) to the effect that the Countess died "at her seat at Marble-Hill, near Richmond, in the 86th year of her age" Both statements seem to be wrong, however, as the parents of the Countess were married in 1684[14] and there is no indication of any scandal connected with her birth Horace Walpole, a close friend of the Countess in her later life, gives her age as 79 at the time of her death[15] Lord Hervey says she was about forty when George II succeeded to the throne (June 11, 1727),[16] and Lady Betty Germaine, an intimate friend of the Countess and sister of her second husband, the Hon George Berkeley, says that she was four or five years older—"no more"—than that gentleman,[17] who was born in or about 1693.[18] These three independent witnesses would place the birth date of the Countess near 1687 or 1688.

Putting all these facts together we begin to focus on the late summer or early fall of 1687 as the date of the Countess' birth The time of year is supported by the fact that Swift could not easily have visited England during his college years except in

[12] Rigg, J M, *Henrietta Howard, DNB*, 28 22

[13] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 37 383 (July, 1767)

[14] Benjamin, Lewis S. *Lady Suffolk and her Circle*, London, 1924, pp 2-3

[15] *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed Mrs Paget Toynbee), London, 1903-5, 7 124-25

[16] Hervey, John Hervey, Lord, *Some Materials toward Memoirs*, London, 1931, 1 42

[17] *Correspondence of Swift* (ed Ball), 5. 205.

[18] Cooper, Thompson, *George Berkeley, DNB.*, 4. 348.

summer vacation, and the surfeit presumably took place in an orchard when the apples were approaching ripeness As for the precise year, 1687 would agree exactly with Walpole's statement and closely with Hervey's and Lady Betty Germaine's estimates It was also the year in the late fall of which Swift became twenty. And the approximate concurrence of the Countess' fortieth birthday with Swift's sixtieth in 1727 would have supplied a good reason for Swift's references in his letter

How does all this agree with Swift's known movements? Could he have "made a fine seat" at Moor Park four and a quarter years after the summer of 1687? Writing from Moor Park to the Rev. John Kendall on February 11, 1691-2, Swift refers to the seven weeks he has been there [19] This can hardly carry his arrival farther back than December 22, 1691. "Four and a quarter years, bating two days" before this would have been September 24, 1687 As Swift would have been expected back in Trinity College on October 1 [20] this would have been running it rather fine On the other hand the golden pippins Swift mentions ripen late and are usually not eaten before November,[21] so a late September date seems to be indicated It appears that the Countess may well have been born on or about September 24, 1687, and that Swift had his surfeit of fruit on the same day.

In response to all of this the reader may properly inquire, "What of it?" Well, there are two not insignificant conclusions one might reach if all that has been suggested above is true In the first place, it would help to substantiate the general trustworthiness of Swift's autobiographical statements Secondly, it might help to explain Swift's attitude toward Temple in the early days of their relationship Suppose Swift was sent to Sheen in the late summer of 1687 by his mother to secure a promise of some assistance from the Temple family in the matter of a future career, when the youth should have completed his education and obtained his master's degree. Suppose further that Swift raided the orchard at Sheen with the result he has recorded. Finally,

[19] *Correspondence* (ed Ball), I 4

[20] Bolton, Robert, *A Translation of the Charter and Statutes of Trinity College, Dublin*, Dublin, 1749, p 78

[21] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed, 1910), 2 224 (*Apple*, by A. B Renale)

suppose Swift returned to Ireland immediately after the episode, and did not return to England until the troubles in Ireland in 1689 forced him to cut short his studies while yet several months from his degree Would he not naturally have been somewhat slow to present himself to the Temple family (he stayed some months at Leicester with his mother before going off to make his fortune)? Would he not have approached his patron with the shamefaced feeling that he was remembered as the immature boy who had made a pig of himself eating green apples? Would he not have interpreted Temple's natural reserve and coldness as special contempt for him and for his abilities? In the light of our knowledge of Swift's sensitiveness about his own dignity such a set of circumstances might account for much.

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EARLY CRITICISM OF POPE'S "NIGHT-PIECE"

In *Essays in Criticism and Research*, Geoffrey Tillotson states, "Coleridge, it seems, was the first to examine the 'popular lines' from Book VIII of the 'Iliad'—

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night . "[1]

It is doubtless true that the critics Tillotson cites, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth,[2] were unprecedented in the vehemence with which they castigated the "night-piece" in Pope's Homer. Coleridge was not, however, the first "to examine" the passage as a hostile critic.

Samuel Say, in 1745, proposed a six-line version of the passage, a version half as long as Pope's, and in the same meter He commented, "*One line* in Homer is thought sufficient to furnish *more Verses* in the Landskip, or Night-piece, given us by his Translator,

[1] Geoffrey Tillotson, *Essays in Criticism and Research* (Cambridge, 1942), pp 68-9

[2] Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* (ed. J. Shawcross, Oxford, 1907), I, 26 n-27 n; Wordsworth, "Essay, Supplementary to the Preface," *Poems* (London, 1815), I, 358-9; Robert Southey, review of Chalmers' *Works of the English Poets*, *Quarterly Review*, XII (1814), 85-7.

than are to be found in the Whole *Simile* in the Original, which consists of no more than *Five* Verses, and, in a close Translation, might be comprised in the same number of Lines in English"[3] Say did not indulge in more explicit criticism of Pope's lines Almost thirty years later, Say's version reappeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[4] In a contribution devoted chiefly to Shakespeare's descriptions of night, one Q had made the not uncommon remark that Pope's night-piece is "superior to the original"[5] To this "Crito" took exception. He not only repeated (with acknowledgments) Say's comment to the effect that Pope had "paraphrastically expanded" five lines into twelve, and quoted Say's six-line translation, but added,

> It is not only a paraphrase, but, through all the harmony of the versification, and brilliancy of the colouring, it is easy to discover some glaring blemishes, for which there is no warrant in the Greek In particular, the splendor of the sun at noon-day could not be described more strongly than this moon-light is and in the two last lines, by the introduction of *swains* in the plural number, the most striking allusion in the simile is lost, the *shepherd*, in the original, being Hector himself, the *pastor populorum*[6]

An anonymous writer in the *London Magazine*, in 1782, cited Pope's night-piece as an illustration of his thesis that the ancients excel the moderns

> The former strike us with a fullness and energy, where the latter only struggle to amuse us with a finical arrangement, and a glittering phraseology And here it may not be improper to observe, that rhyme is unfriendly to the sublime style[7]

In comment on Pope's passage, this critic said

> Though the translator has succeeded in no part of his work better than in this place, where he has lavished all the powers of expression, and pomp

[3] Samuel Say, "Essay the Second," in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1745), p 156

[4] "Crito," "Objections to Pope's Translation of Homer's Night Piece," *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIV (1774), 77

[5] "Q.," "Shakespeare's Description of Night Critically Considered," *ibid*, 24

[6] *Ibid*, 77 "Q" entered a rebuttal, pp. 164-5

[7] "On Sublimity in Literary Composition A Fragment," *London Magazine*, LI (1782), 579.

of language, he renders that only beautiful which in the original is highly sublime Indeed, the thoughts are preserved entire, but on comparison, you cannot help perceiving how much they are enervated, especially the conclusion of the passage, which, as Homer wrote it, is most plain and simple [8]

Again, the *Monthly Magazine*'s "Enquirer," in 1797, compared Pope's night-piece with Milton's description of night in Book IV of *Paradise Lost*, to the disadvantage of the former, which "loses some portion of the effect of imagery equally just and beautiful, by an unseasonable and incongruous mixture of the trivial and the playful" [9] O P C., in the *European Magazine* for July, 1797, wrote a detailed comparison of Pope's lines with those of the original, and concluded, with apologetic praise of Pope: "the copy varies from the original, and does not so appositely answer the purpose, for which solely the simile is introduced" [10] In this judgment he was seconded by J. D., who said, "No Ovidian graces or decorations will, in my opinion, atone for the majesty and noble simplicity of the Father of Poetry. . . . Homer's simplicity . . . is very poorly compensated by the luxuriance of Pope" [11] J. D. not only censured Pope's paraphrase as unfaithful to Homer but concluded, "Considering the passages with regard only to their respective beauty, the original is infinitely superior." [12]

I do not suggest that the influence or, indeed, the substantial originality of the Lake Poets' criticism has been overestimated, but that Coleridge's censure of Pope's night-piece was by no means wholly without precedent.

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[8] *Ibid*, 580

[9] "Is Rhyme an Ornament, or a Defect, in Verse?" *Monthly Magazine*, III (1797), 275 6.

[10] O P C, "On Pope's Homer," *European Magazine*, XXXII (1797), 17

[11] J D, "To the Editor of the European Magazine," *ibid*, 233

[12] *Ibid*, 234

DR. JOHNSON AND BLAIR'S SERMONS

The Reverend Dr Hugh Blair, who had long been admired as a preacher at Edinburgh, thought now of diffusing his excellent sermons more extensively, and encreasing his reputation, by publishing a collection of them He transmitted the manuscript to Mr Strahan, the printer, who after keeping it for some time, wrote a letter to him, discouraging the publication Such at first was the unpropitious state of one of the most successful theological books that has ever appeared Mr Strahan, however, had sent one of the sermons to Dr. Johnson for his opinion, and after his unfavourable letter to Dr Blair had been sent off, he received from Johnson on Christmas-eve [1776], a note in which was the following paragraph

'I have read over Dr Blair's first sermon with more than approbation, to say it is good, is to say too little'

I believe Mr Strahan had very soon after this time a conversation with Dr Johnson concerning them, and then he very candidly wrote again to Dr Blair, enclosing Johnson's note, and agreeing to purchase the volume, for which he and Mr Cadell [his partner] gave one hundred pounds[1]

This story, as told by Boswell, is essentially true—so far at least as Dr. Johnson is concerned—but both the implication and the facts need qualification in the light of a letter hitherto overlooked.

The story implies that William Strahan, the publisher, had by himself been unable to perceive the merits of Blair's sermons, and that, save for Johnson's note of praise, they would not have been published. One cannot venture very far into such probabilities, but the fact remains that Blair's sermons had already been sold for £100 and publication arrangements made before Strahan or Johnson had anything to say in the matter

The letter which clears up the account is in the National Library of Scotland. It is dated "29 Oct^{r} 1776," is written and signed in Blair's hand, but does not, unfortunately, contain the name of the person addressed. That this person was William Strahan is, however, perfectly clear from a personal reference in the opening sentence, and from the way in which the letter as a whole fits into the pattern of things. Since the letter is short, I offer it complete·

Dear Sir

I was very glad to learn that my friend Mr Watson concluded with you upon terms which appear very fair to him and which I hope shall prove not

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill-Powell (Oxford, 1934), III, 97-98.

unprofitable to you[2] I have my self at present in view a small publication in which it would give me pleasure that you were concerned, though it be of that kind on which I am afraid you will put no great value, being no other than a Volume of Sermons All I can say for it is that I have employed more time & pains on them than I believe is commonly bestowed on publications of that Nature As Sermons announced by The Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh may probably draw some Criticism I have given all the Attention that was in my power both to the Composition & the Style, and they have undergone the careful review of several of the best Judges here who would not wish my reputation to be endangered by them

Mr Kincaid, our present Lord Provost,[3] who is my old acquaintance & friend was very desirous of being concerned in the publication and offered me £100 for the Property which I have accepted But both he and I wish very much that you were joined with him, in case the proposal suits you, and if he has not already written, he will soon write to you on the subject. I think I can flatter my self that in a reasonable time there will be a demand for another Edition. Mr Kincaid, out of favour to me, proposed to print at present only a small one, which as it will promote the Credit of the book by accelerating a new impression, may turn out no disadvantage to the Proprietors in the end. The sermons are mostly of a popular & sentimental kind, intermixed with one or two of a more philosophical cast To send you specimens of so small a work I suppose would not have been worthwhile I subjoin the subjects in case you have any desire to know them Most sincerely I condole with you on the death of our excellent & amiable friend, Mr David Hume

Following the closing regards, the signature, and the date, appears the list of sixteen titles which made up the first volume of Blair's *Sermons* as published in 1777.

It was, obviously, to split a publishing risk that Kincaid invited Strahan into the venture Blair fell in with Kincaid's suggestion quite naturally, because he had nothing to lose and all to gain by having the London firm of Strahan and Cadell to distribute the sermons in England. Kincaid died on 21 January, 1777, and his contracts were taken over by William Creech. The *Sermons* appeared in Edinburgh on 8 February, 1777, under the imprint of Creech, and in London on 15 April under the combined imprints of Strahan, Cadell, and Creech. That the publishing contracts gave a third-interest to each of these men is affirmed by Blair's acknowledgement of a £50 gift in the following terms:

[2] Robert Watson, Professor of Logic at the University of St Andrews, published a *History of Philip II of Spain* through Strahan in 1777.

[3] More to the point was the fact that Alexander Kincaid was H. M Printer and Stationer for Scotland.

I shall as you [Strahan] desire draw upon you by next post for £33-6-8*d* which is Mr Cadell s share and yours [4]

The immediate effect, then, of Johnson's Christmas-eve note praising Blair's sermons was to draw Strahan and Cadell into a publishing venture which proved to be one of the most profitable of the century

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KEATS AND COLERIDGE "LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCI"

Among the many speculations about possible influences on "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" I have never seen Coleridge's "Love" mentioned, yet the song in that poem sung to Genevieve by her lover at least suggests a comparison This song tells of a knight who for ten years loved without encouragement "the Lady of the Land" He was "crazed" by her "cruel scorn," seeing visions of an angel that was really a fiend Then, still insane, he managed to save his Lady from "outrage worse than death," whereupon she repented of her coldness and nursed him back to sanity, only to see him die.

Although this story is not very much like Keats's, there are similar details besides the cruel lady and distracted knight. Coleridge's knight "pined," Keats's was "haggard" and "woe-begone." Coleridge's lady "nursed him [the knight] in a cave," where she "wept and clasped his knees", Keats's "took me [again the knight] to her elfin grot," where she "wept and sighed full sore." In Keats's poem "the sedge is withered from the lake" and there are other signs of late autumn; in Coleridge's, "on the yellow forest leaves a dying man he lay." The similarity of feeling and atmosphere comes out especially in Coleridge's

[4] Blair to Strahan, 3 August, 1779. MS Dc 2 76 in the University of Edinburgh library Blair received two such gifts from the publishers when they found themselves blessed with a "best seller" for which they had paid only £100. For the second volume Blair was paid £300, and for the third and fourth £600 each. The fifth and last volume was published posthumously in 1801.

That sometimes from the savage den,
And sometimes from the darksome shade,
And sometimes starting up at once
In green and sunny glade,—

There came and looked him in the face
An angel beautiful and bright,
And that he knew it was a Fiend,
This miserable Knight!

Another point of resemblance is that "Love," like "La Belle Dame," uses an abcb stanza of three four-stressed lines followed by a shortened fourth The fourth line is not that of Keats, having three stresses instead of two, but it has a comparable effect of closing the stanza.

Possible external evidence of a relationship between the two poems lies in the fact that the journal-letter to George Keats which contains the earliest draft of "La Belle Dame" records, a few days before, Keats's well-known meeting with Coleridge.[1] They walked together, and Coleridge talked, among the topics Keats remembered were "Different genera and species of Dreams—Nightmare—a dream accompanied by a sense of touch—single and double touch—A dream related— . . Monsters—the Kraken—Mermaids— . . A Ghost story." It seems not unlikely that this encounter might have set Keats to reading Coleridge afresh, or at least to remembering his poems, and the sound and theme of "Love" might have struck new chords in his own mind Even the talk about dreams and the supernatural might have borne fruit in "La Belle Dame Sans Merci"

In Keats's oft-quoted remarks about "Negative Capability," written more than a year before "La Belle Dame,"[2] the one example cited of the absence of this quality is "Coleridge, for instance, [who] would let go by a fine isolated verisimilitude caught from the Penetralium of mystery, from being incapable of remaining content with half-knowledge." Any reader of "Love" must notice the difference in tone between the part of the poem which I have been quoting and its framework of the uneventful love-story wherein a modern suitor wins his Genevieve in orthodox fashion,

[1] *Letters of John Keats*, ed Maurice Buxton Forman, Oxford, 1931, II, 349-50.

[2] *Ibid*, I, 77

without benefit or hindrance of magic However "exquisite"[3] the stanzas may be, they lack the mystery which is a marked feature of Coleridge's best work. It seems possible that this was one of the poems giving rise to Keats's stricture, that the song about the knight might, in his opinion, have been better used for itself alone, and that months afterward, when he was again thinking of Coleridge, this remembered dissatisfaction had its part in the making of his own poem, in which the reader remains "content with half knowledge"

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WORDSWORTH'S "TRAVELLING CRIPPLE"

In the seventh book of *The Prelude* Wordsworth referred to a beggar whose name and reputation are ascertainable

> As on the broadening causeway we advance,
> Behold, turned upwards, a face hard and strong
> In lineaments, and red with over-toil
> 'Tis one encountered here and everywhere,
> A travelling cripple, by the trunk cut short,
> And stumping on his arms . (199-204)

His "travelling cripple" was Samuel Horsey, King of the Beggars, whom he probably saw during his visits to London in 1791, when he spent three and one-half months there, at other times between 1793 and 1795, and in July and September, 1802. In April, October, and November, 1804, when he was composing Book VII, Wordsworth first wrote of Horsey, but his sketch, with very slight change, was not published until 1850.

Horsey is identified by an engraving dated August 30, 1803, and included in Kirby's *Wonderful and Eccentric Museum* (London, 1820), I, 331, with these accompanying words "Samuel Horsey, aged fifty-five, a singular beggar in the Streets of London."[1] He is portrayed in impassioned words by Lamb in "A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis," published in the

[3] See *Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, Oxford, 1912, 330 n.

[1] *Notes and Queries*, First Series, V (April 17, 1852), 376-7

London Magazine, June, 1823 Nineteen years after the engraving was made and eighteen years after Wordsworth had written his first draft of his "travelling cripple," Samuel Horsey disappeared from the streets, and Lamb lamented his absence:

> These dim eyes have in vain explored for some months past a well known figure, or part of the figure, of a man, who used to glide his comely upper half over the pavements of London, wheeling along with most ingenious celerity upon a machine of wood, a spectacle to natives, to foreigners, and to children He was of a robust make, with a florid sailor-like complexion, and his head was bare to the storm and sunshine He was a natural curiosity, a speculation to the scientific, a prodigy to the simple Few but must have noticed him, for the accident, which brought him low, took place during the riots of 1780, and he has been a groundling so long He seemed earth-born, an Antaeus, and to suck in fresh vigour from the soil which he neighboured He was a grand fragment; as good as an Elgin marble The *os sublime* was not wanting, and he threw out yet a jolly countenance upon the heavens Forty-and-two years had he driven this out of door trade, and now that his hair is grizzled in the service, but his good spirits no way impaired, because he is not content to exchange his free air and exercise for the restraints of a poor-house, he is expiating his contumacy in one of those houses (ironically christened) of Correction.

H. B C wrote in *Notes and Queries* (April 17, 1852) that he remembered Lamb's "sailor-looking man" in Fleet Street and the Strand and heard of his resistance when apprehended as a vagrant, probably about 1822. B B., of Pembroke, in the same publication and of the same date, said he had heard from his father and from his grandfather (1) that Horsey was living in St. Mary-le-Strand in 1780 and could not, therefore, have been brought low during the riots of 1780; (2) that his legs were shot off by a cannon-ball; (3) that to each of his two daughters he gave a dowry of £500, (4) that he presided at a "cadger's club" at the head of a table with a wife on each side, (5) that he earned so much money he kept these two wives from quarreling; (6) that he was at one time a sailor, and (7) that he left a handsome sum of money when he died.

AUTREY NELL WILEY

The Texas State College for Women

A NOTE ON THE *SPECTATOR 459*

In the *Spectator No 459*, writing on what we are to believe in religion and what we are to practice, Addison said "But, to conclude with the Words of an Excellent Author, *We have just enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.*" In his edition of the *Spectator*, Henry Morley remarked that the "Excellent Author" was "probably Tillotson," and G. Gregory Smith, in his edition, made the same identification

Swift, however, expressed this thought exactly as quoted by Addison in the first of his "Thoughts on Various Subjects" As Dean Swift's work was printed in 1711 and the *Spectator* paper is dated August 16, 1712, it would seem probable that he is the "Excellent Author" Addison had in mind

KATHRYN DAVIS

Tulane University

REVIEWS

Baudelaire A Criticism By JOSEPH D BENNETT Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. 165 $2 00

It is refreshing, after the welter of books on Baudelaire's life and character, his religious and aesthetic beliefs, his sources and his influence, to find one which deals directly with his poetry. When Mr. Bennett says that Kenneth Burke, in *Counter-Statement*, "was the only critic I found who dealt seriously with the technical and textual aspects of Baudelaire's poetry, and this in one paragraph on the 'Femmes damnées'" (p 57, n. 1), he betrays some ignorance of Baudelaire criticism, but it is certainly true that critics have too often sheered away from the poetry itself.

The first chapters, an inadequate and occasionally inaccurate sketch of Baudelaire's life, a discussion of his dandyism and then of his Catholicism, on all of which much work has been done with which Mr Bennett is apparently unfamiliar, are the least satisfactory part of the book Mr Bennett is quite right, I believe, in stressing the prime importance of the religious problem in Baudelaire's work, but he emphasizes its theological side at the expense of the intense personal and moral preoccupations which made Baudelaire a disciple of Emerson as well as of De Maistre. Incidentally, the reader is continually exasperated in these chapters by the

absence of any references for the prose quotations, all given in translation

The significant and interesting part of the book is a direct study of Baudelaire's poetry. It is unfortunate that Mr. Bennett's opinions are so often expressed with an assurance verging on arrogance and couched in somewhat pretentious language, the validity of his use of mathematical terms is particularly questionable. But he has read the *Fleurs du Mal* with understanding and penetration, as his excellent summary shows

> Baudelaire was the first important modern reaction against the early nineteenth century poetry He worked his craft around the major paradox of good and evil He revived an ironical form of treatment and a clarity of metaphor and imagery which had seldom been seen since the seventeenth century English poets His actualization of paradox gave his work its incisive and disturbing power His admiration for Gautier provided him with a technical discipline, a preference for tight and rigid verse form, which makes many of his poems seem like finely wrought crucibles within which a mass of molten metal is raging (p 30)

Mr. Bennett goes on to study a number of individual poems, giving first the French text, then his own translation, then a discussion which is too often a paraphrase. The result is unfortunate. inevitably the reader feels a gradual dilution of the poetry through these stages, especially when Mr. Bennett expands some of Baudelaire's swift terse comparisons In discussing the lines in *L'Imprévu* on Célimène's heart, "racorni, fumé comme un jambon," he cooks his ham with an abundance of culinary detail that leaves the reader with a slightly queasy feeling reminiscent of that inspired by the over-gory details of Musset's too-famous pelican.

The most flagrant, and the most inexcusable flaw in the book is the large number of errors in translation. The translations are frankly intended to help the reader's understanding of the French, and one can excuse to some extent the frequent awkwardness of style, the questionable choice of words But there are also purely grammatical mistakes, and actual mistranslations of words The most startling example occurs in the first *Spleen* (p 91), where Mr. Bennett, apparently unaware of the use of *jeu* for a pack of cards, translates

> Cependant qu'en un jeu plein de sales parfums,
> Whilst in a sport full of filthy perfumes,

and, two lines later,

> Le beau valet de cœur et la dame de pique

become

> The dandy valet of the heart and the lady of pique

In spite of mistranslations, of dangerous paraphrases, of some questionable interpretations, there are many illuminating comments

on the poems, such as those on *La servante au grand cœur* (p. 74) Personally, I should disagree with that part of Mr Bennett's conclusion which finds "Baudelaire's asthetic and formal achievement" (p. 160) in such rigidly formal poems as *Le Balcon* and *Harmonie du soir,* and characterizes *Les Petites Vieilles* as "this rambling poem," and the end of *Le Voyage* as an "immature and fulsome manifesto." To my mind, Baudelaire's greatness lies, not in the poems which immediately became the anthology pieces of a generation enamored of Parnassian perfection, but in those, such as *Le Cygne,* in which he accomplished in verse the miracle that was his aim in the *Petits Poemes en prose,* a style adapted "aux mouvements lyriques de l'âme, aux ondulations de la rêverie, aux soubresauts de la conscience" But this is a matter of opinion Mr Bennett's book, in spite of all the reservations I have made, is a step in the right direction in Baudelaire criticism, a study stemming from an immediate personal contact with Baudelaire's poetry

MARGARET GILMAN

Bryn Mawr College

Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792) By EDWARD PEASE SHAW Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1942 Pp. x, 136.

This is a carefully documented study of one of the distinctly minor writers of the eighteenth century The book is largely biographical, as indeed it had to be, since the literary importance of Cazotte was, and remains, slight. The reader follows him from his birth in the old Burgundian town of Dijon through his early years and his government service as *contrôleur* on the island of Martinique in the middle of the century. Cazotte returned to France in time to take a vituperative part in favor of French music as against the Italianate school of Rousseau, Grimm, and Diderot in the famous "Querelle des Bouffons" in 1753 As a middle-class conservative, Cazotte quite naturally found himself at odds on most questions with both Voltaire and Rousseau. He was very definitely *anti-philosophe.* His uncritical spirit led him also to a ready faith in the occult. For him, as for many other minds, rationalism was too strong a draught As he smiled courageously on the guillotine, he said to the crowd· "Je meurs comme j'ai vécu, fidèle à Dieu et à mon Roi" (p. 113).

"Jacques Cazotte," says Mr Shaw, "was not endowed with the qualities which might have given him immortality He lacked a penetrating analysis of human nature, the elegant beauty of formal perfection, the emotional values of lyrical subjectivism, and a realistic observation of the world . Although he was gifted with a natural story-telling ability, Cazotte's

besetting fault is his uncontrolled imagination Cazotte's masterpiece, *Le Diable amoureux*, was written at the most favorable time of the author's life, when fantasy had been slightly moderated by the realism of *Le Lord impromptu*, and when Martinist ideas had not sobered the piquancy of his talents His remaining works are mediocre" (pp 114-15)

This is surely as much as safely can be said, and Mr. Shaw has said it, calmly and judiciously.

The author notes further that Nodier and Nerval acknowledged the influence of Cazotte (p. 116) The German *conteur* of the marvelous and the fantastic, Hoffmann, gives direct evidence of having read his French predecessor (p 66). It is probable also that the Englishman, "Monk" Lewis, was acquainted with Cazotte's *Diable amoureux* (p 116). So this minor story-writer has his small niche, far removed from the main highways of French literature.

Mr Shaw seems to have overstressed Cazotte's supposed goodness of character, based after all on uncritical testimony, and it is impossible not to feel at the end that Cazotte's literary talents appear even slighter, buried under the mass of his too numerous or inconsequential other activities Fortunately, Mr Shaw has not strained after effect or tried to blow into a major figure one who, like La Fontaine's "grenouille," could only have burst in the attempt

GEORGE R. HAVENS

The Ohio State University

La Nativité et Le Geu des Trois Roys. By RUTH WHITTREDGE. Bryn Mawr Bryn Mawr College dissertation, 1944. Pp 217.

Back in 1837 Achille Jubinal published these two plays among the eleven dramatizing the life of Christ or the lives of saints which he entitled "Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle." Exactly one hundred years later Miss C Sennewaldt re-edited the miracle play dealing with Sainte Geneviève, which incidentally is also the name of the library where the only extant manuscript is preserved.

This Bryn Mawr dissertation does honor both to the editor and to her teacher, the erudite Mrs. Grace Frank. Jubinal's text was not a critical edition, his introduction was not factual; he offered no glossary. Miss Whittredge has culled from her training in paleographic interpretation and from her command of hagiographical literature the knowledge needed to overcome all of his defects. The very date used in Jubinal's title is misleading. Likewise Lucien Foulet's placing of all the eleven plays in the fourteenth century was too sweeping (page 25). All aspects of Miss Whittredge's treatment converge on her assigning the first performance of these two plays to the first half of the fourteenth century and their

present redaction to the second half of the same century. The accumulated evidence points to the period between 1350 and 1420 as the date of composition for the entire series

Apparently Miss Whittredge finished the proof-reading too early to revise two references (on pages 64 and 213) the most recent edition of the Anglo-Norman *Seinte Resurreccion*, begun by the late Professors T. A. Jenkins and J. M Manly and completed by Miss J. G. Wright and Miss M K. Pope, appeared at Oxford in 1943, and the most exhaustive investigation of the *estanpie* genre is that of Lloyd Hibberd, *Speculum*, XIX (1944), pp 222-249 Personally I feel that the shift from English to modern French in translating the Old French glossary is highly commendable Inasmuch as "La Nativité" and "Le Geu des trois roys" have an obvious relationship with "La Resurrection Nostre Seigneur," all three of which may well be the work of the same playwright, it is regrettable that this edition is limited to two panels of the triptych and only the Limbo scene from the third An announcement has been made that Miss Wright and Miss Whittredge intend to re-edit two of the other dramatizations It is to be hoped that they will then go on with the other six They would thereby fill a lacuna in the religious drama of mediaeval France, and enable one to draw tenable conclusions as to the sources, language, versification, staging, and literary position of the entire repertory.

RAPHAEL LEVY

Louisiana State University

English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 Being an Account of the Development of the Tragedy of the Common Man Showing its Great Dependence on Religious Morality, Illustrated with Striking Examples of the Interposition of Providence for the Amendment of Men's Manners By HENRY HITCH ADAMS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp x + 228 $2.50 (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 159)

Mr. Adams finds that domestic tragedy is "a tragedy of the common people, ordinarily set in the domestic scene, dealing with personal and family relationships rather than with large affairs of state, presented in a realistic fashion, and ending in a tragic or otherwise serious manner." He presents Elizabethan domestic tragedy as brought into being not so much by a growing regard for the worth of the common people as by an urge to create moral drama that would strike home with peculiar force to the bosoms of

ordinary men and women In so doing he justifies himself As he says when he comes to write the conclusion of his book, "Domestic tragedy had not as yet learned how to reveal the greatness of simple people . . . It chose its heroes from common ranks of society because those persons afforded the best lessons to the men and women of similar ranks who made up the audiences Its methods were those of the broadside ballad, the homiletic tract, and other didactic literature"

English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 deals with a background of popular theology concerning the punishment and forgiveness of sinners, with the introduction into *The Mirror for Magistrates* and other nondramatic literature of tragical stories about the falls of commoners with the characteristics of domestic tragedy found in many morality plays and in several plays based on legend and history, with the murder plays of the type of *Arden of Feversham*, with Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (which gets, as it deserves, a chapter to itself) and with the decline of domestic tragedy beginning about 1607 There is a useful appendix listing a number of lost plays of which some were clearly domestic tragedies and others may have been. The book is a successful survey of a fairly wide field

Naturally the chief matter with which Mr Adams concerns himself is the murder plays In them he finds a common pattern of sin, discovery, repentance, punishment, and expectation of divine mercy. He undertakes to show that "a knowledge of the popular theology of Elizabethan England is as important for an appreciation of these plays as is a familiarity with the modern capitalistic system for an insight into the drama of the last fifty years," and he emphasizes the fact that divine Providence often intervenes in them to punish vice, reward virtue, protect innocence, and aid the authorized agents of God. Among the conventions that he discovers in the murder plays are the "chain of vice," by which the protagonist goes from sin to sin, and the "scaffold speech" of repentance There can be no question that *Arden of Feversham* and other plays of its kind demonstrate in a special way the strength of that force which impelled Elizabethan tragedy to be something other than the medieval tragedy of Fortune. With directness and simplicity—too much simplicity—they show tragic justice, instead of tragic chance, at work in the world. Sometimes Mr. Adams presses rather hard in making out the theological framework for such tragedies This framework may not always be so complete as he thinks it is. But he reveals its importance.

Mr. Adams is certainly under no illusions as to the tragic merits of the plays that he has chosen to study. He thinks that they have dramatic merits and that as long as *Arden of Feversham*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *A Woman Killed with Kindness* are read critics will find in them manifold excellences But the merits are in the

main merely those of effective realism. *Arden of Feversham* and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* introduce us to "people who, for a time, transcend their petty existences through the terrifying power of their ruling passions," and *A Woman Killed with Kindness* "makes as strong an appeal to pity as do these others to terror" Yet despite the appeals to terror and pity which he recognizes Mr. Adams decides that "in none of the Elizabethan domestic tragedies is real tragedy achieved" This judgment is based upon his conviction that real tragedy must evoke an appreciation of grandeur and tragic waste by the presentation of truly great protagonists As he sees the heroes of the Elizabethan domestic tragedies they are dominated by jealousy, cupidity, lust, and malevolence rather than rivalry, ambition, love, and hatred They are only miserable sinners and not to be compared with Tamburlaine, Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, Oedipus, and Orestes. Mr. Adams sets high standards It may be that most of the authors of Elizabethan domestic tragedies would have accepted some such standards. These authors tended to be unpresumptuous and sometimes they apologized for their homespun offerings.

WILLARD FARNHAM

University of California, Berkeley

The Dissidence of Dissent The Monthly Repository, 1806-1838 By FRANCIS E. MINEKA. Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1944 Pp. xiv + 458. $4 00.

Only those who have attempted to discover what the *Monthly Repository* was really about can fully appreciate the minute workmanship of Francis Mineka's account, which has made available the entire course of the periodical from its brave inception as an organ of Unitarianism, 1806, to its honorable and happy death in the "editorial arms" of Leigh Hunt, 1838.

The vigor and sweep of Unitarian support of the reforms instigated by the Philosophic Radicals has not been adequately recognized partly because one of its chief instruments, the magazine which was ultimately to become powerful through the writing of W. J. Fox and John Stuart Mill, was for too long a time involved in doctrinal polemics. Mr. Mineka has helped to define the complex contentions of the *Repository* by a history and analysis of Unitarianism from Priestley to Channing, particularly its correlation with Arianism and Socinianism. Further clarification of the monthly's position is given by a closely packed and inclusive survey of English religious periodicals from 1700 to 1825, revealing the wide range of public opinion from suspect liberality to such

instances of expansive orthodoxy as the caption "On the Probable Design of Providence in Subjecting India to Great Britain."

Mr Mineka's scholarship is at its best in delineating the life and work of the prominent Unitarian minister and forceful editor, William J Fox, who changed the emphasis of the *Repository* from theological to economic and political issues. Not satisfied with "the narrowness of sectarian religious effort" in the face of such appalling needs as the reform of parliament, the secret ballot, the rights of women, and changes in the divorce law, the penal code, and the system of education, Fox used the magazine to widen the field of religious concern, urging that "it is chiefly in politics that we must do. not violate, our duty to our neighbour"

Mr. Mineka shows in detail how Fox's position was reinforced by the writing of Harriet Martineau and of the *Monthly*'s most brilliant correspondent, John Stuart Mill The contributions of both Mill and Fox himself are examined for their adherence to, and more especially their divergence from, Economic Radicalism, revealing among other not always congruous trends St. Simonian compassion for the oppressed, Utilitarian loyalty to the principle of laissez faire even when applied to the factory system and the poor laws, and Unitarian need for individual integrity and the right to approach all questions from the standpoint of reason and science.

Of particular interest also are the *Repository*'s discussion of Milton's *Christian Doctrine* and the development under Fox of literary criticism, which reached distinction in its prompt recognition of Browning and Tennyson The usefulness of the magazine is greatly extended by Mr. Mineka's careful identification of authorship, which he has appended together with a discriminative bibliography.

MIRIAM M. H. THRALL

Philadelphia

Carlyle Prophet of To-Day By FRANK A. LEA. London: Routledge, 1943.

It is difficult to fathom just why this little book was published, except that Mr. Lea evidently wanted to write a book on Carlyle. It purports to be a revaluation of Carlyle in terms of the warring ideologies of to-day, and to show, especially toward the end, that Carlyle's teachings can aid in the re-birth of religion, which alone can save Europe. Yet, while Carlyle's ideas are excellently paraphrased, and while there is occasional discussion of Nazism and Marxism, there is after all no clear-cut indication of the way in which Carlyle can be a real prophet of our times For one thing, Mr. Lea has done himself the injustice of ignoring almost all the literature on Carlyle since, he confesses, "a great deal of this

makes very [illegible] reading" (p. v). He confesses also to having drawn very little on Carlyle's letters, journals, or the *Reminiscences* With the aid of Mr Neff's biography of Carlyle, and with a few glances into the *Letters* and the *Reminiscences*, Mr. Lea takes Carlyle's text and expounds the Carlylean doctrine He is excellent in his exposition of *Sartor Resartus*, extremely able on the *Cromuell* (whom most writers on Carlyle neglect), and is truly penetrating when he brings Carlyle and Marx together But one has the feeling throughout the book that all has not been thought out clearly or fully Mr. Lea skips too quickly over the problem of Carlyle and science, and he is not really straightforward about the blundering letter to *The Times* in 1870, when Carlyle seems, at least in this generation, to have bet on the wrong horse And he writes rather uncomprehendingly about the might-makes-right theory, which, argue as we will, means what it says in Carlyle's text, in spite of his qualifying phrases No matter how well Carlyle softened it with transcendentalism, it was and is, historically, a disastrous doctrine, and no one serves Carlyle well who does not face that fact honestly Finally, Mr. Lea's attempts to link up Carlyle with Eddington, Whitehead, and "John Middleton Murry's impressive book, *God*" (pp 28-29), and with J C Smuts' *Holism and Evolution* do not shed much light, since they are brief and fragmentary.

War-time conditions may account for the few errors in proof reading—*Sturm und Drang* (pp. 3, 41, 52) and *Holiness and Evolution* (p. 17). But it cannot account for exaggerative and subjective judgments, such as holding *Sartor* to be the "highest achievement of the Romantic movement in Europe" (p 30), or the *French Revolution* to be the "greatest monument to the historical imagination in the English language" (p 40). Mr Lea sides wholly with Carlyle against "parliamentary democracy", he holds that the Bellisle of Carlyle's *Frederick* was an "eighteenth-century Winston Churchill . . . incapable of seeing things as they are" Such are a few of the positions which Mr Lea takes. His book is eminently readable and suggestive, but its arbitrary judgments remind one of what Matthew Arnold said was the eternal weakness of British criticism—caprice. On the whole, Mr. Lea's study of Carlyle must be read with considerable reserve. Often when it is most interesting it is most misleading.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

The Ohio State University

BRIEF MENTION

Thomas Paine Representative Selections, with introduction, bibliography, and notes. Edited by HARRY HAYDEN CLARK. New York American Book Company (American Writers Series), 1944. Pp cli + 436 The general editor of the useful American Writers Series has produced his anthology and comment upon Thomas Paine The make-up of the book differs in no important way from that of the other members of the series except perhaps in the greater fullness of detailed comment upon the circumstances which brought each of Paine's important publications into being This material the editor has condensed into a series of Notes, beginning on p 409. These are minute, but as they seem to be more particularly addressed to the student using the book than to the specialist in eighteenth-century Americana, the vexed question of the authenticity of the several texts of Paine is, probably for that reason, but lightly discussed.

The front matter of the book, which runs to over a hundred pages, goes extensively into the origin and shaping of Paine's ideas. The discussion is clear, if redundant; the editor is so filled with enthusiasm for his subject that he has furnished a superfluity of information about a writer, whose persuasive powers were great, but whose mental acumen was not much above the ordinary. It is at least to be doubted, for example, when Paine writes that "Aristides, Epaminondas, Pericles, Scipio, Camillus, and a thousand other Grecian and Roman heroes" were famous because they lived under republican governments, that this, or like citations, can be taken very seriously as evidence of the "influence of classical antiquity" upon the "thought" of the controversialist However, every man is better for intellectual enthusiasms, and Professor Clark's enthusiasm for Paine has long been known. It has produced a book useful for giving us a good sense of Paine's interests and a very real sense of the intellectual climate in which he lived.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

Harvard University

French Learned Journals. A letter of Feb. 3 from Raymond Lebègue, now professor at the Sorbonne, informs me that the *Revue historique* and the *Revue archéologique* continued publication throughout the occupation; that *RHL* for 1940 has been printed and will be published shortly; that the *Bulletin de la Société des historiens du théâtre* was published by Mlle Droz in 1943 under the title of *Travaux 1940-41*, and that *Humanisme et Renaissance,* which had ceased publication with Vol. VII (1940), reappeared in 1941 as *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* and will have completed its seventh volume by the end of the present year —H. C L.

CORRESPONDENCE

TENNYSON AND PERSIAN POETRY ONCE MORE Several years ago, in this periodical, Mr J D Yohannan asserted that Tennyson's poetry had been visibly affected by the poet's knowledge of Persian, and I took it upon myself to deny the thesis [1] Yohannan's most striking bit of evidence was a lyric written in a form suggesting that of the Persian ode, or *ghazal*, which he believed that Tennyson had inserted in the *Princess* in the edition of 1850 As a matter of fact, the lyric had appeared in the first edition, of 1847 Though I protested that the verses seemed to have been modelled by Tennyson upon the experimental forms, reminiscent of the *ghazal*, in the *West oestliche Diwan*, I could not deny the possibility that Tennyson had learned the form of the Persian ode at first hand from E B Cowell "in 1846"—as Cowell recalled, in a letter of 1898—"when I spent a few days in London and went with Ed FitzGerald to see him in his bachelor lodgings" Cowell remembered that at the time he had made an interlinear translation of an ode by Hafiz, and that Tennyson had been pleased with the Persian poetry, daunted by the Persian characters

I am now able to dispose of the possibility The first meeting of Cowell and Tennyson took place late in 1848—not, as Cowell said, in 1846, it took place about a year after the *Princess*, and Tennyson's semi-Persian lyric, had been published For in a letter which can be dated by its contents as of October, or November, 1848, FitzGerald wrote to Cowell

> A Tennyson is now residing in London, at 25 Mornington Place, Hampstead Road, a short walk from me I particularize all this because, should you come to London, you can call upon him without further introduction. I have often spoken about you to him, and he will be very glad to make your acquaintance Can you not run up here for a day or two before I leave? [2]

There can be no question that, when this letter was written, Cowell and Tennyson had not met When Tennyson had written the lyric in the *Princess*, he had had no first hand acquaintance with the Persian ode In view of his habits, one may surmise that he had admired the lyrics written by Goethe, and had looked up the matter in his old and trusted guide to information about the Orient—the stately *Works* of Sir William Jones [3]

W D. PADEN

University of Kansas

[1] *MLN*, LVII (1942), 83-92, LVIII (1943), 652-6

[2] *Letters and Literary Remains of Edward FitzGerald* (1902-3), I, 275

[3] In the edition of 1799 (6 vol.) there are four accounts, slightly varied but all rather vague, of the *ghazal* II, 235-7, 327, 404; V, 436. The third mentions that seven couplets formed the minimum of an ode Tennyson wrote a lyric in fourteen lines For an account of the imagery habitual to Persian poets, which applies with startling strictness to that in Tennyson's lyric, see V, 442

ANGLO-LATIN *Buzones* This word, which occurs in Bracton's *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* in the meaning 'county knights on whose nod (*nutus*) depends the action of the others in the county court' has been explained by Mr J C Russell (*Studies in Philology*, XLII, 18) as an English-Latin hybrid, representing a Latinization either of *busy* or of *buzz* 'to whisper, to incite by suggestion' Apart from the fact that ME *busi bisi*, if Latinized, should rather appear in a form such as **buziones*, the very hesitation of Mr Russell between two etyma so different from each other, invalidates his explanation *one clear picture* must have been at the bottom of the word There is too much reliance on a fortuitous convergency in Mr Russell's words "'Incite by suggestion' so neatly described their [the buzones'] activity that one rather favors that derivation, but these men were certainly busy as well"

Mr Russell has rightly felt that underlying this formation there must be a word with a popular ring, his preference is for the connection with 'to buzz' But it may be asked whether a Latinization of a popular OF word is not more likely, since Gallicisms in the juridical sphere predominate in Middle English (cf *culprit* etc[1]), if we can find an *existing* OF word that could have been easily Latinized into *buzones*, such an etymon would, I feel, be preferable to one involving the adaptation, with more or less difficulty, of an English word to a Latin pattern, the parallels quoted by Mr Russell, such as *aldermannus*, *utlagatus*, *bordarius* etc are simple adaptations to current Latin *morphological* patterns· in his list there is no parallel case of the addition of a Latin suffix denoting a judgment of value, such as would be implied by *-ō*, *-ōnis* (*bordarius* is the tenant of a *borda* 'house').

I would suggest as the etymon of *busones* the OF *bu*[*i*]*son* 'buzzard" (<Lt *buteo*, FEW), from which mod Fr *buse* is a regressive formation Tilander, when speaking of the derivative OF *buisnard* 'stupid' (**buisonard*) makes the following observations on the bird of prey (*Remarques sur le Roman de Renart*, Goeteborg, 1923).

> Le busard a toujours passé pour être un oiseau stupide grâce a l'impossibilité de le dresser pour la fauconnerie . . , *et grâce à son habitude de rester pendant des heures a guetter sa proie* [italics mine], Brehm Tierleben, Band 3, Leipzig 1892, p 303 308 311 Par opposition à l'epervier qui est un oiseau alerte et intelligent, l'on disait 'Ja de ni de busart n'istra esprevier' . . 'A poines fait on de bouson faucon' Du même radical dérive aussi *abuisoner* 'tromper, induire en erreur' . Après cette excursion personne n'hesitera à rapprocher du même groupe de mots le vb dialectal *buser*, comme l'a du reste déjà fait Escallier Rem[arques] sur le patois etc. [1856] . . "*Busier*, pour reflechir, penser longuement et sterilement, est un verbe de notre patois [the Picardian dialect] emprunté aux oiseleurs Il se dit par comparaison avec l'attitude et l'air stupide d'une sorte d'oiseau de proie appelé *buse* . . Froissart pour rêver, penser, réfléchir, dans le sens de notre *busier* dit *busner* ' Il commença moult fort a penser et a busner sur les nouvelles.'" Ce qui est curieux, c'est cependant que Escallier met *busner* en rapport avec l'angl.

[1] Cf the Latinization of legal words of OF origin in Bracton *roberia*, *attachiare*, *feoffamentum*, *maritagium*, *de defaltis* etc

busıness Sı, d'un côte, *busıer* repond a un type **buteare, busner,* de son côte, rend raison d'un **buteonare,* forme sur le cas regime Les patois connaissent plusieurs derives du vb *busıer busoquer* 's'occuper de choses futiles, perdre son temps' God [efroy] sous *busıer busıller* et *busıner*

The FEW testifies to the vitality of *buıson, buısonner* in modern French patois, the metaphorical meanings, derived from the name of the buzzard, are generally 'qui est lourd d'esprit et tres lent dans ses mouvements,' 'musard, qui regarde l'ouvrage, qui tourne autour avant d'y toucher,' 'qui perd son temps en bavardage ou amusement puérils,' 'nonchalant,' 'lambin,' 'éperdu, ebloui,' 'brusque, emporte'—unfortunately there is no evidence of a restriction to the idea of men engrossed in a particular occupation Since, however, the bird in question has the habit of sitting for hours quietly with eyes fixed on his prey, why should not the people, generally inclined to consider themselves victims of the law, apply the epithet 'buzzards' to the group of men sitting quietly in the court, observing the delinquents, immersed in ominous meditation—finally to indicate their opinion by a nod of the head? In the development from 'buzzard' to 'stupid' we see one possibility (which exists also in Eng *buzzard* 'buzzardlike, senseless, stupid'), in that from 'buzzard' to 'a man who quietly and ominously muses' we have another, our *buzones* must obviously originate from the second. Such popular metaphors can, on occasion, come into existence wherever the bird is known but, because of their popular character, they will not often appear in literature our *buzones* 'buzzards,' 'men who behave like buzzards at the courts' could easily be an isolated attestation of an OF popular usage After all, we can find an isolated attestation, in Fagniez, *Documents relatifs a l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce en France* II, 77, of *busons* in the phrase *a regretiers* [= regrattiers] *et a busons* (Troyes, c 1339), in which *busons* must mean 'peddlars' (a meaning derived from 'to busy oneself with useless things') and is somewhat comparable to Sp *buhon* 'peddler' (from *bufo* 'owl,' REW 1352) here, too, the attestation of the metaphoric use of the bird's name for a particular group of persons whose behavior offered an aspect similar to that of the bird, is confined to a hapax

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A CLASSICAL THEME IN LOPE DE VEGA AND G B. MARINO

Most of our knowledge about the relations between Lope de Vega and Marino come to us through the works of the Spaniard. To Marino Lope dedicated his play *Virtud, Pobreza y Mujer*[1] To him he sent his portrait so that it might be used in the *Galleria* He praises him in the imaginary garden of his *Filomena* with the words:

> Juan Bautista Marino que enamora
> Las piedras Anfion, es sol del Tasso,
> Si bien el Tasso le sirvió de Aurora[2]

which were repeated in "Epístola décima octava. Al Licenciado Francisco de Rioja."[3] High praise is also found in his piscatory eglogue· "Amaryllida"[4] In a sonnet he writes.

> Dos cosas despertaron mis antojos
> Extranjeras no al alma, a los sentidos,
> Marino gran pintor de los oídos
> Y Rubens gran poeta de los ojos[5]

[1] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LII, 212 ff S G Morley and C Bruerton in their *The Chronology of the Plays of Lope de Vega*, New York, 1940, think this play was written between 1610 and 1618 (p 160) and very likely about 1615 (p 366) Since Marino's *Galleria* referred to in the dedication was printed in 1620, it is quite possible that the *comedia* was composed as late as 1620

[2] *B A.E*, XXVIII, 424

[3] *Coleccion de las Obras Sueltas*, I, Madrid, 1776, p 486

[4] *B A.E*, LII, 211

[5] *B A.E*, XXVIII, 392 These and the *Filomena* verses are also quoted by E Levi in *Lope de Vega e l'Italia* Florencia, 1935, 29-30.

As early as 1667 F. Meninni, in his *Ritratto del Sonetto e della Canzone*,[6] listed fourteen sonnet imitations which he declares that Marino drew from Lope. More recently M. Menghini and L. Panarese[7] admit that the Italian imitated the Spaniard in some instances But E. Levi (*op. cit* 30), drawing his conclusions from the lines *dos cosas despertaron mis antojos, Marino gran pintor de los oídos, y Rubens . . .*, suggests that it is Lope who imitated Marino.

Since all of the Italian poems that are considered as imitations are in the third part of the *Lira* published in 1625, while their indicated Spanish originals appear much earlier in the *Arcadia*, 1598,[8] and *Angélica*, 1602, it would seem that Meninni, Menghini and Panarese are right in assuming that Marino is the imitator.

To this list it is now possible to add another imitation, a version of the famous "Cupid and Bee" theme[9] occurring in the sixth canto of the *Adone*, stanzas 188-92. It reads as follows:

Con queste ciancie del suo fallo stolto
Campò la pena il lusinghier crudele
Ma per altra follia non andò molto
Che a me tornò con gemiti e querele
Vassene in un querceto ombroso e folto
Ne' giardini di Gnido a coglier mele,
E seco a depredar gli aurei fialoni
Van gli alati fratelli in più squadroni

E perchè 'l dolce de' licor soavi
Orso o mosca non è, che cotant'ami,
Cerca de' faggi opachi i tronchi cavi,
Spia de' frassini annosi i verdi rami,
E nel pedal d'un elce ecco due favi
Vede coverti di pungenti essami.
Vulgo d'api ingegnere accolto in quella
Sta sussurrando a fabricar la cella

[6] Napoli, p 161 See also B Croce, *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento*, Bari, 1924, 185.

[7] In *La Vita e le Opere di G B Marino*, Roma, 1888, 150, and the pamphlet *Lope de Vega e Giambattista Marino*, Maglie, 1935

[8] The sonnet, *Onde dorate, e l'onde eran capelli* (*Lira, op. cit.*, 34) comes from *Por las ondas del mar de unos cabellos, Arcadia, Colección de las Obras Sueltas*, VI, 266

[9] See J Hutton, "Cupid and the Bee," *PMLA.*, LVI, 1941, 1036-59, and J G Fucilla, "Cupid and the Bee Addenda," *PMLA.*, LVIII, 1943, 575-79

Chiama i compagni e lor la cova addita,
Che la ruvida scorza in sè ricetta
Corre dentro a ficcar la destra ardita,
Ma la ritira poi con maggior fretta
Folle chi cani attizza o vespe irrita,
Che non si sdegnan mai senza vendetta
Pecchia d'acuta spina armata il morse,
Ond'ei forte gridando a me ricorse

E de la guancia impallidito l'ostro,
Di timor di dolor palpita e langue
—Madre, madre, mi dice, un picciol mostro,
E mi scopre la man tinta di sangue,
Un, che quasi non ha dente nè rostro,
E sembra d'oro e punge a guisa d'angue,
Minuto animaletto, alata serpe,
Hammi il dito trafitto in quella sterpe —

Io, che 'l conosco, e so di che fier aghi
S'armi sovente, ancorchè vada ignudo,
Mentre che i lumi rugiadosi e vaghi
Gli asciugo e la ferita aspra gli chiudo,
—Che d'animal sì picciolo t'impiaghi,
Rispondo, il pungiglion rigido e crudo,
Da pianger, figlio, o da stupir non hai
E tu fanciullo ancor che piaghe fai?—

E. Canevari[10] states that these stanzas derive from Anacreon Certain details are, indeed, anacreontic but other details derive from an earlier treatment of the theme by Theocritus. Furthermore, these verses are very similar to a *romance* printed as anonymous by Durán in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVI, 436, which we now reproduce for comparison.

Por los jardines de Chipre
Andaba el niño Cupido,
Entre las rosas y flores,
Jugando con otros niños,
Cuál trepa con algún sauce,
Presumiendo buscar nidos,
Cuál cogiendo el fresco viento
Por coger los pajarillos;
Cuál hace jaulas de juncos;
Cual hace palacios ricos
En los huecos de los fresnos
Y troncos de los olivos

[10] *Lo Stile del Marino nell'Adone*, Pavia, 1901, 37

Cuando cubiertas de abejas
Hallo el travieso Cupido
Dos colmenas en un roble
Con mil panales nativos,
Metio la mano el primero
Llamando a los otros niños,
Picóle en ella una abeja,
Y sacóla dando gritos
Huyen los niños medrosos,
El rapaz pierde el sentido,
Vase corriendo a su madre,
A quien lastimado dijo
—Madre mía, una abejita,
Que casi no tiene pico,
Me ha dado mayor dolor
Que pudiera un basilisco —
La madre que lo conoce,
Vengada de verle herido
De cuando la hirió de amores
De Adonis, que tanto quiso,
Medio riendo le dice
—De poco te admiras, hijo,
Siendo tú y esa avecica
Semejantes en el pico —

This *romance* re-appears with slight changes in Lope de Vega's *Adonis y Venus*, Act II, Scene X The play was probably written between 1597 and 1603[11] Reference to Adonis in the Durán version makes it fairly certain that the passage in the *comedia* is its source. For this reason, we agree with Menéndez y Pelayo[12] that the *romance*, too, is a product of Lope's pen. It is not certain whether the three canto *Adone* (c 1605) or the twelve canto poem (1612) contained the "Cupid and Bee" selection In any case, Marino's use of the theme in this connection is definitely later than Lope's and must be considered as a borrowing.

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[11] See Morley and Bruerton, *op cit*, 363.
[12] In *Obras de Lope de Vega*, VII, cclv.

WORDSWORTH'S TOUR OF THE WYE. 1798

There are two important accounts of Wordsworth's tour of the Wye River in 1798, the tour which has given us the "Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey." One of these accounts is in the Fenwick note to "Tintern Abbey"

> No poem of mine was composed under circumstances more pleasant for me to remember than this I began it upon leaving Tintern, after crossing the Wye, and concluded it just as I was entering Bristol in the evening, after a ramble of four or five days, with my Sister Not a line of it was altered, and not any part of it written down till I reached Bristol It was published almost immediately after.

The other account appears in Christopher Wordsworth's *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*.[1]

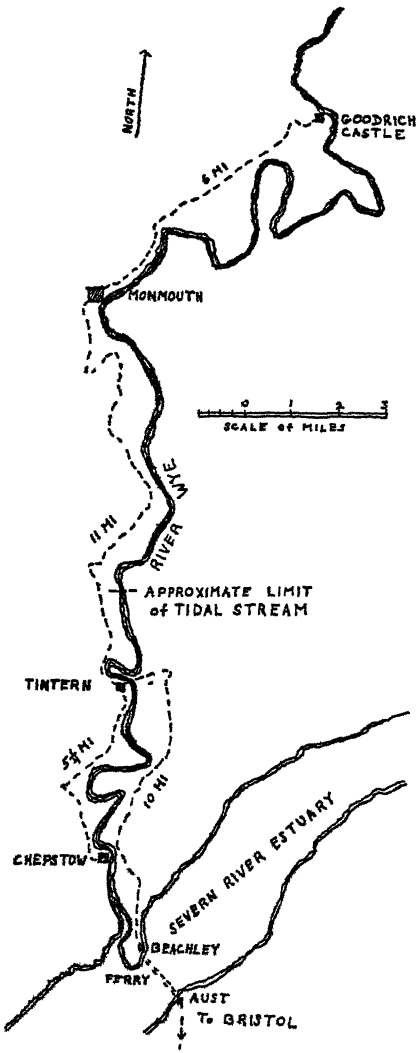
> We left Alfoxden on Monday morning, the 26th of June, stayed with Coleridge till the Monday following, then set forth on foot towards Bristol We were at Cottle's for a week, and thence we went toward the banks of the Wye We crossed the Severn Ferry, and walked ten miles further to Tintern Abbey, a very beautiful ruin on the Wye. The next morning we walked along the river through Monmouth to Goderich Castle, there slept, and returned the next day to Tintern, thence to Chepstow, and from Chepstow back again in a boat to Tintern, where we slept, and thence back in a small vessel to Bristol

William and Dorothy Wordsworth set out from Bristol toward the banks of the Wye on July 10, 1798. An overland trip of about twelve miles brought them to the hamlet of Aust[2] on the south-

[1] In the chapter entitled "The Tragedy," American edition, Boston, 1851, I, 118-9 Both these accounts of the Wye tour conflict with that of the Duke of Argyle (in a letter to the Rev. Mr Howson, Sept, 1848, see *The Poetical Works of W W*, ed E de Selincourt [Oxford, 1944, II, 517]). 'He told us he had written *Tintern Abbey* in 1798, taking four days to compose it, the last 20 lines or so being composed as he walked down the hill from Clifton to Bristol" Wordsworth tells us explicitly that the composition took place on a single day; the entire tour took four days Whether the Wordsworths returned to Bristol in "a small vessel" or arrived on foot, walking "down the hill from Clifton," is hard to determine Perhaps the vessel took them part of the way up the Avon toward Bristol and dropped them off at one of the many riverside landing places The Wordsworths would then have completed their journey via Clifton to Bristol

[2] It seems probable that the Wordsworths took the Aust Ferry, rather

east bank of the Severn Estuary, where they took the ferry across to Beachley on the small promontory which juts out to form the east bank of the River Wye A ten-mile walk brought them to a point across the Wye from Tintern, which was at that time an iron-working village of about forty houses They crossed to the west bank and spent the night at Tintern. The next morning they continued their walk up the west bank of the Wye through Monmouth to Goodrich Castle There they slept, and returned the next day to Tintern, but instead of stopping at Tintern they continued on down the river to the little port of Chepstow Undoubtedly the brother and sister inspected the celebrated ruin of Chepstow Castle—the third ruin they had seen in two days, the other two being Tintern Abbey itself, and Goodrich Castle The object of the Wye tour was as much to visit ruins as to enjoy natural scenery. The Wye at Chepstow, and for about eleven miles above it, is a tidal stream, the tides at Chepstow rising sometimes to fifty feet or more, the highest in the world, it is said, outside the Bay of Fundy Low tide exposes steep mud banks



than the New Ferry about a mile and a half farther down the Severn. The New Ferry would have necessitated a route to Tintern via Chepstow. Apparently the Wordsworths did not visit Chepstow until two days later.

After their long trip from Goodrich Castle to Chepstow—about twenty-two miles—the Wordsworths returned up the river to Tintern, by boat, and slept there. The next morning they crossed the river and made their way down on the east side of the Wye to the Severn, where they took "a small vessel to Bristol." It was during this return journey that "Tintern Abbey" was composed

It is clear that the lines in "Tintern Abbey" in which Wordsworth speaks of himself as standing on the banks of the Wye, or reposing "under this dark sycamore" and viewing "these plots of cottage-ground" are figments of imagination[3] — or at least of retrospection — for he tells us himself that he began composing the poem "after crossing the Wye," and that he concluded it "just as I was entering Bristol." Part of this time, perhaps most of it, he was on a "small vessel" which was carrying him across the Severn Estuary and up the River Avon to Bristol. Moreover, when Wordsworth introduces us to the valley of the Wye in "Tintern Abbey," he speaks of the "sweet inland murmur"[4] and in a footnote he adds "The river is not affected by the tides a few miles above Tintern." (The approximate limit of the tidal stream is shown on the map.) On the 11th of July the Wordsworths had gone up the river above the part affected by the tide; and on the 12th they had retraced this course. But on the 13th, when the poem was composed, they did not go "a few miles above Tintern Abbey." They went down the east bank of the river and back to Bristol.

This excursion was not the first occasion upon which Wordsworth had visited the Wye valley. In 1793, five years earlier, he had toured the Wye while on his way to visit his friend and college-mate, Robert Jones, in north Wales. The late 1700's were great years for tourists Tours through Monmouth and Wales in search of picturesque landscapes and romantic scenery were particularly

[3] "Tintern Abbey" makes the tour sound leisurely On July 10 the Wordsworths covered about 23 miles, on the 11th, 17 miles of hilly country, on the 12th, about 27 miles, a short part of it by boat, on the 13th, another 23 miles, part of it in "a small vessel" We may be sure that, except for the boat trips, it was a walking tour The poem gives us the character of the leisurely, pensive man contemplating nature The actual trip required about three miles an hour, eight hours a day, over hilly country—with time out to inspect ruins.

[4] Later changed to "soft inland murmur" (1845)

fashionable Wordsworth's two trips along the Wye were very much a part of this new crest in the popularity of Monmouthshire. The year before the poet's first trip, William Gilpin had brought out a third edition of his popular guidebook, *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* Gilpin's observations came out in a number of editions after the third and was long a favorite with visitors to the region, as the following extract from the *Journal* of "A French Traveller" testifies. The date is 1815 "Wales and the Wye are visited by all tourists, we are precisely in the track, and meet them at all the inns,—stalking round every ruin of castle or abbey,—and climbing every high rock for a prospect, each with his Gilpin or his Cambrian Guide in his hand, and each, no doubt, writing a journal."[5]

That things had already come to such a pass in 1793 or 1798 is open to question, but there can be no doubt as to the popularity, not to say the fashionableness, of the Wye tour in the 1790's. Wordsworth contributed to this popularity, perhaps, he did not originate it. To early readers of the *Lyrical Ballads* the "Tintern Abbey" poem must have seemed in many respects the most conventional piece in the book; and in no respect would it have seemed more "the right sort of thing" than in its opening lines, descriptive of the Wye valley with its lofty cliffs that seemed to connect the landscape with the quiet of the sky, and with its wreaths of smoke sent up in silence from among the trees. Had not Gilpin himself written, "Many of the furnaces, on the banks of the river, consume charcoal, which is manufactured on the spot; and the smoke, issuing from the sides of the hills, and spreading its thin veil over a part of them, beautifully breaks their lines, and unites them with the sky"?[6]

The name Wordsworth first gave his poem was "Lines: written a few miles above Tintern Abbey, on revisiting the banks of the Wye during a tour, July 13, 1798." He himself changed "written" to "composed" for the reason already mentioned: not a line of the poem was written until he reached Bristol. But even with this alteration the title remains misleading. The lines were not

[5] Lewis Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence* etc, New York, 1815, p. 298.

[6] *Observations* etc, London, 1792 (Third Edition), p. 22.

only not "written" above Tintern Abbey, they were not "composed" there either. They were composed on the way home To have been really matter-of-fact Wordsworth would have had to call his poem "Lines: composed several miles below Tintern Abbey, during a return trip on foot and by boat from the banks of the Wye to Bristol, July 13, 1798," or "Lines. written as if composed above Tintern Abbey." But the realm of "as if" being so peculiarly a poet's province, Wordsworth took the quite un-matter-of-fact liberty of tacitly setting his poem above Tintern Abbey, above the rushing tidal stream and its steep banks of mud.

Two facts in connection with Wordsworth's Wye tour emerge clearly: Wordsworth and his sister visited the Wye as tourists taking a popular route noted for its natural beauty and ancient ruins; and "Tintern Abbey" was not composed near the site which it purports to depict. These facts have a bearing upon our understanding of the poet and his poem, in that they point up the conventionality of the opening lines of the poem, showing them to be very much the sort of thing which Wordsworth's late-eighteenth-century public would have expected from a poetic visitor to the Wye; and they bear upon the question of Wordsworth's matter-of-factness, showing him to be quite capable of exercising artifice and fancy in a place where it has been least suspected—in the title of his famous "Lines."

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DAS MOTIV DES FALLENS BEI RILKE

Goethe hat mit dem Titel seiner Lebensbeschreibung auf unnachahmliche Weise deutlich gemacht, worauf es in *aller* Kunst ankommt. Dichtung und Wahrheit: das soll ja nicht heissen, dass hier einiges "wahr" und anderes "erdichtet" ist, dass der Autor Wirkliches und Erfundenes, geschehene und fiktive Dinge durcheinandergemengt hat; es heisst vielmehr, dass im grossen Kunstwerk Wahrheit und Dichtung zusammenfallen, dass Wahrheit hier als Dichtung vor uns tritt. Und es heisst weiter, dass alle echte Dichtung, selbst da wo sie als Märchen spricht, die Wahrheit spricht. So dass, wenn immer die Aufgabe vor uns steht, Dichtung zu deuten, dies uns

zwingt, nach eines Dichters Wahrheit zu forschen. Die Wahrheit eines Dichters aber nennen wir Erlebnis, und damit meinen wir, dass nicht gewusste, sondern nur gelebte Wahrheit im dichterischen Werke fruchtbar wird Was aber ist nun Rilkes Wahrheit? Die Antwort darauf ist gegeben worden: Rilkes Urerlebnis ist die *Angst*.[1] Diese Angst zu bestehen, das Dasein zu *leisten*, wie der immer wiederkehrende Ausdruck Rilkes lautet, wird ihm zur ethischen Lebensaufgabe

Zunachst freilich treibt ihn die Angst nur zum Ruckzug Da alles droht, ist es das sicherste, sich von allem fernzuhalten. Man muss sich dem todlichen Griff des Lebens entziehen, Distanz wird das wichtigste. Aber sobald der ersehnte Abstand vom Leben wirklich erreicht ist, steigt sofort eine neue Gefahr auf die Gefahr der Stagnation und Erstarrung. Da, wo der Ruckzug gelingt, zeigt sich, dass er in der Wuste endet. Und der sich furchtete, vom Strom des Lebens fortgeschwemmt zu werden, muss nun furchten, auszudorren.

Man kennt Rilkes Vorliebe fur Schlosser. Wer Bilder von Duino oder Muzot gesehen hat, weiss, was solche "Asyle"[2] dem Dichter bedeutet haben· "ein grosses, ununterbrochenes Stuck beschutzten Alleinseins" namlich, wie er es in einem Brief aus Duino einmal ausdruckt[3] Aber fast genau zur selben Zeit entfahrt ihm eine Wendung, die fast erschreckend Aufschluss gibt, was es in Wahrheit mit solchem beschutzten Alleinsein auf sich hat: ". . . hier auf diesem alten festen Schloss," schreibt er, wieder von Duino, "das einen ein bischen wie einen Gefangenen halt. . . ."[4] Symbole der *Zuflucht*, das sind die Turme dieser Schlosser also,—und: *Gefangnisse*. Mit Notwendigkeit stellt der Gedanke an den "Panther" sich ein, an das im innersten gelahmte Tier hinter den Gitterstaben, in dessen muder Pupille die Welt sich fangt. nicht ein artistisches *Ab*bild meisterhaft belauschter Wirklichkeit aus dem Jardin des

[1] Vgl. Fritz Dehn, *Rainer Maria Rilke und sein Werk*, Leipzig 1934, S 68-81, und Hermann von Jan, *Rilkes Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge*, Leipzig 1938, S 58-63

[2] *Briefe 1907-1914*, Leipzig 1933, S 263.

[3] *Ibid*, S 211; vgl. a. *Briefe aus Muzot*, Leipzig 1936, S. 9, 25, 72, 136, 168

[4] *Ibid*, S 152; ganz ähnlich 12 Jahre spater in einem Brief aus Muzot (S 182) "ein Gefangener meiner Selbst in meinem alten Turm."

Plantes in Paris, sondern ein *Sinnbild* der im Gefangnis ihrer Isoliertheit sich verzehrenden Seele des Dichters selbst.[5]

"Manchmal," sagt Rilke, "ist mir zumut wie einem, der ... um sich auf allen vier Seiten ganz hohe Wande hat entstehen lassen";[6] und wenn die Lebensangst ihn dahingebracht hat, sich einzumauern, so ist alles, was dabei gewonnen wird, im Grunde nur neue Angst: die Angst, im Schutze solcher Mauern nun seelisch zu verhungern. Immer zwingender wird das Gefuhl, dass solche Trennung vom Leben, solches "sich geizig zuschliessen, sparen und zuruckbehalten"[7] zur Unfruchtbarkeit fuhrt. Immer starker wird deshalb die Sehnsucht nach einem Zerbrechen der Kruste, nach einem Durchbruch in den "Bezug."

Dieser Durchbruch kann auf zwei Wegen kommen. von aussen und von innen. Von aussen: als ein Starkeres, das uberwaltigt. Die blassen, dunnen, frierenden Madchengestalten der *Fruhen Gedichte*, die am Wege stehen und auf das Wunder, auf das Leben, auf den Geliebten warten, die blanke Spiegelflache des Teiches, die auf den Regen, die Mittagsstille des Parkes, die auf den Sturm wartet: Sinnbilder alle der angstvoll-sehnsuchtigen Erwartung, umgeworfen, erschüttert, befruchtet zu werden.

Aus der Not des sterilen Geschutztseins fragt es im *Stundenbuch*:

> Ihr vielen unbesturmten Stadte,
> habt ihr euch nie den Feind ersehnt?[8]

taucht das Bild von Gott auf als dem "grossen Mauerbrecher,"

[5] Dies im Gegensatz zur Auffassung Franz Kochs, "Rilkes Kampf um die Wirklichkeit," *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts*, Frankfurt 1936-40, S. 104, der die symbolische Gestaltungskraft der *Neuen Gedichte* ausdrucklich bestreitet und betont, dass diese sich durch "artistische Empirie und Beobachtung" nicht schaffen lasse Es ist uberdies ausserordentlich interessant, dass Rilke selbst in einem Brief aus Muzot die artistische Qualität des "Panthers" in den Vordergrund ruckt Der "Panther" sei das erste Ergebnis der "strengen guten Schulung" Rodins, sagt Rilke hier (S 370 f), womit technische Schulung gemeint ist, und unter Rodins "grossem Einfluss" habe er gelernt, "vor der Natur zu arbeiten, unerbittlich begreifend und nachbildend" Aber selbst wenn Rilke die symbolische Bedeutung des Gedichts nicht erkennen oder nicht zugeben sollte, heisst das noch nicht, dass sie nicht vorhanden ist.

[6] *Briefe* 1907-1914, S 154.

[7] *Briefe 1906-1907*, Leipzig 1930, S. 34.

[8] *Gesammelte Werke*, Bd II, Leipzig 1930, S 209

spricht die Sehnsucht Rilkes, "der Tief*besiegte* von immer Grosserem zu sein" [9]

Nicht ohne tiefen Grund freilich wird das Leben selbst da, wo es ersehnt wird, noch immer als der *Feind* gesehen. Denn daran halt Rilke durchaus fest dass der Grundzug des Lebens furchtbar ist, so dass dem Menschen, in solches Dasein gestellt, der Gedanke an Flucht wohl das nachste sein mag. Aber immer deutlicher wird doch zugleich die Erkenntnis, dass diese Schrecklichkeit, aus welchem Grund auch immer, uns *auferlegt* ist, und bestanden werden muss Und die vielen Bilder des Grausigen und Ekelhaften in Rilkes Werk enthullen erst dann ihren wahren Sinn, wenn man sie verstehen lernt als einen Akt der Selbsterziehung. Das ist der *Malte*. Hartungsversuch eines Verweichlichten, der sich "feige" weiss,[10] der nur allzu geneigt ist, sich abzuwenden und auszubiegen, und der sich nun zum Hinsehen *zwingt* "Offensein," darauf kommt es an, "lass dir alles geschehen, Schonheit und Schrecken." [11] Und mehr noch lass es dir nicht nur geschehen, geh ihm entgegen, hier erst ist die volle Bereitschaft. Diese ausserste Bereitschaft umschreibt Rilke mit dem Bilde des *Fallens*. Fallen und sich fallen lassen wird zum Symbol einer Haltung, die sich nicht absondert, die nicht im Sein beharrt, sondern die sich dem Leben uberlasst und ausliefert Ganz so, wie es die "Dinge" tun, die, dem Gesetz der Schwerkraft folgend, *fallen*.

Denn das sind die Dinge bei Rilke auch: nicht nur nach Rodinschem Muster Geformtes und Gearbeitetes, "Gekonntes," sondern Gleichnisse vorbildlicher Lebenshaltung. Und so wird dem Menschen aufgegeben, ihnen seine wahre Bestimmung abzusehen:

> Da muss er lernen von den Dingen,
> anfangen wieder wie ein Kind,
> weil sie, die Gott am Herzen hingen,
> nicht von ihm fortgegangen sind
> Eins muss er wieder können. fallen,
> geduldig in der Schwere ruhn,
> der sich vermass, den Vögeln allen
> im Fliegen es zuvorzutun [12]

[9] *Ibid.*, S. 138.
[10] ". . . feig wie ich jetzt bin . . ." *Briefe* 1907-1914, S 233
[11] *Ges. W.* II, S. 218.
[12] *Ibid*, S 246

So ist denn "Fallen das Tuchtigste," wie es in dem späten Gedicht an Holderlin heisst,[13] so schliessen die *Letzten Gedichte* mit Bildern vom Fallen und Sturzen·

> Wir in den ringenden Nächten,
> wir fallen von Nahe zu Nähe,
> und wo die Liebende taut,
> sind wir ein sturzender Stein,[14]

und so ist "Fallen" das letzte Wort der letzten *Duineser Elegie*:

> Und wir, die an *steigendes* Gluck
> denken, empfänden die Ruhrung,
> die uns beinah besturzt,
> wenn ein Gluckliches *fallt*[15]

Fallen, das bedeutet für Rilke, dem Zug der inneren Gravitation folgen, bis der Ruhezustand erreicht ist, in dem die Dinge immer sind[16] Denn dies bewundert Rilke so sehr an den Dingen, dass ihr Sein einem *Gesetz* unterstellt ist wahrend er selbst sich in "einer Freiheit leerem Raum"[17] befindet. Jener Schritt, der den wollenden Menschen absonderte vom Reich der bewusstlosen Natur, wird verurteilt, und die Pflanze gepriesen als Vorbild gottlich in sich ruhenden Seins.[18] Die Wehrlosigkeit solchen ungeschutzten Daseins wird nun nicht mehr gefurchtet, Sicherheit nicht mehr in der *Flucht* aus dem Ungesicherten gesucht, sondern gerade in der *Bejahung* der Unsicherheit gefunden.

> . . Dies schafft uns, ausserhalb von Schutz,
> ein Sichersein, dort, wo die Schwerkraft wirkt
> der reinen Krafte, was uns schliesslich birgt,
> ist unser Schutzlossein und dass wirs so
> ins Offne wandten, da wirs drohen sahen,
> um es, im weitsten Umkreis irgendwo,
> wo das Gesetz uns anruhrt, zu bejahen[19]

So leben. nicht geizig, sondern hingegeben, gehorsam der Schwer-

[13] *Späte Gedichte*, Leipzig 1934, S. 37
[14] *Ges W.* III, S 473.
[15] *Ibid*, S 308.
[16] Vgl "Schwerkraft," *Späte Gedichte*, S. 156, und "Wir sind die Treibenden" *Sonnette an Orpheus*, Ges. Werke III, S 334.
[17] *Ges. Werke* II, S 245
[18] Vgl "Weiss die Natur noch den Ruck . . . ," *Spate Gedichte*, S 89
[19] *Ibid*, S. 90.

kraft des Herzens, so leben heisst fur Rilke, *fromm* leben Es heisst den Willen Gottes erfullen, es fuhrt zu ihm Denn er ist ja der Eine, der, wenn alles fallt, dies Fallen "unendlich sanft in seinen Handen halt." [20]

Alte mystische Weisheit taucht wieder auf bei Rilke, Erkenntnisse des Meisters Eckhart, bei dem, merkwurdig verwandt, dieselbe Beziehung von Schwerkraft und Gottesstreben sich findet "In ihrem letzten Ziel," heisst es bei Eckhart, "suchen alle Kreaturen Ruhe, ob sie es selbst wissen oder nicht Im Stein wird die Bewegung nicht fruher geendet, bis er auf dem Boden liegt. Desgleichen tut das Feuer. Ebenso tun alle Geschopfe sie suchen ihre naturliche Statt. Also sollte auch die liebende Seele niemals ruhen als in Gott" [21]

"Hatte sie . . einen Moment nachgegeben," sagt Rilke von der portugiesischen Nonne Marianna Alcoforado, "sie ware in Gott hineingesturzt wie ein Stein ins Meer." [22]

Es ist ein ungewohnter Gott, dieser Gott Rilkes, zu dem man sturzen und fallen muss Hier ist nichts von jenem Aufwartsstreben, das den *Faust* erfullt, hier ist kein Weg, der aus der Verworrenheit nach oben fuhrt und der das Gottliche zuletzt im Licht und in der Klarheit findet Rilkes Gott wohnt in der Tiefe und im Dunkel.[23] Und. "schwer ist zu Gott der *Ab*stieg," sagt er selbst.[24]

Rilke ist diesen Weg hinab nicht selbst gegangen. Um ihn zu gehen, hatte er, nach seinen eigenen Begriffen, ein "Heiliger" sein mussen, oder wie eine Figur des von ihm so hoch bewunderten Dostojewski, Myschkin im *Idioten*, oder Aljoscha in den *Karamasoffs*. Doch Rilke wusste, und hat es ausgesprochen, das er kein Heiliger war; [25] Rilke war ein Kunstler und entschied sich, sein Leben als Kunstler zu leben. Selbst wenn dies Nicht-leben hiess.

Das bedeutet, dass er an seiner "obstinaten Abgesondertheit"

[20] "Herbst," *Ges Werke* II, S. 54

[21] *Meister Eckhart*, hrsg von Alois Bernt, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, o J, S 17

[22] *Briefe* 1907-1914, S 178.

[23] Vgl. *Ges Werke* II, S 176, 180, 183, 210, 211, 220, 235, 240 f., 263, s a *Briefe aus Muzot*, S 185 f

[24] *Briefe aus Muzot*, S 174

[25] ". . taug ich auch so völlig nicht zum Heiligen" *Briefe* 1907-1914, S 255

zahe festhielt, und an den Schmerzen der Einsamkeit, die ihm dennoch "das Grosseste gegeben" [26] Das bedeutet, dass er die Wande, die er nach seinen eigenen Worten, um sich hatte entstehen lassen, nicht niederlegte, sondern nur noch hoher trieb "Vielleicht gibt es da nur den Ausweg," schreibt er im Januar 1912, "die Wande immer hoher, schliesslich so hoch zu fuhren, dass man von unten am Ende, wie aus dem Grunde eines Brunnens, auch bei Tage die Sterne sieht" [27]

Dies heisst, auf den gelebten Tag verzichten. Aber "die grossen Menschen alle," sagt Rilke, von Rodin spiechend, aber er sagt es zu sich selbst, "haben ihr Leben zuwachsen lassen wie einen alten Weg und alles in ihre Kunst getragen. Ihr Leben ist verkummert wie ein Organ, das sie nicht mehr brauchen . . ." [28]

Den endgultigen Mut zur "Verkummerung" aber hat Rilke sich nicht von Rodin, sondern von Cézanne geholt Das Erlebnis Cézannes und seiner malend, schaffend, sich unbarmherzig aufbrauchenden Existenz ist in den sich ubersturzenden Briefen an Clara Rilke vom Oktober 1907 festgehalten Es ist ein Wendepunkt fur Rilke, von da ab wird die Richtung seines Lebens unwiderruflich [29] Und durchaus folgerichtig endet und gipfelt dies alles in dem fur Rilke ungeheuren Symbol des *Orpheus*. Nicht die Gestalt des Heiligen steht am Ende dieses Lebens, ein so grosser "Einseher" [30] des Heiligen auch Rilke gewesen ist, sondern der grosse Magier, der Wort-Zauberer, der in "Klage" und "Ruhmung" das Bild der Welt beschwort. Selbst kein "Fallender," sondern ein fragil Bestehender, findet Rilke nicht in selbstlosem Tun sondern im aussagenden Wort seine Erlosung. In Baudelaire, in Strindberg sieht er Bestatigung seiner eigenen Aufgabe und erkennt, "wie die reine Ausgestaltung auch dem Schrecklichsten noch einen Sinn gibt . . . , wie es im Werk zur Potenz wird, zur puren Intensitat und so fort zur Seligkeit." [31]

[26] *Briefe* 1907-1914, S 329

[27] *Ibid*, S 154

[28] *Briefe* 1902-1906, S 36 f.

[29] Noch 1921 betont Rilke in einem Ruckblick auf die Bedeutung dieses Jahres 1907 die ihm "ganz entscheidende Stellung Cézannes," hinzufugend, "sie möchte ein Rat und eine Warnung sein fur jede ernste kunstlerische Entschlossenheit" (*Briefe aus Muzot*, S 60 f)

[30] Rilke gebraucht das Wort von Kassner (*Briefe* 1907-1914, S 317), aber es trifft nicht weniger auf ihn selbst zu

[31] *Briefe* 1907-1914, S. 205

Grillparzer spricht im *Abschied von Gastein* davon, wie das "freudlose Muscheltier" im Meere seine Perlen schafft, wie es den Schmerz und die Verletzung in Schönheit umwandelt, und derselben geheimnisvollen, orphischen Verwandlung opfert auch Rilke sein Leben,

> dass im Notgestein die gedrangte Druse der Tränen,
> lange wasserrein, sich entschlosse zu Amethysten [32]

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THE FAIRE MAIDE OF BRISTOW (1605), ANOTHER BAD QUARTO *

To the list of twenty-one bad quartos must be added *The Faire Maide of Bristow*.[1] This was entered by Thomas Pavier in the Stationer's Register on Feb 8, 1605 (Arber, III, 283)

> Entred for his copy under thandes of the Wardens
> A commedy called the fayre Mayd of Bristoe played
> at Hampton Court by his Maiesties players

It was published in the same year

> The Faire Maide of Bristow. As it was plaide at
> Hampton, before the King and Queenes most excellent
> Maiesties Printed at London for Thomas Pauyer, and
> are to be solde at his shop, at the entrance into
> the Exchange 1605.

There are no farther editions extant. There is no "good" text. Q was wretchedly and carelessly printed in worn-out black letter It was reproduced in photographic facsimile by J. S. Farmer, Old English Drama, Students' Facsimile Edition (1912). Fortunately we can use a type facsimile in A. H Quinn (ed.), *The Faire Maide of Bristow A Comedy Now First Reprinted from the Quarto of 1605*, University of Pennsylvania Publications, Series in Philology and Literature, vol. VIII, No. 1 (1902).

[32] *Ges. Werke* III, S 469

* This paper was written while the author was Elizabeth Clay Howald Scholar for 1944-5 at The Ohio State University

[1] I name and describe twenty in my "Census of Bad Quartos," *RES*, XIV (1938), 20-43. I have finished an article, "The Good and Bad Quartos of *Doctor Faustus*," and have sent it off for publication.

Once Q is carefully examined, there can be no doubt that it was a stolen and surreptitious text, maimed and deformed Here is an example of its typical broken down blank verse [2]

> *Ana* Reuedg for me my Lord, nay that cannot be,
> unless a strang deuission mav be had,
> For I that am as neerely knit to Vallenger
> as bodie to the soule, cannot suppose
> an iniury, But thinke his losse
> To be my miserie and chiefest crosse (833 8)

Quinn's edition numbers 1225 print lines but this total does not convey Q's actual length correctly because many of the print lines are verse line fragments, half-lines or one to three words The original play must have been at least twice as long as the extant corrupt version. Q has very few passages that can accurately represent the lost good text Here is the best

> Blessed be the time I tooke a Doeter's shape,
> For by this meanes Sentloe his death shall scape,
> And louely Anabell her life set free,
> False Vallenger shall be deceiu'd by me,
> And that deceit is lawfull kind and iust
> That doth preuent his murder and his lust,
> And tho I haue faire Anabels loue lost,
> Yet Vallenger shall in this sute be crost (378-85)

But whether we have lost much in not possessing the true version is doubtful. The passage I have just quoted is pedestrian There are four various disguises in the play (Harbart as Blunt, Challener as Doctor, Sentloe as a friar, and Anabell as a youth), and all are on the stage at the same time in the last scene The emphasis in the original must have been on Vallenger as the rake who reforms and on Anabell, his long-suffering wife, an obvious Patient Grissell type. There are, however, some signs amidst the wreckage which indicate that the unknown author was no tyro Florence, the courtesan, emerges as a powerfully drawn character. Even Shakespeare need not have been ashamed of the pathos of the following.

> Had my ould true harted Sara lyued,
> To have seen the maraige of her deere son
> And in soe good and worshipfull a stock,
> As ould vmphreuilles. well twas a woman
> Few such liue now· you ould foolish eies
> Will you be watring still (277-82)

[2] I employ Quinn's numbering but have corrected his text by Farmer's facsimile. I have converted Q's roman speech prefixes into italic.

And there is one fine simile in the last scene when Anabell, disguised as a youth, answers Challener in their debate as to who should be the substitute for Vallenger's execution:

> the graue is as the publick theater,
> the roome being taken vp, by them first enter,
> the second sort must sit but as they come (1122-4)

There is a plethora of evidence that Q is a memorial reconstruction. Speeches are linked by mnemonic repetition — but which is recollection and which is anticipation cannot be known. Following are some passages in which the phenomenon is obvious.

(a)

Va. Gossip get home, or I shall set you packing
flo By my troth here is an excellent rebato,
Would I had such a one
va Likes it thee mistris?
Heere take it, a worse will serue your turne
Ana With all my hart, heere mistris take it
Flo Heeres a wonderfull good fashioned gown,
Ide ride my horse twenty milles for such another
va Huswife, uncase, a worse will serue your turne
ana All that I have sweet Vallenger is thine
va Goe, get you hence, or else Ile send you packing (484-509)

(b)

Blunt Is she not a Whore? she lookes like one? 247
Sent. Peace Sirha on your life 248
Blunt Is not that gowne good enough for a whore? . 255
Sent Go to, peace sirha, no more 259

(c)

[*va*] How now minks, what make you here 476
flo. Vallenger, what makes your minion heere 480

(d)

Flo. This corish lumpe of flesh, this shaghaird slaue, 922
flo Am I discride, shall yonder corish slaue 942
[*flo.*] To bad for thee, thou lumpe of infamy 948

(e)

[*Har.*] Moreouer I charg thee
That with this purse of massie gold
Thou didst bribe me,
To murder Sentloe . . . (930-3)

King Then with this purse, we boldly may conclude
that she did bribe Blunt to murder Sentloe[8] (939-40)

(f)

[*King*]	And since our word is past, we graunt it him	1071
[*ana*]	thy word is past that Vallenger shall liue,	1107

Here is an example of how the same word, "leave," has mnemonically sifted through a whole scene:

Hat	I prethee, Sentloe leaue this Idell life,	80
[*Har*]	Leaue this, and undertake what likes thee best,	96
	Leaue her, and then my thoughts will be at rest,	97
Flo	And why sir leaue me, for your companie,	98
[*Har*]	Sentloe leaue England for a little space,	102
Flo	Will Sentloe leaue hir that doth love him so,	105
[*Har*]	But if thou wilt not leaue her company . . .	117
	Ile leaue thee to the humors of thy youth,	119
[*Sent*]	Leaue me, ile leaue thee first,	123

One passage seems to have been recollected as a stage direction. Florence gives instructions to Blunt on how to make Vallenger seemingly responsible for Sentloe's murder (702-3):

> Lay Sentloes murdred body hard by him,
> Pluck out his sword, and all be bloudy it

At 736, there is this direction for Blunt: "Heere he stabs his arme, and blodies Sentloes face, and pluckes out vallingers sword and blodies it, and laies it by him." The passage is also recollected in Vallenger's line that some villain "Hath laid this murdred body here by me" (746).

The following may be the reporter's echoes of two of Shakespeare's plays, or they may be the author's, or they may be mere coincidences. The first occurs in a passage I have already quoted, Sir Eustace saying: "you ould foolish eies / Will you be watring still" (281-2). Compare with this Lear's "Old fond eyes, / Beweep this cause again, I'll pluck ye out" (I. iv. 323-4). Compare, too, Challener's description of Anabell (who has just said in 571 that she is an "ethyop, foule, deform'd"): "Thou art Heauenly bright,

[8] Of course, the King's summing up would be a good deal like the confession.

and she [Florence] as black as hell" (574) with the following passage in *Othello* (v ii 129-35)

Oth She's, like a liar, gone to burning hell
'Twas I that kill'd her
Emil. O the more angel she,
And you the blacker devil!
Oth She turn'd to folly, and she was a whore
Emil Thou dost belie her, and thou art a devil
Oth She was false as water
Emil Thou art rash as fire to say
That she was false O, she was heavenly true!

There may be some mnemonic "mishearings" In 206, "Won with a word of labour, lost like wind," "word" should obviously be "world." Either the compositor or reporter could be at fault here. In 1016-7 Sentloe speaks of harlots

Their promises, are made of brittle glasse,
Ground like a phillip, to the finest dust,

Concerning 1017 Quinn writes "No known meaning of *phillip* explains this line as it stands. My colleague, Dr. C. G Child, suggests the substitution of 'by' for 'like' This change and the use of the word in the sense of a jerk of the finger would make quite a strong metaphor of the line" Q's word, therefore, could be a "mishearing" of the homophone, "fillip" However, *NED's* quotations show that the spelling, "phillip," for noun and verb was not uncommon in Shakespeare's day.

Many necessary entrances and exits in the directions are missing For example, after 790, which begins a new scene, "Enter king Richard, Leicester and Richmond" But in the succeeding lines, Sir Godfrey, Sir Eustace, Anabell, her mother, Challener, Harbart, all have speeches.

There is, occasionally, bad textual confusion. Harbart, Sentloe's friend, is disguised as Blunt, a serving man to Sentloe. He reveals himself to Sentloe at 782 but does not reveal himself to the general company till the last scene, at 1183. Yet at 970-1 we find the following speech by Vallenger's father.

Eust Harbart for all your kindnes to my son,
Ile see you shortly caper in a cord.

Quinn's footnote to these lines is, "Probably an aside as Blunt was

still disguised, though it is difficult to see why Eustace feared death for him if he knew who he really was" The point is, however, that "Harbart" should be "Blunt" in 970 Sir Eustace's word, 'kindness," is probably ironic It is not until 1183 ff. that Sir Eustace could find out that Harbart has saved Vallenger The reporter seems to have unconsciously remembered Blunt-Harbart's kindness to Sentloe and substituted the real name for the assumed name. As a matter of fact, I make the guess that the speaker of the two lines was not Sir Eustace at all but a character who has accidentally dropped out—Sentloe's father.

Probably some scenes are missing. There is only one scene between the comics, Frog and Douse (386-447); perhaps there were more in the original. At 551, there is a centered stage direction, "Exit Sentloe," and a line below in the margin, "The drunken mirth." The exit ends the scene in which Blunt-Harbart has pretended to accept Florence's suggestion that he murder Sentloe. Blunt is alone on the stage, and hence we should have, "Exit Blunt." At 717, "Enter Sentloe very drousie." At 722, "He lies downe and falles asleepe" And in 737-8 Blunt tells us,

> The Potion I gave sentlo to drink,
> Doth make him seeme to all as he were dead

Possibly, "The drunken mirth" refers to a lost scene in which Blunt drugged Sentloe's drink. Perhaps, however, it refers to a lost scene in which Vallenger roistered. We cannot know. I do not believe that it refers to "a popular song or dance tune," as Quinn suggests in his note, for there is no occasion for music at this point in the play.

There are some obvious misascriptions of speeches in the quarto —so obvious that one wonders whether the printer and not the reporter were sometimes responsible. Certainly the former seems responsible for the omission of a new speech prefix at 451, for James to whom the following lines are given leaves the stage at 450, the lines belong to Challener who remains. The second half of 337 is Vallenger's but is given with the first half to *Doct.* Vallenger has 356 but he should also have 355, given in Q along with 354 to *doct Flo.* gets 707, this should be *Blu.*, for Florence finishes speaking at 706 and *flo.* is given 708 Sentloe should have 1035 as the last line of a speech, instead it is given to *Flo.*, who really should begin at 1036. Lines 1134-5 are made a continuation

of Sir Godfrey's preceding speech but really belong to King Richard. Line 1192 is made a continuation of Blunt's speech but should begin Vallenger's speech, which Q begins at 1193.

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AN INCIPIENT LIBEL SUIT INVOLVING POE

Biographers have alluded briefly to a charge of plagiarism made against Poe, not long after his prize tale, *The Gold Bug*, appeared in successive June issues of *The Dollar Newspaper* during the year 1843.[1] In July of the same year Poe was accused of having stolen the plot of his story from a tale by Miss Sherburne, entitled *Imogene, or The Pirate's Treasure*. *The Dollar Newspaper* and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* quickly took up the cudgels for Poe, but, in spite of their efforts to discredit his defamers, the charge gained currency for at least a short while. Although the Philadelphia *Spirit of the Times*, which had vigorously taken Miss Sherburne's side, soon retracted the charges against Poe, the New York *Herald* failed to follow suit. Instead, it stuck to its accusation, even after two glaring instances of plagiarism in its own editorial columns had been exposed by the New York *Tribune* at the very time that the Poe-Sherburne controversy was at its height. The *Herald* appears to have made the mistake of publishing in quick succession two editorials that had been lifted almost bodily from articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* and the London *Observer*, and with only enough verbal alteration to make them adaptable for publication in the United States. The *Public Ledger* was quick to seize upon these two exposures in an effort to shame the *Herald* into retracting the charge against Poe, but the latter paper was apparently content to remain ungraciously silent.[2]

The publication of *The Gold Bug*, however, led to a more sensational charge than that of plagiarism, not only against Poe, but also against the publishers of *The Dollar Newspaper* and the committee selected to award the prize money. Although the charge was

[1] George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), II, 37-38, Mary E Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe—The Man* (Philadelphia, 1926), I, 841, Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, revised edition (New York, 1934), 454.

[2] Philadelphia *Public Ledger* (July 18, 1843, p 2, col. 3; July 19, p. 2, col 2, July 21, p. 2, col 3).

patently libelous and even though an editorial in the *Public Ledger* of July 4, 1843,[3] indicates that Poe actually began a suit for damages against the libeler, I have seen no allusion to the controversy by the biographers of the poet, save one brief reference by T. O. Mabbott.[4]

The libel was in the form of a communication and was published as a card in the Philadelphia *Daily Forum* of June 27, 1843, just before the final installment of *The Gold Bug* appeared.[5] The libeler was one Francis H. Duffee. His communication clearly insinuated that the publishers of *The Dollar Newspaper*, the committee appointed to award the prizes, and Poe had all connived with one another in a plan to defraud the public.[6] The editor of the *Forum*, although he gave the communication a prominent position in his paper, was careful to state that he did not approve of the insinuations contained in it. I quote the article below as it appeared in its entirety under the caption of "The 'Gold-Bug'—A Decided Humbug":

We have no hesitation in stating the fact, that *humbug* beyond all question is at last the "Philosopher's stone," in the discovery of which so many geniuses have heretofore been bewildered. In this opinion we are more fully confirmed by the recent literary production entitled the "Gold Bug," which has been paraded in flourishing capitals by the publishers of the "Dollar Magazine" [*sic*], and pronounced *by them* as the most entertaining and *superbly written* "prize tale" of modern times! That "one hundred dollars" was paid for this signal abortion we believe to be an arrant falsehood, and in this sentiment we are not singular, for several of our friends who have read the portion which has already appeared, pronounce upon it the verdict of *unmitigated trash!* We are inclined to think that ten or fifteen dollars satisfied "the talented Edgar A. Poe, Esq." for this excruciating effort in the *tale* line.

In the publication of this *unique* affair, the proprietors of the "Dollar Magazine" know how to give the public "two bites of a cherry"; but they will find it a *very* difficult task to point out hereafter even "the man in a claret coat," who has read the *second* part of the "Gold Bug." The writer threw away three cents in the purchase of the commencement of the tale,

[3] P. 2, col. 4.

[4] *The Gold Bug*, foreword by Hervey Allen, notes by Thomas Ollive Mabbott, New York, 1928, p. 86, refers to *Herald*, June 30.

[5] P. 2, col. 5.

[6] The committee selected to award the prizes was composed of R. T. Conrad, H. S. Patterson, and W. L. Lane. Conrad, the author of the then-celebrated tragedy, *Jack Cade*, and Patterson were prominent Philadelphia writers. Aside from their literary activities, Conrad was an outstanding lawyer and judge, and Patterson, a successful physician.

but will be exceedingly careful in not getting *blistered* by the ensuing dose of *cantharides*, which is usually made out of *Gold Bugs* The public are little aware of the humbug heretofore practised in this "prize tale" business We are indebted to a friend who obtained several of these kind [*sic*] of prizes, for the method in which it is accomplished It is to this effect the publisher announces with a grand flourish the literary tournament, and after having pranced about a while on his *pegasus*, induces a number of really meritorious writers to enter the lists and compete for the *nominal* prize, which has all the appearance at first of a "Gold Bug," but is certain to eventuate in a humbug! The period at length arrives for the distribution, when sure enough some "youth unknown to fame" is knighted and bears off the palm of victory, merely "to save expense" and because his name is well known to the reading community as "a talented man" This is not an overwrought picture, for let it be distinctly understood that the writer of this has never had "a kink in his tale," and consequently can feel no jealousy, but merely vents his indignation in relation to as great a literary *humbug* as was ever placed before the reading community "Having cast the first stone," mark our prediction if this "Gold Bug" is not generally pronounced unworthy of existence in literature

The author of this communication signed it with only the initial "D," but his identity is easily established. On June 30, 1843, the New York *Herald* announced that it had learned through the *Spirit of the Times* that a suit for damages had been brought against F. H Duffee of Philadelphia for his libelous article in the *Forum*.[7] Later, on July 4, a substantial editorial, to which I have already alluded, appeared in the *Public Ledger*, referring to the libeler by name and vigorously condemning him[8] The text is as follows:

We are informed that Edgar A Poe, Esq, author of the prize story entitled the "Gold Bug," published in the Dollar Newspaper, has commenced a suit for libel against one Francis H Duffee, a person formerly connected in some official capacity, we understand, with several of the small savings institutions of our city now no more, and at present in some capacity in connection with a broker's office, No 3 S Third st The alleged libel consisted in the publication of an anonymous communication in the Forum of the 27th of June, reflecting upon the character for integrity of Mr P, as well as upon the committee of decision appointed to award the premiums lately offered by the publishers of the Dollar Newspaper, and also upon the publishers The article in question charges the parties, if not directly, at least by implication, with collusion and positive fraud

Mr P will, of course, allow the gentleman every opportunity he may desire to substantiate his charges, or any portion of them, and as he will necessarily fail in every particular to do so, or to show the least shadow or particle of the appearance of anything to justify the charges he has made, he will hold himself ready to bear the consequences of an act which

[7] P. 2, col 4

[8] P. 2, col 4

must have been prompted solely and entirely by his own mere suspicions, and without possessing the least knowledge of the subject upon which he would pretend to enlighten the public

The individual will probably be taught a lesson which may do him good hereafter, for he will find other parties connected with this matter, who will not consent to have their business integrity publicly and gratuitously impeached by an anonymous scribbler We conceive it not impossible that, as there could have been no foundation for the suspicions of the individual, and as the article in question exhibits a degree of hostility towards the publishers of the Dollar Newspaper not to be misunderstood, the parties may be indebted for the attack by which their reputation is assailed, to the known opposition of some of them to the several shin-plaster shops, such as the Franklin Loan Company, the Pennsylvania Savings Institution, et id omne genus, which a few years since infested our city Whatever may have been the cause, however, so far as the writer is concerned, we conceive that the publishers of the paper in which the libelous article appeared, are in a moral point of view at least, quite as awkwardly situate, for while confessing their belief that perfect fairness had been used in relation to the matter alluded to, and therefore that the communication was a foul slander, they lend their aid gratuitously to give it currency to the extent of their means

The card purporting to be an apology, over the signature of the gentleman himself, in the Spirit of the Times of Saturday last, amounts to nothing more than an exposure of his own attempted injustice to the parties concerned.[9]

Whether because of an apology by Duffee or for some other reason, the case apparently never found its way into the courts. Nor, so far as I know, did Poe himself ever allude to the controversy either publicly or in his private correspondence.[10]

WILLIAM HENRY GRAVELY, JR

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[9] Although Francis H Duffee is adequately identified in this editorial, he probably was a writer, though an obscure one Professor Arthur H Quinn's *A History of the American Drama* (New York and London, 1923) contains a list of American plays (pp 419-462) produced during the period from 1665 to 1860 In this list, two plays are mentioned as having been written by F H Duffee. *The Black Knight*, presented at the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore on October 7, 1841, and *Onylda; or, The Pequot Maid.* (See Quinn, pp 424 and 447) The date and place of publication of the latter play are unknown Apparently, neither play is extant.

[10] That there is no indication of Poe's ever having alluded to this threatened libel suit may possibly be explained by the lack of extant letters of his for a period of two months after Duffee's accusation was published See a *Check List of Letters to and from Poe*, compiled by John Ward Ostrom (Charlottesville, 1941), 28

THE SOURCES OF POE'S "ELDORADO"

Professor Coad's interesting comment[1] on Poe's "Eldorado" is perhaps more correct "in what it asserts than what it denies," and prompts me to sum up what seems significant in the interpretation of the poem It is worth observing that Poe is both a direct and allusive writer, both classic and romantic in attitude. We may find in a poem echoes of literary sources combined with references to his personal experience or the contemporary scene, a general meaning usually clear enough to the average reader as a universal comment. But there are sometimes philosophical ideas which are personal to the poet, and references to his own life which were not intended to be too plain at the time. It is unusual to find all of these elements in a single poem, but all are to be found in "Eldorado"

"Eldorado" appeared in 1849, at a time when the word could hardly be used without consciousness of the Gold Rush, and its intimate connection with Poe's hoax, "Von Kempelen and his Discovery," has long been perceived The story shows that Poe considered philosophically what would happen if gold became very common. A letter of Poe to F. W. Thomas, February 14, 1849, suggests that he must have considered the idea of going to hunt for gold himself, at least as an "academic question" for he remarks

> nor would I abandon the hopes that still lead me on for all the gold in California Talking of gold and the temptations at present held out to "poor-devil authors" did it ever strike you that all that is really valuable to . . a poet . is absolutely unpurchasable . . *why* should he go to California?[2]

In "Eldorado" however, it is clear that Poe had thought of more than the vanity of his seeking gold; he considered correctly that many who hastened to California would find there not gold, but disappointment and death.

[1] *MLN*, LIX, 59 (Jan, 1944)

[2] Harrison's edition of Poe's *Works*, 1903 (hereinafter referred to as H), XVII, 332. Allen, *Israfel*, p 801, quotes this, but turns aside from "Eldorado" swiftly, as do Phillips, p 1397, and Quinn, p 605, though all see the connection with "Von Kempelen" Correction of previous views is not called for, but amplification is desirable. Even Killis Campbell in his edition of Poe's *Poems*, p. 286 is less thorough than usual.

If the occasion of the poem was the activity of 1849, its content included much over which Poe had brooded for years. In 1835, as motto to the first version of his story of "Hans Pfaal" — the original MS, now at the Pierpont Morgan Library — Poe used the first part of a stanza from the famous anonymous "Tom-a-Bedlam Song"[3] of which Isaac Disraeli remarked "the last stanza of this Bedlam song contains the seeds of exquisite romance; a stanza worth many an admired poem." It is the second part of the stanza that must influence "Eldorado." The whole reads;

> With a heart of furious fancies
> Whereof I am commander,
> With a burning spear,
> And a horse of air
> To the wilderness I wander;
> With a knight of dreams and shadows,
> I summoned am to tourney,
> Ten leagues beyond
> The wide world's end,
> Methinks it is no journey!

Not only the ideas but the general metrical movement is the same as Poe's, though it is not quite exact, and some other poem may have served as part model for meter. Poe must have known the song "Man from Galway" quoted in chapter CXIII of Lever's *Charles O'Malley*, a book minutely reviewed[4] by Poe in 1842. But there is another place in Poe's criticisms where he alludes to something close to the theme of "Eldorado." In reviewing Henry B. Hirst's *Coming of the Mammoth* in 1845, Poe said of "The Unseen River" that "by the river always heard but never seen until the traveller is overtaken by death, it is the poet's intention to typify happiness."[5] This poem Poe certainly knew well, for it was first pub-

[3] See my remarks in *London Mercury* (1923), VIII, 414 The motto was omitted from the text of the first publication in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, but is restored in the version in Griswold's edition, which I am convinced is based on the poet's own final revisions Poe's use of Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* was extensive, as is pointed out by E L Griggs, "Sources of Poe's *Pinakidia*," *American Literature*, I, 196 ff (May, 1929), and there need be no doubt he found the song and the pregnant comment by Disraeli, in the chapter "Tom-a-Bedlams"

[4] H. XI, 85 ff, from *Graham's Magazine*, XX, 186 ff (Mar, 1842).

[5] H XII, 173, from *Broadway Journal*, II, 9 (July 12, 1845) For Poe's statement that Hirst's poems were sometimes Poe's conversations done into verse, see H. XIII, 213, from a MS of 1848 or 1849.

lished in a magazine he edited, and one stanza gives something of the background of "Eldorado"—

> But he found it not, though stooping—gazing till his form grew bent
> All around grew dark and dreary
> And our wanderer, very weary,
> Tottered feebly, full of pain,—
> From the forest with his figure
> Robbed of all its youthful vigor —
> And the sun was on the wane—
> And night's swarthy solemn shadow slowly gathered round the plain[6]

Finally, Poe was an admirer of Moore, and the following from the twelfth chapter of Moore's *Epicurean*, will explain some of the symbolism of "Eldorado",

> . bright tranquillity, which may be imagined to light the slumbers of those happy spirits, who are said to rest in the Valley of the Moon, on their way to heaven.

True, it is close to King David's "valley of the Shadow" and seekers for Eldorado, even the successful ones will meet death, a terrible but not necessarily unhappy meeting. Those who ride *boldly*, even with all odds against them, can find the Valley of the Moon Literary sources, personal interests and ideas (including the poet's mystic attitude toward death itself), contemporary events and the universal comment are completely harmonized. This is not the optimism of Kipling's "If," but it is by no means complete pessimism. The poem is both solemn, as Mr. Coad sees, and cheerful, as the meter (always significant with Poe) suggests. It is an expression of the kind of courage not unexpected from a man who, dying, wrote much of his best work in the last terrible years of his life, and preferred art to "all the gold in California" It is surprisingly like Browning, perhaps, but there is nothing incredible about that.

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[6] Lines 70 ff of Hirst's poem, first printed in *Broadway Journal*, I, 341 (May 31, 1845), and reprinted in Hirst's *Coming of the Mammoth*, Boston 1845, p 53 ff. Poe quotes other parts of the poem in his review, not the significant stanza

NOTES ON BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PIDGIN

At the time the author's study of Melanesian Pidgin English was carried out,[1] the only available informants spoke the variety used in the Sepik valley (and, in general, in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago). As the pidgin used in the Solomons varies somewhat from this type, it seems desirable to indicate briefly the respects in which it varies, and to establish tentatively its position in the dialect geography of Melanesian Pidgin.[2]

1. *Phonology* The sounds [š], [č], [ǧ], and [h]—which are replaced by [s], [š] or [s], [š], and zero, respectively, by many Melanesian speakers of SeP[3]—are in general used in the Solomons.[4] The phoneme /h/ is occasionally found in words where its presence is not justified etymologically, e g. /haj/ 'eye,' by ultra-correction

In Horton's usage, certain initial and final consonant-clusters occur which are not present in SeP /hw-/ e. g. in /hwičwe/ 'why?', /hwat/ 'what?', /hwɛr/ 'where?'); /-nd/ (in /fajnd/ 'find,' /bihajnd/ 'later'), /-lt/ (in /sɔlt/ 'salt').

[1] In 1943, for the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies The results of the study were embodied in a monograph, *Melanesian Pidgin English Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary* (Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America, 1943, hereinafter referred to as *GTV*), in *Melanesian Pidgin Phrase Book and Vocabulary* (*ibid*, 1943, second edition, 1944), and in an article, *The Vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin English, American Speech*, XVIII (1943), 192-199

The transcription used in this article is the phonemic transcription devised by the author and used in *GTV*, phonetic transcriptions are enclosed in square brackets, phonemic transcriptions in slant lines (except in the tables in section 7) The following abbreviations are used AP = Australian Pidgin, BSP = British Solomon Islands Pidgin, SeP = Sepik Valley Pidgin

[2] The material on which this analysis is based was furnished orally in 1944 by Mr D C Horton, formerly a District Officer in the British Solomon Islands (particularly on Guadalcanal), and in writing (in standard English orthography) by Mr Leslie F Gill, formerly of Munda It is hoped to publish some of the texts furnished orally by Mr Horton, in the event of a later edition of *GTV*

[3] Cf *GTV*, pp 8, 14.

[4] This is one of the reasons for distinguishing these sounds as separate phonemes in the 'over-all picture' given in *GTV*, even though they are often replaced by other sounds by some speakers of SeP

There is no morphophonemic loss of /-ɪ/ in /kærɪɪm/ 'carry' (objective form)

2 *Morphology* The adjective suffix /-fɛlə/ is not as frequent or as consistently used as in SeP, and phrases often occur in which the adjective stem is used without suffix /hɔt watər/ 'hot water,' /dɪs fæšən/ 'this way,' /dɪs (fɛlə) merɪ/ 'this woman.' Forms provided with /-fɛlə/ are occasionally used adverbially /waši stroŋfɛlə!/ 'row hard!', /mɪ no sævɪ lʊkɪm gʊdfɛlə/ 'I'm not able to see it well'

The verb-suffix /-ɪt/ 'it' (abstract, referring to a feature of the context), establishing a contrast between /-ɪm/ concrete and /-ɪt/ abstract, occurs once in Horton's material /mɪfɛlə kant dʊɪt/ 'we can't do it'

3. *Compounding* The noun /mɪdəl/ 'middle' may be compounded with the numeral /wən/, forming the adjective or adverb /mɪdəlwən/ '(the one) in the middle'. /bæmbɪhaws stap mɪdəlwən/ 'the ceremonial house is in the middle', /mɪdəlwən loŋ najt/ 'in the middle of the night'

4. *Word-Categories* are the same as those of SeP. A few categories have certain additional words.

Indefinite Adjectives /ɛnɪ/ 'any,' /ɛvrɪ/ 'every.'
Interrogative Adjectives: /hwat/, /hu/ 'what?'.
Demonstratives /dɪs/ 'this' may be used pronominally /naw ju lajkɪm dɪs kwɪktajm/ 'now you want (to do this quickly.'
Verbs auxiliary verb /kant/ 'cannot'
Prepositions /for/ 'for,' /wɪdɪm/ 'with.' The preposition [b(ə)'loŋ] 'of' has the stress on the phonetically second syllable, and must be transcribed phonemically as /bloŋ/.
Conjunctions /æn(d)/ stressed, /ən-/ unstressed 'and,' /bət/ 'but,' /ɔr/ 'or'

5. *Phrase-Structure.* A few verbal phrase types differ somewhat from those of SeP

A verb (occurring either with or without direct object) may have as its adverbial complement a phrase consisting of /fɔr/ 'for, to' and a verb or verbal phrase. This type of complement occurs with such verbs as /lajk/ and /want/ 'to want,' /fɔrgɛt/ 'to forget,' /prɔmɪs/ 'to promise, /kəm/ 'to come': /ju lajkɪm mifelə fɔr

mekɪm bɛd blɔŋ ju?/ 'do you want us to make your bed?', /no fɔrget fɔr opənɪm wɪndo/ 'don't forget to open the window.'

The phrase-type modal verb + verbal complement is restricted to the verbs /kæn/ 'can' and /kant/ 'cannot,' and /mekɪm/ 'make': /naw mɪ kant kæčɪm lɔŋ spɪr/ 'now I can't catch it with a spear'; /mekɪm sævɪ/ 'make him know, inform him.'

A verb may occur as an adverbial complement of another: /brɪŋɪm kajkaj kəm/ 'bring food so that it comes', /ɛm ɪ-resəs go/ 'he makes haste in going, i e. goes quickly.' This construction largely takes the place of the SeP construction with a predicate (introduced by an agent-marker, usually the third-person predicate-marker /ɪ-/) as adverbial complement /brɪŋɪm kajkaj ɪ-kəm/, /ɛm ɪ-həriəp ɪ-go/ for the two sentences above.

6 *Clause-Structure* is the same as that of SeP. BSP has a few minor-clause forms which differ from those of SeP /no mætər/ 'never mind,' /no mor/ 'no,' /ɪm naw/ 'yes.'

7. *Vocabulary* contains more English and less non-English elements than that of SeP. Exact figures are not available for the entire vocabulary, but a rough estimate would indicate that, instead of twelve percent as in SeP,[5] perhaps four or five percent of the vocabulary is of non-English origin. The greater closeness of BSP to English is evidenced in two ways

A number of non-English words present in SeP are absent from BSP, and instead words of English origin are used.

BSP	SeP	English meaning
no mætər	maski	'never mind'
tekawt	rawsɪm	'take out'
šɪt	pɛkpɛk	'excrement'
klɔsethaws, smɔlhaws	haws pɛkpɛk	'toilet'
gəvment	kɪap	'government official'
fɪtɪm	abrʊsɪm	'bring in adjustment with'
trɪ	dɪwaj	'tree'
sego	saksak	'sago'

and others.

For many meanings, BSP uses words in approximately the meaning they have in standard English, whereas SeP uses other

[5] Cf *The Vocabulary of Melanesian Pidgin English*, American Speech, XVIII (1943), p. 193

words whose meaning has changed appreciably from that of their English etyma

Meaning	BSP	SeP
'room'	rumu	hæf
'body'	bɔdɪ	skɪn
'ashes'	æšɪs	šɪt bɪlɔŋ fajr
'send'	sɛndɪm	sɛlɪm
'but'	bət	tæsɔl
'spoil'	spɔjlɪm	bəgərɪməpɪm
'bottom'	bɔtəm	ars
'crush'	krəšɪm	čɪkərəpɪm

etc. Some English words used in BSP and not in SeP have, however, developed new meanings /mɔskɪtonɛt/ 'mosquito, (sand-) fly,' /kælɪko/ 'cloth, clothes,' /wɪkɛd/ 'pagan,' etc.

8. *Conclusion* The isoglosses separating BSP from SeP are relatively few in the fields of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and are found primarily in items of vocabulary. In the field of vocabulary, most of the basic words are the same in the two pidgins, and differences are found in perhaps ten to fifteen percent of the words. These differences are sufficient to class the two dialects as regional varieties of the same language, Melanesian Pidgin, which is probably to be divided into two main types, Western and Eastern, SeP is to be classed as one of the sub-dialects of the former and BSP as the main variety of the latter.

It will be noted that BSP and Australian Pidgin[6] are both separated from SeP by a number of isoglosses representing features which they have in common with standard English, e. g. the use of /kant/ 'cannot,' /fɔr/ 'for,' /æn(d)/ 'and,' /-ɪt/ verb-suffix, etc. This phenomenon is of course to be correlated with the geographical position of both BSP and AP on the outer edges of the South Sea pidgin area. In the case of AP, however, the isoglosses are so numerous and of such importance as to warrant classing it as a separate pidgin language, whereas BSP is much closer to SeP and is to be classed as a dialect of Melanesian Pidgin.

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[6] Cf. the author's *Notes on Australian Pidgin English, Language*, XIX (1943), 263-267.

OLD FRENCH *esierré*

The Old French dictionaries do not record *esierré* 'emasculated, weakened.' The word appears inconspicuously as a variant reading (for *craventés*) in verse 416 of the 13th century *fabliau La Veuve*. as listed by Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux*, II, 350. The editors do not include it in their glossary (vol. VI)

Verses 411-416 of the text of *La Veuve*, as printed by Montaiglon et Raynaud (II, 197) from a Turin manuscript, contain a portion of the retort of the second husband of "la veuve" who had been reproaching him for not fulfilling his marital duties:

411 On peut bien si destraindre l'ive,
K'ilh n'i a seve ne salive
Si m'avez destraint et sachié
Ke vos m'avez a mort jugie
Et ke, bien veoir le poes,
416 On dist que je sui cravantes

The Paris manuscript of which Montaiglon and Raynaud (II, 350) list the variants, has for verses 415-16:

Si que bien certes le verres,
On dist ja je sui *esverrés*

A third manuscript,[1] whose variants have not been noted, has for these verses

Si que vos tresbien le verés,
Hon dist ja je sui *enverés*

The etymology and sense of *esverrés* (*enverés*) are clear. It may be traced to C. L. *ēvīratus*, V. L. **exvīratus*, past participle of *ēvīro* which had as primary meaning 'to deprive of virility, emasculate, unman,' a sense noted as rare In a secondary meaning *ēvīrare* signified 'to weaken, make faint, deprive of strength.' Medieval glosses interpret *evirare* in this latter sense: *afebloyer, aflebier*[2] Either 'emasculated' or 'weakened' would fit the

[1] The manuscript described in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, Hereford, 1911, p 233 f , the passage is on folio 340 *verso*, column b

[2] Mario Roques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge*, Paris, 1936, I, 152 (2461), 326 (2935).

esverrés of our passage, the former would imply an exaggeration for effect The phonological development, V L **exvĭvatus* > O F *esvevrés*, is perfectly normal In the variant *enverés*, *en* = *es* of the initial syllable, is not unusual in northeastern France. where the manuscript is surely to be located [3]

Godefroy [4] does list a word *esvever*, v a , enlever sous la langue des chiens un petit nerf pris longtemps pour un ver occasionnant la rage The *Dictionnaire général*, which prints the word (*évéver*) as obsolete, gives the etymology "composé avec la particule *é* (lat. *ex*) et *ver* " [5] The first of Godefroy's two texts containing *esverer* (*everer*), whose author is simply given as 'Liebault,' has no place under the word We have verified it in *L'Agriculture et maison rustique de M Charles Estienne Docteur en medecine* [J Liebault], Paris, 1567 Chapter 22 (Livre I), fol 38 b, is entitled *Le Bouvier* On fol 40 a and b of this chapter the author treats of maladies of cows and oxen Under a marginal heading *Boeuf maladif* (fol 40 b) occurs the citation of Godefroy · On cognoist qu'il est malade ou maladif s'il ne mange point, encores qu'il ait devant luy quantité de fourrage laquelle cognoissance les Autunnois appellent *everer*. There is no doubt that we have in this *everer*, which has nothing to do with the *ver* under the tongue of dogs, the medieval *esverré* (*esverrer*) of the 13th century *fabliau*, used intransitively 'to be weak, to be without strength', cf. above Late Latin *evirare afebloier, aflebier*.

The *F E. W* [6] (*evirare*) notes as a late borrowed word, first attested in 1552, *éviré* '*efféminé, mou* (*de caractère*), *faible.*'

[3] Cf variant forms in mss of the *Roman de Renart* *essorber, ensorber, espoistroné, empoistroné, esgriami, engriami*, etc , G Tilander, *Lexique du Roman de Renart*, Goteberg, 1923, M Wilmotte, *Etudes de philologie wallonne*, Paris, 1932, 67-68

[4] *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Paris, 1881—, IX (*Complément*), 571

[5] *Esverer*, in the sense noted in Godefroy, is first attested in *La Venerie* (1561) of Du Fouilloux The superstition regarding the *ver* under the tongue of a dog as a cause of rabies, goes back to antiquity This *ver* is the *lytta* of Pliny, *Hist Nat* XXIX, 5, 32 The legend undoubtedly came to France and England (cf *worm* in the *NED*) with classic lore during the Renaissance It and *esverer* are not found in older cynegetic treatises, for ex *Modus* The hereditary form of *esverer* in this sense would have been **esvermer*

[6] W v Wartburg, *Franzosisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, III, 253.

The hereditary doublet *esverrés, enverés* of the manuscripts of the 13th century *fabliau*, and *everer* of the 16th century rural speech of Autun, is curious and interesting for neither *vir* nor any other of its Latin compounds appear to have come down in the Romance languages Although this is unusual, the case is by no means unique in Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages The fact that O. F *esverrés, enverés*, 16th century *everer* represent the derived general sense 'weakened, weaken' and not the literal sense of the C L word, might account for their survival in Vulgar Latin and French apart from L. *vir*

If our etymology is founded, **exvirare*, **exviratus* (C L *evirare, eviratus*) are to be added to the vocabulary of the popular Latin of Gaul and are entitled to an article in the *Romanisches Etymologisches Worterbuch* of Meyer-Lubke

(Professor Leo Spitzer suggests, instead of L *ēviratus*, V. L **exviratus*, as etymology for O. F *esverrés* (*enverés*), a V L **ex-verr-atus* made up on L *verres* 'boar' His arguments are briefly as follows L *vir* 'man' is not represented elsewhere in Romance, L. *veres* 'boar' (O. F *ver*) has numerous descendants in the Romance languages (*R E W* 9239), the boar in some regions stood for the idea of masculinity (*R E W* 5392) so that an **ex-verr-atus* would have the sense of 'châtré, affaibli.')

"Grammatici certant et adhuc sub judice lis est"

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UNE NOUVELLE FRANÇAISE PEU CONNUE SUR LE MACHINISME MENAÇANT

Fantaisie humoristique ou sincère appréhension, la littérature occidentale s'est maintes fois inquiétée d'une éventualité plus ou moins menaçante. les machines dues à l'ingéniosité humaine ne risquent-elles pas d'asservir leur créateur? Le "progrès" tant vanté, l'évolution divinisée ne comporteraient-ils pas un stade fatal de développement où l'homme, "roi de la Création," serait dominé par des forces qu'il aurait lui-même déchaînées dans sa méconnaissance de ses réelles raisons d'être et de sa condition humaine?

De Swift à Duhamel, de Hoffmann à Aldous Huxley, du *Second Faust* à *Erewhon*, de *Frankenstein* à l'*Ere future*, de *la Machine à gloire* du même Villiers de l'Isle-Adam à *la Machine à parler* de Marcel Schwob, la liste serait longue de ces fictions, qui annoncent ou dénoncent ce rival monstrueux des activités spontanées, l'Automate et ses perfectionnements. Comme de juste, le cinéma ajouterait à cette liste.

On conçoit que les inventions de Watt et les créations de Vaucanson aient donné une première impulsion à de telles vues sur l'avenir possible ou problématique. D'autre part, les théories évolutives coïncidant avec le génie inventif d'Edison ne pouvaient manquer de donner un rebondissement nouveau à la fantaisie inquiète de l'Occident, et les Etats-Unis, du même coup, devaient sembler le terrain par excellence des surenchères mécaniques. En attendant qu'un travail d'ensemble, dont on voit tout l'intérêt, soit tenté quelque jour, dans ce pays, sur cet admirable sujet, il convient de signaler une fantaisie peu connue qui ne manque pas d'importance· l'auteur de ces lignes se permet d'autant plus de le faire que lui-même ajoutait, dans "*Le Métachroniseur des Naissances*" [1] un numéro moins bouffon qu'il ne pourrait sembler à une liste fort longue.

En attendant que la Bibliothèque nationale et le British Museum permettent de consulter *Mes Petites-Maisons*, de Charles Barbara (1860), il faut s'en remettre à Champfleury (*Souvenirs et Portraits de jeunesse*. Paris, 1872, pp. 206-7) pour une analyse, que rien n'empêche de supposer exacte, du *Major Whittington*·

Aux environs de Paris, un bourgeois habitant une maison de campagne près d'une grande construction en apparence déserte, est réveillé chaque nuit par de tels bruits qu'il ne peut plus reposer. "C'était un mélange singulier de mille bruits incommodes, une réunion, sur un seul point, de tous les metiers bruyants du monde entier Pendant deux heures environ, il sembla que des millions de marteaux, des millions de limes, des millions de scies, confondus avec autant de soufflets et de sifflets d'usines, battaient, limaient, taraudaient, sciaient le fer, la tôle, le bois en même temps" Le voisin effrayé va se plaindre au parquet, et un substitut se présente dans cette étrange maison, habitée par le major Withington [*sic*], un Anglais . . fondateur du *Practical Mecanic's Journal*, qui lui fait part d'étranges inventions mécaniques Ennemi des hommes, trompé dans sa jeunesse par une femme qu'il adorait, le major Withington a voulu créer une société sans vices et sans défauts

[1] *Le Médecin chez-lui*, 1928

Sa mère, sa femme, sa fille sont des automates creés par lui Il est entouré de soins par d'aimables automates De nombreux domestiques (automates) font le service sans se plaindre Ses amis sont des automates Le substitut, émerveillé, assiste à une soirée pleine d automates invités pour le mariage de la fille (automate) du major, qui accorde sa main à un jeune attaché d'ambassade (automate) Des quadrilles se forment, les domestiques servent des rafraîchissements aux danseurs (automates), et le substitut fait le quatrième à une table de whist autour de laquelle sont assis des joueurs (automates) les mieux éleves du monde

Rarement la fantaisie fut poussée plus loin que dans cette Nouvelle qui, en Angleterre, eût fait la fortune d'un homme

Champfleury termine son analyse d'un conte "hoffmanesque" peu fait, assurément, pour satisfaire à fond l auteur du *Réalisme*. "Il semble, dit-il, que Barbara ait voulu se venger du dédain qu'inspire aux hommes politiques la culture de l'intelligence." (Ceci parce que, "dans un endroit reculé" un poète est découvert et renvoyé par le Major à "une carrière quelconque")

Peut-être y a-t-il lieu de soulever, en dépit d'apparences contraires, et à propos de cette fantaisie aussi amere qu'invraisemblable, une de ces questions d' "origine" qui donnent tant de vie à l'histoire littéraire. La Librairie Hachette, qui avait une succursale à Londres, non loin de Trafalgar Square, a édité dans la capitale anglaise aussi bien qu'à Paris *Le Major Whittington* (et l'exemplaire du British Museum accuse ce lieu d'édition en même temps que la date de 1860). Or Samuel Butler, alerté par les théories de Darwin, allait publier le 13 juin 1863 dans *The Press* de Nouvelle-Zélande *Darwin among the Machines*, c'est-à-dire la première ébauche de ce qui devait être, d'abord *The Mechanical Creation*, ensuite *The Book of the Machines* d *Erewhon* en 1872· le 11 mai 1872, il s'excusera auprès de Charles Darwin de "the obviously absurd theory that they [les machines] are about to supplant the human race and be developed into a higher kind of life." L'arrière-plan biologique, si l'on peut dire, du paradoxal livre anglais est nettement différent de l'espèce de romantisme à rebours de l'obscur Barbara; encore le côté fictif agencé par ce dernier peut-il avoir eu quelque part de suggestion dans les imaginations de Butler: Champfleury ne disait-il pas que l'Angleterre, mieux que la France, pouvait faire un sort à la singulière fantaisie de son ami?

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AN INHERITANCE OF MAGIC?

The Angel on guard at the gate of Purgatory sat upon a 'stone of diamond,'[1] and up to him led three steps the first was of marble white and mirror-like, the second a rough stone almost black, cracked both lengthwise and crosswise, and the third seemed porphyry 'flaming as blood that spurts from vein,' and on it the Angel rested his feet[2] As to the details of the symbolism, expositors differ, but it seems evident that penance is the main theme of the allegory Leading up to the Angel of Penance who will open the gates to the purgatorial pains with a sacerdotal gesture, the three steps may suggest the vicarious sacrifice of the Lamb of God reflecting us in the pure mirror of Himself, charred as in the burnt offerings of the Old Covenant, but cleft in the cruciform sacrifice of the New, shedding His bright blood, red as porphyry, that we may reach the penance-seat of firmest foundation—rock of diamond, rock of adamant, on which rests the Church and all her authority

Can there be an alternative, or additional, reason for the choice of that hardest of all stones for that high seat? An intriguing suggestion of the kind comes tantalizingly when one ponders an age-long superstition connected with diamond-adamant. From the time of Pliny the Elder—and doubtless much earlier—and down, at least, into the sixteenth century,[3] there persists and is repeated the belief (to quote it in Pliny's way) that 'that unconquered strength is broken when the diamond is soaked in goat's blood, which must be fresh and warm.'[4] One can hardly be blamed for

[1] *Purg*, IX, 105 "pietra di diamante"

[2] *Ibid*, 94-104 " . Io scaglion primaio Bianco marmo era sì pulito e terso, Ch' io mi specchiai in esso qual io paio. Era il secondo tinto più che perso, D' una petrina ruvida ed arsiccia, Crepata per lo lungo e per traverso Lo terzo, che di sopra s'ammassiccia, Porfido mi parea sì fiammeggiante, Come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia Sovra questo tenea ambo le piante L'angel di Dio, sedendo in su la soglia"

[3] E g, in Biringuccio's *Pirotechnia*, which was first published in 1540

[4] *N H*, XXXVII, 59 " illa invicta vis . . hircino rumpitur sanguine, neque aliter quam recenti calidoque macerata . "—Other "authorities," to quote chiefly those in the line of Dante tradition, include Isidore of Seville, *Etym*, XVI, XIII, 2, Albertus Magnus, *De Min*, lib I, tract II, cap I, Uguiccione da Pisa, *Magnae Derivationes, s v Adamas*, Servius, *ad Aen*,

suspecting this superstition, rightly or wrongly, of being at least partially magic, and, by the evidence of the goat even black magic.

And yet the background of it all may be wholly unsinister ritual, perhaps closely related to the sacrifice of goats in the Hebrew sin-offering of *Leviticus* XVI.[5] If so, it would not be out of harmony with the Christian Atonement, and with Dante's theme of penance and purgation.

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CHAUCER'S MADAME EGLANTINE

Chaucer's Prioress has roused widespread controversy. Nor is this surprising she was both a nun and a woman, and therefore of infinite variety A case in point (to give but one example for the present) is that of her name. "Eglantine," writes a present-day nun, is a "lovely and romantic name," and, continues Sister Madeleva in terms complicating the issue, "its chances of being 'self-chosen' are two to one, and if self-chosen, the chooser was Chaucer That his choice was a canny one, I admit, with the canniness of a journalist."[1] Robinson too refers to the "romantic sounding name" ("Lady Sweetbriar").[2]

On the possibility, even probability, of the name's being more than "romantic" and "lovely" John Mandeville's *Travels*, written earlier in Chaucer's century, can enlighten us:

And zee schulle undirstonde, that oure Lord Jesu, in that Nyghte that he was taken, he was y lad in to a Gardyn, and there he was first examyned righte scharply; and there the Jewes scorned him, and *maden him a Crowne of the Braunches of Albespyne, that is White Thorn*, that grew in that same Gardyn, and setten it on his Heved, so faste and so sore, that the Blood ran down be many places of his Visage, and of his Necke, and of his Schuldres *And therefore hathe White Thorn many Vertues*. For he that

VI, 552, *Acerba*, 3025; *Intelligenza*, 16, 9—Biringuccio's statement is enlivened by the added information that the effect is attained 'especially if the animal has first drunk wine for several days, and fed on parsley and mountain brook-willow' ("siler montano" *Pirotechnia*, lib II, cap XIII).

[5] Vss 5, 7 9

[1] Sister Mary Madeleva, *Chaucer's Nuns and Other Essays*, 1925, 8, 10

[2] F N. Robinson, ed, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 755

berethe A Braunche on hım thereoffe, no Thondre ne no maner of Tempest may dere hım, ne ın the Hows, that ıt ıs ınne, may non evylle Gost entre ne come unto the place that ıt ıs ınne And ın that same Gardyn, Seynt Petre denyed oure Lord thryes Aftreward was oure Lord lad forthe before the Bısschoppes and the Maystres of the Lawe, ın to another Gardyn of Anne, and theıe also he was eʌamyned, repreved, and scorned, and *crouned eft with a whyte Thoın, that Men clepethe Barbarynes*, that grew ın that Gardyn, and *that hathe also manye Vertues* And aftreward he was lad ın to a Gardyn of Cayphas, and there he was *crouned with Eglentıer*[a] . And of thıs Croune, half ıs at Parys, and the other half at Costantynoble And thıs Croune has Crıst on hıs Heved, whan he was don upon the Cros *and therfore oughte Men to worshıpe ıt and, holde ıt more worthı than ony of the othere*[3]

Rash would ıt be, therefore, to ınfer that the Prioress chose a rose merely because of ıts possıble romantıc associatıons, or because of the ımperfectly submerged femınıne characterıstıcs of a fourteenth century relıgıeuse. The *Romance of the Rose* clearly shows the ınnumerable layers of allegory possıble ın the medıeval use of the flower, as does the fact that the rose, accordıng to the *NED*, meant a "peeıless or matchless person, a paragon; *esp.* a woman of great beauty, excellence or vırtue," wıth an example, *c.* 1450, "Of Relıgıoun he was þe rose."

It need hardly be emphasızed that the name Eglantıne, ın the lıght of Mandevılle—a poınt bearıng ımportantly on Chaucer's genıus as well as on lıterary crıtıcısm—strıkes the very keynote to the Prıoress's pathetıc tale of another martyr.

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A NOTE ON LYLY'S *MIDAS*

In Lyly's *Mıdas* the characters Lıcıo, Pipenetta, and Petulus are dıscussıng the nature of the world To the observatıons of Lıcıo, Petulus replıes· "Tush *Lıcıo*, thou art unlettered! al the earth is an egge· the whıte, sılver, the yolk, gold." A dıscussıon now springs up concernıng who laid the egg, and agaın Petulus has the last word: "Blırt to you both! ıt was layd by the Sunne."[1] Bond annotates the last statement with "popular guess antıcı-

[3] *The Voıage and Travaıle of Sır John Maundevıle, Kt*, ed J. O. Hallıwell, 1883, 13-14 The ıtalıcs are my own The note to [a] gıves the variant readings, among which appears "Eglantıne"

[1] Act ıı, Sc 1 1-12, *Works* (ed Bond, 1902), ııı, 127

pating Laplace and Herschel's nebular theory,[1] but the first statement, the metaphor of the world as an egg, is much more interesting because it is supported by Renaissance theory.

The originator of the metaphor seems to be the great Rabbi Saadia ben Gaon, who used the idea in his *Kitâb al-'Amânât wa-'l-'I'tikâdât*[2] His figure was introduced in Europe by Reuchlin, who writes in his *De Arte Cabalistica libri tres*

Sicut Ezechielis rota in rota, cum suis quibuscunque involutis visa est una esse similitudo gloriae Domini, & ut ipsius Rabbi Saadiae in libro Amunoth, id est credulitatum proprijs verbis utar כיצה בחלמון ברור id est, Sicut vitellus in medio ovi, seu (ut ego ipse dicere soleo) instar alboris ovi unius, testaceo firmamento contenti, vitellum ipsum inglomerantis, ita primus mundus ille intelligibilis secundum implicat, ut tota virtus eius inde gubernetur, quo fit ut constringantur utrique vinculis concordiae, adeo ut saepe tam suas quam comprehensorum naturas & appellationes mutua sibi libertate condonent[3]

How much currency this idea had, I do not know. Bishop Hall later expounds it in *The Invisible World*, saying that it is a "conceit of Reuchlin" that "I cannot quite mislike."[4] By the middle of the sixteenth century, the metaphor, though in a different form, had reached the popular level of scientific encyclopaedias, for we read in the *Somma della Natural Filosofia* of Alfonso di Fonti:

I filosofi dissero esser il mondo, come un uuovo, & cosi come in mezo di quello veggiamo, come il rosso e circondata dal chiaro, & intorno poi ha una sottilissima tela, e sopra quella tela è il guscio dell'uuovo, del quale non resta piu, cosi in mezo del mondo è la terra, dove habitiamo, & intorno v' è l'acqua, & cosi viene subito l'aria, & l'aria e circondata dal fuoco, & sopra il fuoco non e cosa alcuna, & non resta piu del mondo, ma sopra tutte queste cose, si come affermarono molti Dottori sacri, stanno i corpi glorificati de' Santi, de' quali non trattaro, perche non è cosa di questa materia[5]

It is probably a notion of this sort that Lyly had in mind when he invented the figure in *Midas*, and I suspect, too, that Benzoni was thinking of the same thing when, in his *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*,[6] he invented the story of Colombo's egg that Washington Irving insisted on believing.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

[2] This book was translated by Judah Ibn Tibbon as ספר האמונות והדעות and printed at Constantinople in 1562 Reuchlin probably used a manuscript source

[3] *Op cit.* (Basileae, 1561), p 455

[4] *Works* (ed Wynter, Oxford, 1863), viii, 147

[5] *Op. cit.* (trad. A de Ulloa, Venetia, 1557), p 42.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE FATAL EXTRAVAGANCE*

The fatal extravagance, presented at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in April, 1721, was indebted to *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, but it is significant as being the first genuinely bourgeois drama and the first tragedy pervaded by a sense of fate in eighteenth-century England.[1] Although the title-pages of the published versions name Joseph Mitchell as author and although Mitchell signs the dedication in which he speaks of the play as his own, it has long been customary to assign the play to Aaron Hill with the explanation that after Hill had written the piece he gave it to Mitchell to present as his own.[2] The ultimate authority for this statement of the matter appears to be the following passages from Theophilus Cibber and Benjamin Victor

> Mr Mitchell was particularly honoured with the friendship of Aaron Hill, esq Once, when Mr Mitchell was in distress, Mr Hill, who could not perhaps conveniently relieve him by pecuniary assistance, gave him a higher instance of friendship, than could be shewn by money He wrote a beautiful dramatic piece in two acts, called The Fatal Extravagant This play met the success it deserved, and contributed to relieve Mr Mitchell's necessities, who had honour enough, however, to undeceive the world, and acknowledge his obligations to Mr Hill, by making mankind acquainted with the real author of The Fatal Extravagant [3]

> He [i e, Hill] writ the *Fatal Extravagance* for Mr *Mitchell*, (a gentleman of his acquaintance then in Distress) got it acted, and supported on the supposed Author's third Night [4]

In addition it may be noted that *The fatal extravagance* was included in *The dramatic works of Aaron Hill*, 1760

Another version, however, is recorded in Whincop.

> The author [of *The fatal extravagance*] was said to be greatly obliged to Mr *Aaron Hill* for his Assistance in this play [5]

[6] *Op cit* (Venetia, 1568), pp 12-13

[1] A Nicoll, *A history of early eighteenth century drama 1700-1750* (1925), 119

[2] Cf *Biographia dramatica* (1812), 228, Genest, *Some account of the English stage* (1832) III, 63, T W. Bayne in *DNB* under "Mitchell" and Leslie Stephen in *DNB* under "Hill", and Nicoll, *loc cit*

[3] T Cibber, *The lives of the poets* (1753) IV, 349-350

[4] B Victor, *The history of the theatres* (1761) II, 123

[5] *Scanderbeg . by . . Thomas Whincop, Esq to which are added a list of all the dramatic authors* (1747), 261

This is in agreement with the account in Mitchell's own preface to the published play

> I took the Hint (and only the Hint, as the Reader may see) from Shakespear's Yorkshire Tragedy, which was put into my Hands, on purpose, by my good friend, Mr Hill, to whom I take this Occasion of expressing my Gratitude, in the most publick manner I can But 'tis needless to tell the World, how much I am oblig'd to him, and what just Sense I have of his generous Regard to me They, who know him well, and what a Waste of his important Time he has made for my Interest, will be beforehand I owe much in the Scheme, in the Sentiments, and Language, of this Piece, to the Direction of that accomplished Gentleman I embrace this Opportunity of thanking him for his excellent Prologue Nor can I help thanking him even for the Epilogue, tho' not less pleasant on myself, than on my Adversaries among the Scots Clergy [6]

This preface does not appear in the five-act edition of *The fatal extravagance*, 1726 (possibly because Mitchell felt that by radically expanding the play he had made it practically his own), but it was carried over substantially the same into the 1730 edition of the two-act version.[7] Finally, when *The fatal extravagance* was incorporated into *The dramatic works of Aaron Hill*, 1760, it carried with it both Mitchell's preface and his signed dedication. One passage, indeed, in the prefatory life of Hill signed "I. K", appears to allude to the contested authorship

> Mr Hill's generosity was not confined to his relations, his friends, nor even to his own nation, a *Northern Minister* excluded from the Kirk, profited by Mr. Hill's assistance, tho' he had no other claim to it except his great want of it Mr Hill pitied his case, and gave him written materials, which procured him both money and fame, but at the same time gave birth to a base quality, his benefactor did not expect to see spring up, instead of gratitude The *once Minister*, on receiving caresses, as a *Poet* became vain, and probably thought that what Mr Hill had given him he had a right to frame anew, agreeable to his own humble taste This he did, and of a good Tragedy of two acts he made a sort of Farce of five, which no one afterwards disputed being his *own* [8]

"I K" was writing some six or seven years after the appearance of Cibber's circumstantial account of how Mitchell had made "man-

[6] *The fatal extravagance* London, T Jauncy [1721?], sig a2r a2v

[7] F G Waldron describes his play, *The prodigal*, 1794, as an adaptation of "*The Fatal Extravagance*, written by Joseph Mitchell" although he refers the reader to the *Biographia dramatica* account, see the "Advertisement."

[8] *The dramatic works of Aaron Hill* (1760), i-ii

kind acquainted with the real author of The Fatal Extravagant," and his essay was written to accompany an edition of Hill's works which would include the play in dispute with no additional information as to authorship It is strange that he used only the ambiguous phrase "written materials" (which certainly does not necessarily contradict Mitchell's account of the authorship published in the same volume) if all "mankind" had actually been informed that Hill alone was the author of the play.[9]

It is possible that the accounts in Cibber and in Victor were based only on a misinterpretation of Mitchell's preface, and that Hill and Mitchell did, indeed, collaborate in writing *The fatal extravagance.*

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AN UNPUBLISHED SHELLEY LETTER

The unpublished autographed Shelley letter which follows, I discovered, shortly before the outbreak of the present war, in the Prussian State Library in Berlin. The Keeper of Manuscripts gave me written permission to publish it

To Charles Ollier
[Shelley's London publisher]

Bagni di Lucca, August 10, 1818

My dear Sir:

I hear that you have sent me a parcel and probably a letter, but I have yet received neither Be so kind as to instruct me by what conveyance you expedited it

Voici the conclusion of my little poem, which I took advantage of ten days of dubious inspiration to finish—the tone of your reproaches and the printer's wonder operated as Muse on the occasion You will observe that the fabric of the composition is light and unstudied—and that if it have little merit it has as much as it aspires to I cannot expect that that prig the public will trouble itself to desert its cherished wines and drink a drop of dew so evanescent

See Hunt for me—and speak the lone word—Shelley I wish you would

[9] "I. K." would seem to suggest some ill feeling between the two authors as the result of Mitchell's five-act version in 1726, if such was the case it did not last long because Hill subscribed for a large paper copy of Mitchell's *Poems on several occasions*, 1729; and the first poem in the collection is addressed to Hill in terms of extravagant praise.

write and tell me some news of him and his books How *Foliage* goes on, etc My own book of course acquires little attention How proceeds, and what is, Keats's *Endymion*? I hope that it will be included in my parcel. He has a fine imagination and ought to become something excellent, but he is at present entangled in the cold vanity of systems

Mr Peacock will correct the proofs—I have written to him about it

Yours very truly,

P B Shelley

There are enclosed 6 pieces of writing and a letter which you will oblige me by putting in the twopenny post immediately

The Shelleys arrived in Italy on March 30, 1818, and reached Leghorn, May 9. To escape the heat of the summer they took up residence at Bagni di Lucca on June 11, where they remained for nine weeks The beauty and healthfulness of the Italian scene did not at first, as Shelley had hoped, awaken his sleeping Muse to original composition—a fact which he sorely lamented in a letter to Peacock of July 25 "I have lately found myself totally incapable of original composition" On the same day he wrote to William Godwin "I have been constantly occupied in literature, but have written little—except some translations of Plato in which I exercise myself in the despair of producing anything original." So as late as July 25, no poetic inspiration had moved Shelley to original composition.

But on August 16, to Peacock, Shelley wrote: "I have finished, by taking advantage of a few days of inspiration . . . the little poem I began sending to the press in London" "The little poem" referred to in this letter as in ours was *Rosalind and Helen,* an intensely personal poem, begun at Marlow and put aside, unfinished, by September 26, 1817, on which date Mary writing to Shelley, whose doctor had recently advised him to curtail his literary activity, lamented that her "pretty eclogue will suffer from it." At Mary's behest the poem was rewritten when the Shelleys were settled in Italy. On August 14, 1818, Mary, according to her Journal, began copying the poem, finishing it on the sixteenth.

The Shelley scholar will note five significant points in our letter. First, the date of final composition is now definitely established as between July 25 and August 10. Heretofore we have had only the vague remark by Mary that it was "finished during the summer of 1818." Second, Shelley's estimation of his work is in substantial

agreement with that in his letter to Peacock, above, and in the Advertisement to the published poem In our letter is the additional, but not wholly serious, statement by the poet that he attached little importance to the public's judgment of his work The remark, that "My own book, of course, acquires little attention" is a reference to the coolness of the public and press to his recently published poem, *The Revolt of Islam* Third, the poet used the word *dubious* in our letter, an epithet he dropped six days later in a letter to his friend Peacock and four months later in the Advertisement. Had the poet come to think more highly of his poem? Had Mary, who always liked it, wrought this change?

Then, fourth, there is Shelley's judgment of Keats as a poet This perhaps is the most significant part of our letter, since it shows Shelley's genuine interest in Keats and his persistent belief that Keats had the makings of a great poet Although Shelley in this letter asked Ollier to include the *Endymion* in his next parcel, it was not until August, 1819, that Shelley received it On September 6, he commented to Ollier "I have read . . Keats's poem. . . Much praise is due me for having read it, the author's intention appearing to be that no person should possibly get to the end of it. Yet it is full of the highest and finest gleams of poetry." And on July 27, 1820, Shelley wrote to Keats "I have lately read your *Endymion* again, and ever with a new sense of the treasures of poetry it contains, though treasures poured forth with indistinct profusion" In our letter Shelley, evaluating Keats on the basis of the slender 1817 volume of poems, confidently looked forward to something finer from his pen. But the reading of *Endymion* did not heighten Shelley's view He had had fears—perhaps from his discussions with Keats at Hunt's—that *Endymion* might become, as he put it in our letter, "entangled in the cold vanity of systems." In our letter he saw that Keats's promise lay in his "fine imagination," a promise that Shelley believed was amply fulfilled in *Hyperion*.

And, lastly, there is the reference to "the six pieces of writing" which Shelley enclosed to Ollier, presumably for the *Rosalind and Helen* volume. These cannot be definitely identified, but they included several short pieces from 1816-17—perhaps, "To the Lord Chancellor," "Marianne's Dream, "Mont Blanc," "The Sunset," "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty," and "Ozymandias," the last two of which did appear in the *Rosalind and Helen* volume. The clos-

ing paragraph of our letter appears to contradict a statement in the Advertisement to *Rosalind and Helen* that the poet did not know which of the few scattered poems he had "left in England" would be selected by his "bookseller to add to this collection" [the *Rosalind and Helen* volume]. Apparently, when Shelley came to write his Advertisement, in December, 1818, he had forgotten that, in addition to the few scattered poems "left in England," he had, four months earlier, sent "six pieces of writing" to his publisher, presumably for the "collection"

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BARON VON GUMPPENBERG, EMILY FOSTER, AND WASHINGTON IRVING

The publication of the *Journal of Emily Foster*[1] revealed additional information concerning the circle of Dresden friends who made Washington Irving's residence in the Saxon capital so interesting. Among the new figures that appear is a Bavarian nobleman, Baron von Gumppenberg, apparently Emily's favorite among her admirers, indeed, her journal clearly shows that her interest in him was one reason for her refusal of Irving. Despite the numerous notations about him, which reflect his eager attentions as well as her own favorable reactions,[2] Emily reveals practically nothing concerning his identity. To confuse us further she calls him "the Bavarian minister's brother"[3] though we know the latter definitely as Count Friedrich von Luxburg. In view of Emily's genuine affection for Gumppenberg and its possible effect upon her attitude toward Irving,[4] factual details concerning his identity seem desirable.

Careful investigation has finally revealed two sources for the identification of Baron Gumppenberg: *Geschichte der Familie von Gumppenberg*,[5] privately printed as a MS by Ludwig Albert

[1] Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Leonard B Beach, Oxford U Press, 1938

[2] See the revealing entries into her *Journal* pp. 47, 48, 49, 52, 60, 61, 62, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 83, 84, 85, 92, 142

[3] *Journal*, p 72

[4] See the editors' discussion in the *Journal*, p 45, footnote 2

[5] I am indebted to Prof. Franz Rolf Schroder of Wurzburg for procuring some of the factual details from this volume.

Freiherr von Gumppenberg, Würzburg, 1856, and Hanns von Gumppenberg's *Lebenserinnerungen*,[6] Berlin, 1929. The gentleman attached to the Bavarian Ministry at the Saxon Court was Wilhelm von Gumppenberg-Pottmes, the scion of an ancient, noble family already established in Bavaria in 1280. Born in 1793 as the son of Kajetan Gumppenberg, he was reared in the military tradition in the Munich Cadetcorps, became a Lieutenant in 1812 and participated in the campaigns of 1813-14 against France. After the war he transferred to the diplomatic service and was attached to the Bavarian Ministry at Dresden in 1820, having previously been stationed at Paris and Vienna. Two years later because of changes in the organization of the army he was forced to return to active military service. He became the personal adjutant of the crown prince, who ascended the throne as King Ludwig I of Bavaria. Later he served as companion and tutor of the royal princes Maximilian and Otto In 1829 he had married Sophie von Gumppenberg, the daughter of his first cousin, and soon devoted himself to the management of his estate. He was elected repeatedly to the Bavarian legislatures. He died in 1847 after suffering for years from a heart ailment.

Count Friedrich Christian Johann von Luxburg (1783-1856), also a member of the Bavarian "*Uradel*," was the Bavarian Minister at the Saxon Court during Irving's residence in Dresden. He was actually Gumppenberg's brother-in-law, having married in 1819 Marie Anna Freiin von Gumppenberg-Pottmes[7] Emily's reference to him as "brother" is natural enough in English whereas the different designation of the relationship in German would preclude the confusion. Count von Luxburg, however, did not die until July 10, 1856[8] Emily's erroneous notation in her *Second Journal* under date of November 23, 1827·

Gumpp's brother is dead A[llegri] is going to Italy & will see them all—Thérése [sic] is dead[1]—Many are dead[9]

[6] This grandson of Emily Foster's Baron von Gumppenberg was a scholar, a minor poet, and dramatist who died in 1928

[7] Both Luxburg and Gumppenberg are mentioned in M Doeberl's *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, ed Max Spindler (Munich, 1931), III, 146, 207-8

[8] *Gothaisches genealogisches Taschenbuch der graeflichen Hauser auf das Jahr 1858.*

[9] Quoted in *Journal*, p. 78-9, footnote 5.

is no doubt the result of confusion arising from the abundance of news which Allegri had communicated. Since Gumppenberg was an only son the reference is definitely a mistaken one. Gumppenberg's father had died in 1824 and Emily already recorded that death in a previous entry a week earlier. Perhaps she had forgotten it and meant to write "father" instead of "brother."

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FRANCIS QUARLES AND HENRY D THOREAU

The work of Francis Quarles, minor seventeenth-century poet, was diffuse and full of "conceits," and deserved Pope's attack in *The Dunciad*, but it had occasional flashes of poetic fire and genuine wit. It was spoken of kindly by Charles Lamb, and apparently helped to fashion the style of Henry D Thoreau.

Young Thoreau read Quarles in the fall of 1843, while on Staten Island he was trying to break into the New York literary market. In a letter to his mentor, Ralph Waldo Emerson, he writes, "Quarles's 'Divine Poems' as well as 'Emblems' are quite a discovery."[1] A month later he reports to Mrs. Emerson

> I have been reading lately what of Quarles's poetry I could get He was a contemporary of Herbert, and a kindred spirit It is rare to find one who was so much of a poet and so little of an artist He wrote long poems, almost epics for length, about Jonah, Esther, Job, Samson, and Solomon, interspersed with meditations after a quite original plan,—Shepherd's Oracles, Comedies, Romances, Fancies, and Meditations,—the quintessence of meditation,—and Enchiridions of Meditation all divine,—and what he calls his Morning Muse, besides prose works as curious as the rest He was an unwearied Christian, and a reformer of some old school withal. Hopelessly quaint, as if he lived all alone and knew nobody but his wife, who appears to have reverenced him He never doubts his genius, it is only he and his God in all the world He uses language sometimes as greatly as Shakespeare; and though there is not much straight grain in him, there is plenty of tough, crooked timber In an age when Herbert is revived, Quarles surely ought not to be forgotten[2]

In his *Journal* Thoreau at the same time set down this discriminating observation, which has the more point when his own gnarled, rugged style is kept in mind:

[1] *Familiar Letters of Henry D. Thoreau* (1894), p. 128

[2] *Letters to Various Persons* (1865), pp. 29-30.

Quarles is never weak or shallow, though coarse and untasteful He presses able bodied and strong-backed words into his service, which have a certain fragrance and force, as if now first devoted to literature after having served severe and stern uses He has the pronunciation of a poet though he stutters He certainly speaks the English tongue with a right manly accent To be sure his poems have the musty odor of a confessional [3]

On only one other occasion did Thoreau comment on Quarles and that was on his style when speaking of Nature· "I am amused," said he, "with the manner in which Quarles and his contemporary poets speak of Nature,—with a sort of gallantry, as a knight of his lady,—not as lovers, but as having a thorough respect for her and some title to her acquaintance." [4]

When Thoreau came to write his first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, he peppered it with quotations from Quarles as well as from other early favorites. These quotations appear used for ornament, as their omission would in no instance alter the thought As the authorized edition of Thoreau's works does not identify the passages, I give below the location in Quarles and use the pagination of the Riverside edition of Thoreau's *A Week* [5]

p 15 "Come, come my lovely fair," from *Emblems*, IV, 7, lines 7-8
p 43 "That bold adopts each house," from *Emblems*, II, 15, 8-11
p 85 "Where is this love," from "A Feast for Worms," *Jonah*, lines 715-718
p. 85 "The world's a popular disease," from *Emblems*, I, 8, 1-3
p 123 "You grov'ling worldlings," from *Emblems*, II, 9, 43-44
p 124 "Merchants, arise," from "A Feast for Worldlings," *Divine Poems*, I, 1, 3 4
p 125 "To Athens gowned he goes," from "Job Militant," sec 13, 23-24
p 293 "Too quick resolves," from *Emblems*, II, 13, 45 48
p. 432 "The laws of Nature break the rules," from "To My Booke," *Divine Fancies*, IV, 117, 36.
p 443 "And now the cold," from *Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man*, XIV, III
p 465 "And what's a life," from *Emblems*, III, 13, 19-21
p 503 "I asked the schoolman," from *Emblems*, IV, 11, 32-33
p 511 "He that wants faith," from "On Faith," *Divine Fancies*, III, 97, 1

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[3] *Works of Henry D. Thoreau*, Riverside ed., I, 458-459.

[4] *Ibid*, 458.

[5] I am indebted to Miss Fannie Ratchford, University of Texas, and to my former student, Miss Anne Whaling, of Yale University, for help in locating several of these passages.

WAS HENRY KIRKE WHITE A VICTIM OF THE REVIEW PRESS?

When Robert Southey condemned the *Monthly Review's* mild and courteous critique of Kirke White's *Clifton Grove, a Sketch in Verse*, as "most cruel and insulting," and Byron in *English Bards* treated White as a minor, unappreciated Chatterton, they laid the cornerstone of a fiction which has been hardy enough to persist to the present day[1] But despite the traditional opinion that White was a victim of contemporary critics, the eleven known reviews[2] of the only volume which he published during his lifetime present a very different picture. Of these reviews only two[3] were at all hostile, and even these were mild and restrained. Southey's edition of White's *Remains* (1807) the year after the poet's death fared even better each of the eight reviews was favorable.[4]

In all, then, only two of the nineteen known reviews of White were unfavorable. And even when those which appeared after his

[1] See Dowden's biography of Southey (p 126), Sir Harris Nicolas's Memoir of White in the Aldine edition of White's poetical works (p xxv), Sidney Lee's account of White in the *DNB*, and Peck's biography of Shelley (II, 218) The first three by referring only to the *Monthly Review* critique leave the impression that White did not fare well at the hands of the reviewers, the last quotes a passage from *The Gossip* for April 14, 1821, which cites Chatterton, White, and Keats as notable victims of the reviewers

[2] (1) *Annual Review, and History of Literature*, 1803 (2 552-54); (2) *Antijacobin Review*, January, 1804 (17 97-8), (3) *British Critic*, September, 1803 (22 310-11), (4) *Flowers of Literature*, 1804 (3 450), (5) *Monthly Magazine*, Supplement for January 25, 1804 (16. 632), (6) *Monthly Mirror*, June, 1803 (15. 385-88); (7) *Monthly Register, and Encyclopedian Magazine*, July, 1803 (3 99); (8) *New Annual Register*, 1803 (24 [328]), (9) *Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry*, 1803 (3· 452-53), (10) *Literary Journal, a Review of Literature*, November, 1803 (2 473), (11) *Monthly Review, or Literary Journal*, February, 1804 (43 218)

[3] The *Literary Journal* and the *Monthly Review*

[4] (1) *Annual Review, and History of Literature*, 1807 (6. 548-53), (2) *Antijacobin Review*, April, 1809 (32 352-57), (3) *British Critic*, November, 1808 (32· 447-52), (4) *Critical Review*, March, 1808 (4 320-26), (5) *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1808 (78[1]: 45-6); (6) *New Annual Register*, 1808 (29: [405]); (7) *Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry*, 1808 (7 550-51); (8) *Monthly Review, or Literary Journal*, January, 1810 (61. 71-84).

death are left out of the record, it is a conclusion inescapable that the fiction which Southey and Byron fostered cannot be supported by other known facts.

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SOURCES OF MILL'S CRITICISM OF "PAULINE"

It is highly probable that two sources other than Browning's poem itself were determinative influences upon John Stuart Mill's critical notes on *Pauline*.[1] The first of these was Mill's own mental crisis, the second, a letter from Carlyle describing the mental crisis of William Glen and commending him to Mill's kindness

In the fifth chapter of his *Autobiography* Mill confesses that his mental disruption of 1826-1827 was caused by a morbid self-consciousness and a famished state of his emotions.[2] In June of 1832 Carlyle wrote him concerning William Glen "So intense, diseased, a feeling of Self I have seen in no sane man; never such faculties of head and heart utterly lamed, and cancelling one another"[3] A year later, in his notes on *Pauline*, Mill wrote of Browning. "this writer seems to me possessed with a more intense and morbid self-consciousness than I ever knew in any sane human being."[4]

Apparently the psychic difficulties disclosed in *Pauline* recalled to Mill his own troubles of seven years earlier Carlyle's letter seems to have reinforced the recall and supplied the key terminology for his diagnosis of Browning's ailment It was by these two conditioning experiences, I submit, that Mill was qualified for making of his notes on *Pauline* so discerning a piece of criticism.

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[1] For Mill's notes and their history, see *Letters of Robert Browning Collected by Thomas J Wise* (ed T L Hood, New Haven, 1933), note 81 5-2, 366-367, also 194 195 for a Browning letter concerning them

[2] Mill: *Autobiography* London, 1873, 132-140 This fifth chapter is titled, "A Crisis in My Mental History One Stage Onward," and devotes many more pages to the next stage than to the crisis itself

[3] Carlyle's letter is published in *Letters of Thomas Carlyle* (ed Alexander Carlyle, London, 1923, 2nd Impression, 1924), 9-10 The biographical data on William Glen are given in note 3 on the same two pages.

[4] *Letters of Robert Browning, op cit.*, 366.

REVIEWS

Melville's Religious Thought An Essay in Interpretation. By WILLIAM BRASWELL. Durham Duke University Press, 1943. Pp. 154 $3 00.

Herman Melville The Tragedy of Mind. By WILLIAM ELLERY SEDGWICK Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1944. Pp. 225 $2.75.

Because throughout his life Melville was preoccupied with religion and with ideas which are essentially religious in character, there could hardly be a subject of greater significance or interest for students of Melville than his religious thought Both Braswell and Sedgwick, in strikingly different ways, have undertaken to study the development of Melville's attitude on moral and spiritual problems, and both have succeeded in shedding new light upon the genius of one of America's greatest writers.

Braswell has examined carefully and in detail Melville's early religious training, his wide reading among philosophical and religious works, and his energetic struggles with scepticism. Conveniently arranged in chronological sequence, the chapters of his book record the principal influences and episodes of Melville's experience which fashioned the pattern of his thinking · the somewhat unhappy childhood in a strictly religious family, the inevitably shocking discovery in his youthful voyages of the world's brutality, his early and sudden growth as a man of letters, his discouraging journeys into philosophical speculation, and his approach in old age to an attitude of comparative spiritual serenity. The conclusions reached in the study agree pretty consistently with what has been observed on the subject by Melville's earlier critics and biographers This is the first published investigation, however, of the nature, significance, and sources of the religious elements in Melville's work as a whole.

Besides bringing to light a number of new and interesting, though minor, biographical details, the book makes a notable contribution to Melville scholarship in its discussion of the symbolism in *Mardi* and *Pierre.* Melville, says the author, adopted from Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* a psychology in which the faculties of man are classified under three divisions the vegetal, the sensible, and the rational soul, to these Melville added the "spiritual soul" of Paracelsus and Campanella. With characters typifying these four levels of existence Melville peopled the worlds of Taji and Pierre. This idea and the rather elaborate interpretations of the allegory which stem from it strike one as plausible and amazingly con-

sistent All such interpretations are weakened, however, by the danger of assuming that Melville's plots accurately represent his own mental and spiritual conflicts This weakness is characteristic of the attempts to psycho-analyze Melville which have been made so frequently in recent years On the basis of this assumption, *Moby-Dick* is regarded as flagitious blasphemy and *Pierre* as an expression of bitter disillusionment with man and God Then, to account for certain elements in *White Jacket*, one must assert that the Christian sentiments and statements of deep faith which it contains were uttered by Melville with his tongue in his cheek to rehabilitate his reputation among his readers To many, this will no doubt seem like useless twisting of the evidence.

Sedgwick, in an interpretation (posthumously published) which perhaps reveals as much of Sedgwick himself as it does of his subject, describes Melville's life as a journey through dark valleys of spiritual suffering into which he has been led by his radical Protestantism and from which he is rescued by Catholicism, which affirms the organic antiquity and unity of mankind. The turning point of Melville's philosophy Sedgwick sees in *The Confidence-Man*, and his recantation and final re-orientation with humanity and the past in *Clarel* and *Billy Budd* Melville's "acceptance" of this man-of-war world comes when he sees that there is good in evil just as there is evil in good

This is a book of magnificent power spotted with a few pathetic weaknesses It is written in a style so moving that, in spite of occasional colloquialisms, almost any reader is quickly carried away; and it presents ideas about Melville which are startling and new.

For the first time Melville is studied as an American, as a critic of the nation's ills, as a patriot profoundly affected by the conflagration of civil war. There is some consideration, too, of his awareness of the nineteenth-century struggle between theology and science, though this problem is not sufficiently elaborated. Of Melville's relation to the literary movements of his day there is, unfortunately, almost no discussion. The differences between Hawthorne and Melville, rather than their similarities, are emphasized

The tendency to isolate Melville's thinking and to study it *in vacuo*, though avoided so far as his political ideas are concerned, seriously weakens the whole study. It reflects, perhaps, the isolation of Sedgwick himself, who seems to have been unaware of the work on Melville which was being done by other scholars between 1939 and 1942 Some of the opinions which he expresses are presented in far greater detail, for example, in the doctoral dissertations of Miss Foster and Mr Bezanson.

Sedgwick takes the extreme view that Melville's work is interesting and important primarily because it reveals in symbols his mental and spiritual development. "It is not Melville's recapitulation of his novel experiences," he says, "but his resourceful use of it to body forth his inward sense of being, that makes him the

great and fascinating writer he is." This attempt to explain and elucidate Melville's works by an attack upon the symbols is likely to lead into certain misconceptions, particularly when such major works as *Omoo* and *Benito Cereno* have to be omitted from the discussion because they do not fit the preconceived pattern.

The book succeeds in making, however, a number of observations like the following, which are wholly admirable. the Whale is not evil, but a symbol in which man sees his own evil reflected, the theme of *Pierre* is growth (it is not merely a cry of defiance to the hostile world), Melville was closer to the generation of Theodore Dreiser than to that of William Dean Howells.

Sedgwick's principal theme, a profound and suggestive one, is announced in the sub-title. He traces in Melville's religious and spiritual experience the disillusionment which results from the search for a superhuman ideal. "In an individual or a country or an epoch there is the same ineluctable law; whereby, if unchecked, the mind's idealism will only lead to disaster or to greater degradation This is the tragedy of mind In the perspective of the noble individual it shows with tragic dignity. . . . In the perspective of things as they are, the conclusion is the spectacle of a people enervated in spirit and sunk in an oblivion of materialistic exploitation" For Melville, the final act is the recovery and re-affirmation of his faith in the human destiny.

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Henry James, The Major Phase By F. O. MATTHIESSEN New York: Oxford University Press, 1944 Pp xvi + 190. $2 50.

Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866-1916 A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the Catholic University of America By RICHARD N FOLEY Washington, D. C · The Catholic University of America Press, 1944. Pp vi + 167

Two more contrasting studies of the same author could hardly be devised. Mr Foley's thesis is a relatively impartial analysis of the reception of James' work during his lifetime as gauged by reviews in a selected group of contemporary magazines and a few newspapers. Mr Matthiessen has undertaken an analysis of the developing imagination of a major author as revealed in his major work The one is a "contribution to knowledge" in the tradition of analytical scholarship, with factual rather than critical conclusions; the other is a stimulus to speculative thinking, a contri-

bution to wisdom. Each accomplishes its self-assigned task with proficiency, but the contrast is perhaps not altogether fair to the former

Mr. Foley's account of the reception of *The Golden Bowl* in 1904 shows why a restudy of James' later novels was necessary. At its worst, the misunderstanding of James which has colored the thought of even the best of his later critics is expressed by H. W Boynton in *The Times* "we find, standing for subtlety, a kind of restless, finicking inquisitiveness, a flutter of aimless conjecture. . . . At best it [the style] is a kind of physical deformity . . . Of mere mannerisms" "Is this art, consummate art?" asks the critic in *The Tribune.* "Then it is art without the dimmest adumbration of a soul."

In his concluding chapter, "The Religion of Consciousness," Mr. Matthiessen has answered once for all this shallow view. James, he reveals, "kept throughout life the sense of the abyss always lurking beneath the fragile surface He expressed this kind of evil, again and again, through a long series of characters" He "was impelled to believe that the primary obligation for the artist was to start with the tangible" and so to avoid the mistake of his father in "losing the image of the actual man," whether in his religious or social context. "When he projected this further and affirmed his belief in sanctions for immortality, he found these sanctions . . . in the essence of aesthetic idealism" Thus as he became more and more convinced of the uses of the perceptive faculty for exploring the metaphysical and moral ultimates, his method became more and more complex and he left his critics behind him Only now have they begun to catch up.

The use of James' voluminous working note-books, as yet unpublished, gave Mr. Matthiessen an inestimable advantage over earlier critics In spite of the prefaces to the New York edition, James' full intention has always been obscure Only by tracing the evolution of his fictional concepts from their inception to the finished works could the process of his imagination be fully revealed as a search for higher truth rather than a gymnastic exercise in style The result is that *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Ambassadors* still remain his masterpieces in the sense that they most surely achieve their purposes, but *The Wings of the Dove, The Golden Bowl,* and *The* (unfinished) *Ivory Tower* are disclosed as monuments to even greater efforts of the imagination to achieve the revelation of truth Their relative failures are attributable to the "denseness and uncertainty of life" rather than of James

Both studies suffer from the limitations of their forms. By disregarding kinds of criticism and evidences of popular reception other than periodical reviews, Mr. Foley gives only a limited and somewhat distorted view of his problem, and the necessity of adapting his findings to a lecture audience prevents Mr. Matthiessen from making a comprehensive analysis of all of James' work and

from adducing full evidence from the sources for such conclusions as he is able to reach. But maturity of judgment gives a perspective and an authority to the latter study which are lacking in the former

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Johnson and Boswell. Three Essays. By BERTRAND H. BRONSON. Berkeley and Los Angeles (University of California Publications in English, vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 363-476) University of California Press, 1944. $1.00.

The first of Mr. Bronson's essays, "Johnson Agonistes," approaches the subject of Johnson's conservatism by way of his "volcanic" temperament and presents us with a personality for which the overworked adjective "dynamic" is for once the right one. The author sees his man as a born iconoclast whose powerful intellectual conviction of the need for order, authority, and objective truth first conquered the rebel in himself and then led him to seek repression of the other rebels of the world, political, social, and religious. His violence of speech and opinion is then the measure of the struggle he has had with his own instincts and in part, at least, the violence of one who has conquered but not wholly subdued. The essay is a good corrective to the far too common view of the older Johnson as a fossil of prejudice. His Jerusalem was not Blake's, but he did not cease from mental fight.

"Boswell's Boswell" is the liveliest of the essays, as befits its subject. Its most penetrating passages are those which bear on Boswell's "double consciousness of himself" as simultaneously actor and observer and on the distinctive qualities of his most satisfying experiences. The elements of special value for Boswell in a given experience are defined as, first, excitement in due proportion to stimulus, second, comparison and contrast with remembered or imagined scenes, and third, "creative" rather than passive participation in the incident This analysis can be profitably applied to many passages in the journals besides the account of the visit to Rousseau which serves as illustration. It is unfortunate that such a spirited essay concludes rather weakly.

The third essay, "Johnson's 'Irene,'" is a thorough post-mortem on that noble but unloved play. Mr. Bronson uses the first draft to show the priority of the gnomic and didactic over the dramatic in the play's growth and makes sound comment on Johnson's failures in theatrical imagination and in poetical use of true rhythms of speech. The survey of earlier English dramas of Irene is useful to the student, but it leads only to a hesitant and reserved

suggestion that Johnson may not have been "entirely ignorant" of a background of which they form a part.

Mr. Bronson writes with spirit and wit and ends the *Irene* essay with a successful fling at Johnsonian parody. His fondness for figure occasionally gets the better of him, as in the "sea-change" of Soame Jenyns's ideas (p 385), which were never pearls, after all, but he is neither pedestrian nor obscure, even when reasoning as closely as his scholarly purpose demands.

The University of Rochester RICHARD L. GREENE

The Passion Play of Lucerne. An Historical and Critical Introduction. By BLAKEMORE EVANS. New York: The Modern Language Association of America (Monograph Series XIV): Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. xi + 245 + 12 ill. + 32 pp. lithograph reproductions. Price $3 50

This book is unique in that it gives us a most detailed account of the staging of a late mediæval passion play which has never been edited. However, the publishing of the text is planned under the sponsorship of the government of the Canton of Lucerne, not a simple task when we realize that of the eight manuscripts not one is complete.

Professor Evans has done an excellent job in presenting all matters that have to do with the *mise en scène* of the play under the supervision of the able City Clerk of Lucerne, Renward Cysat, who acted as *Regent* for the 1583 and 1597 performances. The only omissions of any consequence concern rather the text itself and would include, as the author states, the 'treatment of the language,' 'the rhyme technique' and 'a discussion of the relationship of the Lucerne Passion to the other German plays.'

After a brief discussion of the manuscripts which include the texts and the *regie* notes, the second chapter takes up the historical development of the Lucerne play as revealed in Cysat's *Collectanea,* the so-called *Umgeldbucher* ('the official records of the income and expenditures of a civic rotary fund'), the *Rodel der Bruderschaft der Bekronung* (official documents of the Brotherhood of the Crown of Thorns) and the *Raths-Protocolle* (the minutes of the City Council). In chapters three and four entitled 'The Text,' 'Music,' the author discusses the revision of the texts for the performances from 1495 to 1597, and also records everything of value for an understanding of 'the musical aspects of the later mediæval church drama in Germany' and calls attention to the so-called *Judengesänge,* which 'represent the most significant contribution of the

Lucerne Passion in the field of music' Professor Gustave Arlt has transposed into modern notations the original Music Blocks, which are all given in photographic reproduction. Chapter five deals with the preparations for the play, such as the distribution of the actors' rôles and the conduct of rehearsals We find here a wealth of material relating to these laborious tasks, which 'in its completeness of detail' presents a 'picture unique in the annals of the early German stage.' Closely connected with this chapter is the next, in which we have lists of the *dramatis personae* containing the names of prominent Lucerne families that took part in the performances. The principal rôles, however, were played by the priests Chapters seven and eight deal exclusively with the stage, costumes and stage properties. Here again we have a minute description, together with charts showing the ground plan of the *Weinmarkt* where the play was performed, and photographic reproductions of Cysat's sketches and of Professor Albert Koster's model The actors were realistically dressed in accordance with the characters they represented. The final chapters deal with such matters as the processions as they enter and leave the *Weinmarkt,* the feeding of the actors and the expense accounts

The book is well written, the material excellently presented and fully digested. It enriches our knowledge of the mediæval German stage.

EDWARD H. SEHRT

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The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800. By H T SWEDENBERG, JR Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press, 1944 Pp. XIV + 396 $4 00 (*University of California Publications in English,* vol. XV.)

Professor Swedenberg begins with a survey of the foundations, from Aristotle through Horace to the Italian Renaissance critics, and on to French critics, chiefly of the seventeenth century, and, amongst them, chiefly Le Bossu He then explains why little can be said "about English criticism of the epic before 1650" — the reason being that there was little of it. There was just enough to show, he believes, "a tendency toward the neoclassical point of view which was to develop later." There follow three chapters, each covering a half-century, in which Professor Swedenberg chronicles the definite appearance, the firm though never unchallenged establishment, and the disintegration of the neoclassical point of view. Very briefly, because he did not find much to say and could not find anything really new or significant, he then considers

"Currents in Eighteenth-Century Thought Reflected in the Theory of the Epic."

This treatment, buttressed by 651 notes (inconveniently grouped at the ends of chapters, instead of being placed where they belong, and where alone readers can easily use them), fills 149 pages. In the remainder of his bulky monograph (save for a few pages devoted to Bibliography and Index), Professor Swedenberg prints illustrative excerpts from the critics he has discussed, classifying them — with a brief introduction to each section — as follows: "Definition," "Fable and Action," "Moral," "Unity," "Probable and Marvelous," "Machines," "Characters," and "Language and Versification."

The conclusion is forced on this reviewer's unwilling mind that Professor Swedenberg is too good. He has been too docile, too innocent, too neat. He has even been too industrious, too methodical, too "scientific," too competent in collecting and ordering material, and too exhaustive in presenting it. He is guilty of "frailities" on p. 147 (l. 10), where (l. 14) "studied" also appears as a misprint for "studded," and where (l. 19) "prospect" is very oddly used as the equivalent of "spectacle." But otherwise he appears to be as correct as anything—and is as colourless also. The qualities he exhibits are all really good—good in their places, good within measure, good if employed as necessary means to a significant end. But here they rather appear, glorified, for their own sake, in what is properly an exhibition-piece—a sterling product from the workshop of the modern graduate school. For students of the eighteenth century will not be startled by the outcome of Professor Swedenberg's labours. The most important result is that this particular job, not heretofore done and therefore lying as a temptation in the path of graduate students, is now for ever disposed of.

Inevitably, one contrasts this book with Dr Clarence C. Green's *Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England during the Eighteenth Century* (Harvard Press, 1934). Professor E. N. Hooker (*MLN.*, LI, 264-6) complained that Dr Green's book was too short for its subject, that it failed to take account of developments he had traced in an article, and that there were other deficiencies. Doubtless the complaints were justified, but Professor Hooker did not notice that at least Dr Green had wit, a lively and often pungent style, a talent for hitting on very amusing passages buried in eighteenth-century critics' pages, a sharp and mature critical discernment, and the ability to make an apparently dull subject consistently interesting. Professor Hooker, who has with inexhaustible industry and heroic vigour produced more by and about John Dennis than anyone will ever to be able to read, appears as one of the sponsors of Professor Swedenberg's big book. It is possible that Dr Green, in his deficiency, found more life, and more food for real enlightenment too, in the eighteenth-century critics than he should have.

But Professor Swedenberg finds instead "deadly monotony" (at first reading, he adds, p 83) and, what is more, gives warning (p. 133) that one of his critics, John Ogilvie, "is not so dull as" the exposition of his views makes him appear to be Formerly "the indispensable eighteenth century" was in need of defence against enemies. Perhaps it is now in need of rescue from misguided friends.

ROBERT SHAFER

University of Cincinnati

Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn By FANNIE E. RATCHFORD New York Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1944. Pp. XIV + 591 + XVII. $7 50

In April, 1922, *MLN* published a seven-page review of *A Catalogue of the Library of the late John Henry Wrenn* by John W. Draper. Some words of this review are worth quoting "Thomas J. Wise . . . informs us . . . that he is responsible for the original purchase of many of the volumes, as well as for the editing of the *Catalogue* . . Not only is the material in the *Catalogue* ill-compiled, but, even more deplorable, a large share of it is very doubtful if not quite erroneous . . . Such a multiplicity of errors . . . is rather shocking . . . Some . . . are merely stupid blunders; . . . others . . suggest an intentional desire to mislead. . . To accuse Mr. Wise of such a thing is unthinkable; but, unhappily, . . . these five volumes . contain . . an odd collection of . . notes from the catalogues of . . . third-class book-dealers" (XXXVII, 237-243).

A dozen years later, what Draper called "unthinkable" was not only thought, but said and proved For in their famous *Enquiry* Carter and Pollard made the astounding disclosure that Wise had forged more than fifty "first editions" of English authors. Miss Ratchford has followed up this exposé with a careful re-reading of all the letters written by the forger to his rich American dupe These letters, now in the library of the University of Texas, and Miss Ratchford's scholarly annotation of them give us a greatly enriched understanding of Wise's manifold activities and indicate how extremely cautious scholars must be in using any volume that may ever have passed through his hands.

We now see Wise, not only as the forger and the dishonest bibliographer whose fictions are strewn through the pages of *The Ashley Library Catalogue*, but also as 1) the vandal who mutilated autograph material, with the deliberate design of falsifying a poet's activities, 2) the fabricator of dishonest volumes, doctored up with title-pages in facsimile though guaranteed "right in every way"

"from first page to last", 3) the ventriloquist who spoke through dummies, dead men, and dupes, and 4) the dramatist who set in motion a whole cast of fictitious or unidentified characters who helped him to market the forgeries

Miss Ratchford calls attention to forgeries not in the Carter and Pollard list (see pp 70 and 195). She tells us that it was M Harzof who, as early as 1920 suggested to John Carter that he undertake the investigation which resulted in *An Enquiry*. And she discloses the conclusive activities of Frederick Page in silencing Wise after the publication of *An Enquiry* in 1934

The scholar's gratitude to Miss Ratchford for these results of patient and careful investigation must not, however, blind him to certain passages where logic seems thrown to the winds, and when she "guesses" (p 98), let the reader be wary. Miss Ratchford remarks (p. 47) that "a straightforward answer [by Wise to his accusers] could have saved his reputation" This statement is wholly illogical And after telling us (p. 57) that "his mere word was worthless,' Miss Ratchford remarks (p 73) · "Could the assigned pedigree of a single Wrenn forgery be verified, the balance of judgment must turn in Wise's favour." If he could be proved to have told the truth just once, we would forget the forty-nine lies?

Instead of exhibiting any such magnanimity, Miss Ratchford seems to have been so disillusioned by Wise's dishonesty as to be unwilling or unable to trust anyone. The secondary title of her book, "A Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth-Century Forgers," suggests a general indictment. Even after she has called William Michael Rossetti into court and has exonerated him, she writes (p 111) "*For the present* Rossetti must be acquitted" (the reviewer's italics). Assuming the rôle of prosecuting attorney, she attempts to involve in T J. Wise's guilt H Buxton Forman and Sir Edmund Gosse, but these attempts must, I think, be called unproved It is clear that both Gosse and Forman were careless and inaccurate. They both made foolish statements and fathered regrettable bibliographical falsehoods But this is not to convict them of forgery In her attempt to fasten guilt upon Gosse, Miss Ratchford stresses "the terminal 's' which," she says (p 93) is the "most characteristic letter" in Gosse's handwriting. She apparently has not examined the facsimile letter from Gosse (facing p. 86), which presents thirteen distinct instances of "the terminal 's'," *not one of which* supports Miss Ratchford's argument. Similarly she thinks that it "is impossible to escape the conclusion that the elder Forman was criminally involved in the fraud" (p. 107). Space is not available here to argue the case; but, on the basis of the evidence presented, Forman does not appear to me a proved forger.

One final point "How far did Wise's dishonesty affect the integrity of the Wrenn Library?" Miss Ratchford answers (p. 111):

"Surprisingly little" She pays tribute to Wise's knowledge, experience, and energy, and, turning her back upon the forgeries and the bibliographical havoc they have caused, she points to "the testimony of the Wrenn Library to Wise's industry, sound judgment, and unparalleled service to Wrenn."

CARL J. WEBER

Colby College

New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism. A Study in Semantics and Evaluation By BERNARD C. HEYL Published for Wellesley College, *New Haven*, by Yale University Press, 1943. Pp IX + 172 $2 50

This is work, and good work, on the margins of the great unexplored territory at present being called Semantics The name is unfortunate historically—Bréal's subject had the first rights—and it suffers from unlucky rimes frantic, gigantic, corybantic, romantic, mantic . antics The territory itself is rightly under suspicion as a resort of uncivilized persons And its pioneers were addicted to the gentle art of making enemies. There are indeed good reasons why serious students should often be turned away by the name But perhaps a change is at hand now. Mr. Heyl has a wary and catholic eye and most admirable manners in controversy. He succeeds in showing anew what excellent training in handling confusion current discussions of Art and Beauty provide and how much these topics still need students with improved verbal awareness

His treatment though gentle is penetrating His program covers typical uses of "Art," "Beauty," and artistic "Truth" and of the words by which these words are commonly explained; it covers, further, "objectivism," "subjectivism," and "relativism" and the chief attendant problems, and it covers all this not only in the interests of esthetics and art criticism but as a help to our general mutual intelligibility It is not easy to be penetrating and yet just at so many points These analyses will be welcomed by many who are impatient of the dogmatisms and pomposities which are traditional in the subject

Mr. Heyl's references and citations are varied, representative and rich He packs a remarkable amount into 172 pages His writing is clear and modest—there seems to be a misplaced "not" on page 134, line five—and his thought is well aware of its own conditions and limits—perhaps over-acquiescent sometimes. To accept philosophic differences may conduce to clarity, and it is wise to insist that study of our conduct with language does not settle everything. But larger reconciliations than that study has yet attempted seem

to be open, and "Semantics" which began by finding nonsense everywhere may well end up as a technique for widening understanding. For example, Mr. Heyl is excellent on the need to distinguish between verbal or volitional definitions — "*Let* x mean a b c . . ." — and statements not about the use of words — "X is funny" — pointing out that such definitions, being requests, are not *true* as statements may be true. But he might have found space to say that such definitions may still be *true* in three senses at least, interestingly parallel with three theories of Truth. The request may forward inquiry (work *pragmatically*); it may help us to think in *correspondence* with fact, and it may be *consistent* with other uses of words we will not readily give up. A matured critique of language in discussion will note such things rather than insist (self-betrayingly) that definitions cannot be true These famous theories do not seem so very different from one another until their verbal warfare begins Mr. Heyl has an eye for such points and it is to be hoped that he will write a more ambitious book.

I A Richards

Harvard University

Keats and the Victorians. A Study of His Influence and Rise to Fame 1821-1895. By George H. Ford. New Haven. Yale University Press, 1944. Pp xiii + 200 $3 00.

Unlike those of the other great Romantics, the story of Keats's rise to fame has never been adequately examined. We have all known that he exercised a great influence on Tennyson and Rossetti, but how far he went in influencing other poets of the nineteenth century has, strangely enough, long remained a matter of more or less general speculation. Captain Ford's book is an attempt to answer the question. After a brief summary of Keats's reputation and influence between the time of his death in 1821 and 1840, he shows in detail the effect that Keats had upon the major Victorian authors, especially Tennyson, Rossetti, and, surprisingly enough, Arnold The last section is a somewhat summary sketch of Keats's influence upon Morris, Swinburne, and the poets of the last decade of the century, when, with the centenary of his birth, Keats's reputation was universal, and his influence generally recognized as one of the most powerful of nineteenth-century poets

So far as Keats's influence on the Victorian poets goes, Captain Ford has made an excellent study. His treatment of three major Victorians who came under Keats's influence (Tennyson, Arnold, and Rossetti) is both exhaustive and sane. He has apparently left no stone unturned in his well written and painstaking study, nor, while he quotes abundant parallel expressions, has he gone beyond

the bounds of common sense in that too frequently abused method of tracing influences His conclusions are both enlightening and sound. Moreover, despite occasionally exaggerated statements, about the "complete dearth of political theories" (p 33) or the lack of philosophical aspiration in Keats's work, the treatment of other sections is adequate and just

One wishes, however, that the author had devoted more space to the earliest imitations of Keats The treatment of Hood's Keatsian poetry is certainly summary. No mention is made whatever of *The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*! Hood, it is true, is a minor poet, nor were his Keatsian poems popular either in his own day or in ours Yet the fact that he wrote so devotedly and well at a time when, as Sterling said, Keats's poetry had "been left alone in its own magic hermitage," entitled Hood to a fuller treatment. Except for Tennyson, he is certainly the chief link between Keats and the Victorians

Captain Ford's book deals more with its title than with the promise of its preface. While most of the material is there, the method followed certainly does little to clarify the successive stages of Keats's growth in fame except in general outline. While more readable than a painstaking study of the gradual increase in poetic reputation, this is not the kind of work Professor White has attempted for Shelley nor Professor Chew, for Byron. One still gets no clear notion of the year by year or even decade by decade growth of a poet's reputation There is no detailed study of the gradual increase of the sale of Keats's works, nor of the slow but definite swing of critical opinion in his favor. Minor poets come in for mention, but one does wonder why no mention is made of George Darley, and, especially, of Thomas Lovell Beddoes. Certainly they are as important as Richard "Hengist" Horne. There is still room for an aspiring Ph. D. to do the unpleasant but illuminating work of grubbing through dusty magazines and reams of bad poetry, which, none the less, undoubtedly appealed to Victorian readers.

All this is by no means to disparage Captain Ford's study. So far as his purpose went, he has achieved it thoroughly and well. One marvels at the amount of research he has done and delights in reading a thoroughly enjoyable book which makes a real contribution to our knowledge and includes an excellent bibliography and an index.

CORNELIUS M. CUYLER, S S.

St Charles College,
Catonsville, Maryland

The Enjoyment of the Arts Edited by MAX SCHOEN New York Philosophical Library, 1944. Pp. 336. $5 00

This book aims to combine the functions of the older invitation to art addressed to the millions and a modern specialist's interpretation of his own field The ten collaborators Thomas Munro, Joseph Bailey Ellis, Laszlo Gabor, Antonin Heythum, David Daiches, Barrett H Clark, Van Meter Ames, Milton S. Fox, Glen Haydon, George Boas have tried to state in their thirty or so pages apiece the differentiating characteristics and potentialities of the art they know best, but to do it so simply that anyone can follow. The result is in part an interesting collection of thoughtful hypotheses left in the reader's mind to be amplified and related as he has power Of the cinema we are told that its purest form is in the conception of montage (276), and of the serious novel today that it expresses conflicts centering around science and social-democratic thought, crossing strains from Wells and James (229), of architecture, that its essence is functionalism, always respecting the human scale, and that the idea of functionalism, though modern, is also traditional (121); of poetry that its basic idea is the counterpointing of all the different elements of the medium The authors vary in the degree to which they pass on to their general audience special views or technical details, some, like Mr. Haydon, use their few pages for a kind of simple condensed grammar of an art.

The book is focused around the editor's essay on "The Realm of Art." In this he opportunely emphasizes the joy—delight and wonder—of art, and the importance of understanding lies for him in its contribution to this final end. His collaborators echo this emphasis, often even quoting his words. Mr Clark says that play-goers want to be amused and that they are entirely right (200) Mr. Ellis talks about "fun" instead of "enjoyment" and perhaps goes a little far in taking his readers back to the building-blocks of the kindergarten. The importance of tolerance in taste and its connection with enjoyment is the theme of Mr. Boas's essay, and Mr Munro expresses a sentiment typical of the whole book when he says: "Painting is a world in which anyone may enter and wander as he sees fit, finding enjoyment in his own way" (54). The variety in style and content of the book is pleasing, but there are an inexcusable number of mechanical errors even for war-time

KATHARINE GILBERT

Duke University

Kening Finn ("Frisia-Rige," No. 3). By Douwe Kalma Snits (Netherlands): Brandenburgh, 1937. Pamphlet 32 pp.

De Pearel · in Visioen ut it Middle-Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij-Frysk By Douwe Kalma. Dokkum. Kamminga, 1938. Pamphlet 60 unnumbered pp.

In view of the close historical relation between the Frisian dialects, old and new, and English — the closest of any Germanic dialect — students both of the history of the English language and of medieval English literature will be interested in the Frisian renderings of the items under consideration. At worst they may be viewed as linguistic *curiosa*, at best as placing a sort of emphasis on the linguistic and cultural ties binding Germania Magna For the privilege of inspecting these volumes, at present not generally accessible or obtainable, I am most grateful to Mr. B. J. Fridsma, co-director of the Frisian Information Bureau (Grand Rapids 7, Mich) and co-editor of the monthly bulletin, *Frisian News Items* (Jan 1944ff.).

Kening Finn ("King Finn") includes translations of *Widsith*, ll. 1-34, 50-74, 88-108, 131-142 (pp. 7-11), of the *Finn Fragment* (pp. 12-14), and of *Béowulf*, ll. 1063-1962a (pp. 14-18), done into alliterative verse and generally speaking following the OE originals closely enough (mainly according to Chambers). With the *Widsith* selections one may compare Stefán Einarsson's excellent Icelandic rendering of the whole poem, more or less according to Malone's 1936 edition, in *Skírnir*, cx (1936), 164-190. Malone's edition was evidently unknown or inaccessible to Kalma, as was also a good deal of other recent scholarship on this matter. In the bibliography one misses not only Malone's work but also Hermann Schneider's *Germanische Heldensage*, II, 1, 52 ff

De Pearel ("The Pearl") is based on Gollancz' 1936 edition, both as to text and the introductory essay. The author follows closely the meter and the elaborate rhyme-scheme of the original and thereby achieves a veritable *tour de force*. Though the pages are not numbered, the stanzas are, Gollancz' twenty §§'s are indicated by initial rubrics Linguistically speaking, the Frisian is here much closer to the original than in the case of the OE items in *Kening Finn*, it is well to remember that even so-called OFris is more or less on a level of development with ME.

The fine style of the translations is guaranteed by the author's name Dr. Kalma (1896–) is a Frisian poet, dramatist, and historian of real distinction and repute; his *Gysbert Japkins in Stúdzje yn Dichterskip* was the first doctoral dissertation (Groningen, 1938) to be written in Frisian. For further information see Mr. Fridsma's articles on Frisian literature and on Douwe Kalma in the forthcoming *Encyclopedic History of Literature* As to any lack of up-to-the-minute scholarship in connection with these trans-

lations it should be remembered that the author is not out to say the last or even the next to the last word on the subjects in hand but in an artistic, semi-popular yet competent fashion to acquaint his fellow speakers of Frisian with supposedly Frisian literary material on the one hand and a most beautiful ME poem on the other And in this he has admirably succeeded

F. P MAGOUN, JR

Harvard University

CORRESPONDENCE

FRENCH SYNTAX LIST May I be permitted a few words by way of answer to Miss Anna Granville Hatcher's review of the *French Syntax List* (*MLN*, LIX [1944], 502 505) ? The reviewer's chief quarrel with the authors seems to be that if someone else had done the work, it would have been done differently She berates us for not having given fuller treatment of syntactical phenomena and then states that we probably had no such intention Since her latter contention is so obviously true, as one can tell by reading the Introduction (especially p 8) to the volume, her strictures on our admittedly scanty treatment of individual items would seem to lack point It is indeed a pity that the reviewer, who has demonstrated in many special studies such competence in the field of French syntax, should have used valuable space in deploring the necessary limitation of our objectives, when she was in such an excellent position to clarify, and perhaps to correct, our summaries and generalizations

A few of her more specific criticisms may be answered briefly We had already admitted (Introduction, p 8) the *occasional* break down of our decimal system, and the reasons therefor It is unnecessary, then, to comment upon the reviewer's contention that this system " is most whimsically observed " Since Miss Hatcher seems to be bored by figures, I shall spare her a statistical analysis She also speaks of the incongruities arising from a classification based on Parts of Speech Our very practical reasons for this classification are expounded in detail on pp 2-3, and there is no need to belabor the point further

What the reviewer calls " the superstition of figures " makes her very unhappy indeed, and lies, perhaps, at the heart of our differences She states that " to analyze the language as a whole from this point of view is a meaningless procedure " In heaven's name, why? Apparently, because she is not used to it As Professor Keniston (whose name Miss Hatcher, in her flair for subjectivity, misspells) has shown, especially in his volume on the sixteenth century (*The Syntax of Castilian Prose*), and in innumerable examples, it is possible with this technique to trace *within a single century* the gradual emergence or disappearance of a great many constructions Our own task, of course, has not been so ambitious as to include

a diachronic approach to our study, but we feel that we have at least a point of departure for such a study Furthermore, despite the reviewer's closing paragraph, we still insist that the *List* will be useful as a pedagogical device If, in a great many cases, we have merely affirmed what was commonly believed, we do not consider it time lost to have buttressed these beliefs by a statistical analysis

I have already mentioned Miss Hatcher's animadversions on our scanty treatment of individual items When she says, for instance, speaking of the concurrence of pos adj and def art, that "1026 examples of the two 'types' were counted, one could wish they had also been analyzed," I can only add, "One could indeed!" We were compelled to restrict our remarks to a single paragraph, 18 65, which we hope is sound as a piece of generalization Similar remarks could be made concerning Miss Hatcher's lamentations about our treatment of the reflexive, of the use and non use of the article, etc

After stating that "generalities are almost worthless as guides to usage in concrete cases," Miss Hatcher proceeds (p 505) to accuse us of having "fear of a 'subjective judgment,' the fear, that is, of the full scale operation of the human mind, with its capacity for intuition, for evaluation, for synthesis the capacity to seek and grasp the significance behind phenomena" These are fine words We assure the reviewer we have no such fear, and for all of these objectives we shall continue to seek out her own various studies—without statistics

Nor do we have any "credulous belief in conventional categories" After commending to the reviewer a re-reading of 18 2, we may simply state that traditional categories were retained for the convenience of the teacher, so that he might examine such points afresh We are able to state, for instance, and do so (18 24), that the article is not usually used with abstract nouns If the reviewer knew this all along—without statistics—, more power to her When she speaks of over-classification, she is on sounder ground But, within reasonable limits, it is surely desirable to make allowance for as many types as possible If it turns out that we have been over-subtle here and there, there is nothing to prevent the reviewer or anyone else from combining categories A distinction that may have been valid in the seventeenth century may no longer be valid in the nineteenth But we had to find out.

Let us agree, then, that there are various ways of tackling these problems I merely object to anyone's saying "Mine is the *only* way" After all, one cannot serve both Hall and Spitzer Meanwhile, we eagerly await the appearance from the reviewer's hands of a grammar "which frankly boasts of being subjective and purposely incomplete," — without statistics

LAWRENCE POSTON, JR

Knox College

PETRARCH AND THE RENASCENCE It is very right and proper for your reviewer to attack my book *Petrarch and the Renascence* if he dislikes my attitude to the Middle Ages But his attack would carry more weight if he had not made one blunder which shows that he wrote his review without reading my book He says that I attempt a revaluation of Petrarch and his successors, and among the latter he lists Vitruvius Vitruvius, of course, lived in the first century B C, and if Mr Charles S Singleton had read the chapter headed *The Italian Vitruvius* he would have seen that it was about Leon Battista Alberti

As it must have affected your readers' opinion of my scholarship, and may, perhaps, affect their view of Mr Singleton's censure of me, may I ask you in fairness to me to give equal prominence to this correction as to the review?

J H WHITFIELD

Oxford

REPLY I am very sorry for this "blunder" and sincerely hope that the present apology will reach every reader of *MLN* who can possibly have believed that Mr Whitfield had written a volume on the Renaissance in which he dealt with Vitruvius as a successor of Petrarch I am also grateful to Mr Whitfield for the correction (though not for the history lesson). The error had gone unnoticed by all, including myself, these several months. I shall, however, more readily believe that it will have been seen at once to be the reviewer's, since it is simply inconceivable that it could be the author's (And reviewers have such a cruel way of writing *sic!* after such blunders when they are the author's and not their own!) One learns of Vitruvius, I imagine, before one knows the name *Alberti* In any case, how the former usurped the place of the latter in my list I cannot now imagine *Cosa fatta capo ha,*—unfortunately

On the other hand, I shall trust that what I had not at all thought of as an *attack,* but as a *discussion,* however brief, of some of Mr Whitfield's fundamental ideas, will of itself provide a proper answer to his charge of not reading his book — even the chapter on Leon Battista Alberti, *The Italian Vitruvius*

CHARLES S SINGLETON

The Johns Hopkins University

SCANDINAVIAN FOR WAR AND PEACE While gratefully accepting the criticisms and suggestions contained in Professor Einar Haugen's article, I should like to point out to the readers of *Modern Language Notes* the difficulties involved in presenting, in a necessarily restricted space, a language which has four times changed its written form in less than two centuries Danish was Norway's literary language down to the beginning of the 19th century Dano-Norwegian prevailed throughout the 19th Today, two different written forms, Riksmål and Landsmål, are used side by side It was

perhaps an error on my part to try to present Danish and Norwegian in a joint section, but the linguistic picture of Norway lends itself to some confusion

For what concerns the leaning of Norwegian toward Swedish where it diverges from Danish, I followed the statements made by Prof Adolph Gotthard Noreen in his article on the Scandinavian languages in the 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, which are in turn based upon A Western, "Kurze Darstellung des norwegischen Lautsystems" (*Phonetische Studien*, II), and I C Poestion, *Lehrbuch der norwegischen Sprache* (2nd ed, 1900)

Professor Haugen misunderstands my "Alphabetic Notation," which refers purely to alphabetical symbols, not to the sounds they represent The latter are separately treated, the fact that no complete description of sounds is given is due, understandably, to space limitations

The bibliographical references to extant grammatical literature which Professor Haugen advocates were duly considered when the book was conceived They would have been comparatively simple in the case of Norwegian and other minor languages, where there is a small amount of such material available in America But in the case of languages like French, German, Spanish and others, it would not have been practical to include all the really good works on the market, and the susceptibilities of excluded authors and publishers would have been offended

Professor Haugen's article deals ostensibly with my treatment of the Scandinavian languages Actually, his criticism of my Swedish, Danish and Icelandic is limited to one or two remarks about the English transcription of one or two sounds. His main quarrel is with my Norwegian Granting that all his objections on that score may be justified, he nevertheless offers in his concluding paragraph an unfavorable verdict on a 575-page book on the basis of material covering, at the most, 22 pages, and at the least, a scant 7 pages, which deal primarily with Danish

MARIO A PEI

Columbia University

SHAKESPEARE, SONNET CXI 12. In his recent variorum edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* Professor Rollins is good enough to refer to my note on Sonnet CXI. 12 in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (Oct 18, 1934, p 715) I venture to suggest, however, that he is wrong in placing a part of my comment among the textual notes and labeling it a conjectural emendation. But the editor of the *T L S.* is perhaps primarily responsible for this by making it appear that I regarded my note as an emendation

The title of my letter, "A Shakespeare Emendation," as printed in the *T. L S*, was not mine. After pointing out the well-known fact that with Shakespeare and his contemporaries the present-day distinction between prepositional *to* and adverbial *too* had not yet become established in the current spelling, and after citing ample evidence of this from the 1609 text

itself, I added this final sentence in my letter "It should be noted that the proposed interpretation is not an emendation of the text, but only the proper modernization of the spelling, as in numerous other instances of *to* and *too*' The editor of the *T L S* suppressed this last sentence and prefixed the title "A Shakespeare Emendation"

In a letter of protest against this highhanded treatment I said, "My proposal is not an alteration of the 1609 text, it is an interpretation of the meaning of a word spelt normally in that text—a choice between two homophones" I added that a linguistically sound interpretation of an unchanged text ought not to be placed on the same level of criticism as a conjectural emendation My protest was ignored

JOHN S KENYON

Hiram College

JOHN DONNE AND VALERIANO. Professor Allen's suggestion that Donne used Valeriano as a source for his remarks on the symbolic meaning of the coinage of Darius (*MLN*, LVIII, 610-12) deserves a numismatic commentary I am convinced that Donne's sole source was not Valeriano, because the Italian writer talked vaguely of arrows, while Donne *correctly* says that Persian coins bore an archer The usual type of daric and siglos is the Persian King as an archer, a few show him armed differently, none show a mere type of an arrow My conclusion is that Donne either had read a more correct numismatic work than Valeriano's, or modified his ideas after personal examination of an ancient Persian coin Darics are hardly common and have never been inexpensive But the chance of seeing one in London in Donne's day was fair, for they are not excessively rare coins

THOMAS O MABBOTT
(Editor, *Numismatic Review*)

Hunter College

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MRS GORDON SMYTHIES

Although one of the most popular and prolific of Victorian novelists, and in her day a figure of note both in literary and social circles, the name of Mrs. Gordon Smythies has been so undeservedly and so completely forgotten that save for a bare dozen inaccurate and superficial lines in the *Modern English Biography*, III (1901), of Frederic Boase, who derives from Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, II (1877), 2170, and "Supplement," II, 1366, no notice of this lady is to be found, whilst even the catalogues of our great National Libraries have made several mistakes in recording her name, and perpetuated errors and confusion when listing her works.

Harriette Maria Gordon was the daughter of Edward Gordon of Sunninghill, Berks, and Jane, *née* Halliday, his wife. The date of her birth has not been traced Curiously enough, her name does not appear in the Register of Baptisms of Sunninghill Parish Church, although the Vicar of Sunninghill, the Rev. G. A. R. Thursfield, who kindly searched the Registers on my behalf, informs me that the names of her two brothers, Alexander Lesmore Gordon, born 13 May, baptized 26 December, 1814, and John Henry Gordon, born 18 November, 1815, baptized 21 July, 1816, are duly entered Research and inquiries in other directions, notably at Weeley Heath, Essex, for which I have to thank the Rector, the Rev. J. M. Harston Morris, and in the Registers of the parish where the Gordons had their Town house, St. Marylebone, for which I have to thank the Rector, the Rev. H. J. Matthews, have all proved fruitless One may hazard 1816-17.

Edward Gordon was of the Lesmoir Gordons, and his niece,

Charlotte Clarke, married in 1835, John Keble, author of *The Christian Year* Ten years previously, in 1825, Keble's younger brother, the Rev. Thomas Keble, who was for forty-two years vicar of Bisley, Glos, had married Elizabeth Jane Clarke, the elder sister of Charlotte.

Harriette Maria Gordon's first work, a poem, *The Bride of Siena,* was published anonymously, post-octavo, 5*s* 6*d*, cloth, Saunders and Otley, 1835 She dates the Preface from London, 15 June, 1835. The theme is the story of La Pia

> Ricorditi di me che son La Pia!
> Siena mi fe', disfecemi Maremma
> Dante, "Purgatorio," v, 133-4

The Metropolitan Magazine judged Miss Gordon's poem to be "romantic and pathetic in a high degree," and her verses are certainly fluent and pleasing A second edition was called for in 1838, in which year she also published her first novel, *Fitzherbert, or, Lovers and Fortune-Hunters* Her Preface modestly says that although "the town went mad after 'Ernest Maltravers' . . what can the humble *débutante* expect?" She achieved, none the less, an exceptional success, and *The Gentleman's Magazine,* August, 1838, pp. 169-70, paid *Fitzherbert* the tribute of a lengthy and most eulogistic notice

Her next work, *Cousin Geoffrey, The Old Bachelor, A Novel, To which is added Claude Stocq,* was "Edited by Theodore Hook, Esq.," 3 vols, Bentley, 1840. Without revealing her name, Hook speaks of her as "a lady most favourably known to the public," and explains that the reason for including "Claude Stocq· A Tale of the Sixteenth Century From the French," and not from the pen of the gifted young lady, was merely because "Cousin Geoffrey" proved hardly long enough to fill the regulation three volumes upon which circulating libraries insisted. Cousin Geoffrey St. Aubyn, the kindly good-natured old fellow, everybody's friend, is an excellent character, and it comes as no small surprise when we find that he is identical with the darkly-plotting villainous Mr. Merton In fact we are strongly reminded of Le Fanu, who later was so powerfully to work this vein. *Cousin Geoffrey,* which was more than once reprinted, firmly established the reputation of the anonymous authoress. Similar novels followed, *The Marrying Man,* 3 vols., 1841, and *The Matchmaker,* 3 vols., 1842.

On the 3rd March, 1842, at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, Miss Gordon married William Yorick Smythies This remarkable man was born on the 10th October, 1816 He was at Shrewsbury from 1832-5, and *aetat.* 19, matriculated at Oxford on the 10th. December, 1835. A member of Trinity College, he proceeded B. A. in 1839. From 1844-49 he was Vicar of Shilbottle, near Alnwick, Northumberland, from 1849-56, Vicar of Buckland in Dover. Shortly after 1856 he took up his residence at Hillside House, Weeley, which he had himself built, and for many years he acted as Inspector of Schools for the Dioceses of Rochester and St Albans He was Rector of West Mersey, Essex, from 1893-97, in which latter year, being (although past eighty) very vigorous and energetic, he was appointed to the valuable living of Algarkirk, Lincoln On the 6th November, 1883, he had married *en secondes noces,* Anna Maria, daughter of Captain Henry Fage Belson, R. N. He died at Algarkirk Hall on the 2nd. July, 1910, having been born in the reign of George III, and having survived until the reign of George V. By his first wife there were four children, one daughter, Ellen, born on the 1st January, 1846, died unmarried, 1866, and three sons. The second son, William Gordon Smythies, (1849-1909), married his cousin Charlotte Mary, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Keble and niece of the author of *The Christian Year.* William Gordon Smythies published in 1869 a book of verse, *Golden Leisures,* and is the author of *Original Recitations,* and three playlets, all printed in 1893, as well as a duologue, *Mystification,* 1898.

The Jilt, 1844, the first novel to be written by Mrs. Gordon Smythies after her marriage, at once became a great favourite, and was reprinted in popular form, 1858 and 1862 *The Breach of Promise,* 1845, was also exceedingly well received, and later appeared as No 186 of the "Parlour Library" In quick succession followed *The Life of a Beauty,* 3 vols, 1846, *A Warning to Wives; or, The Platonic Lover,* 1847, *Courtship and Wedlock,* 1850, and *The Bride Elect,* 1852.

During the year 1853 Mrs. Smythies suffered from a long and distressing illness. The physicians ordered complete rest, than which nothing could have been more irksome to a woman of so many activities, and in spite of all remonstrance she insisted upon finishing *The Prince and the People, A Poem, In Two Cantos,* published by Skeffington in 1854 The unpopularity, at the moment,

of the Prince Consort had roused her to champion him warmly, but her inspiration by no means matches her loyalty. *Sebastapol, A Poem*, Routledge, 1854, is not only tepid, but is sadly overballasted by more than fifty pages of annotation. In fine, an excellent novelist, she proved herself no poetess It should be remarked that upon the title-pages of these pieces she is designated Mrs. Yorick Smythies

Upon the title-pages of her novels these are usually said to be by "The Author of 'Cousin Geoffrey'," or by Mrs Gordon Smythies She only signs herself Mrs. Yorick Smythies to these two poems The explanation is that her husband much disliked her output of fiction. A poem might be approved, and a novel or two (if anonymous) tolerated, but so rapid a succession of romances was not to be endured A man of forceful and imperious character, he did not hesitate to express his views pretty strongly to his lady, only to find that he was confronted by a personality as inflexible and unbending as his own. In the case of another Victorian novelist, it may be remembered that Mrs. Annie French Hector, whose pen-name was Mrs. Alexander, and who married Alexander Hector in 1857, during the lifetime of her husband—he died in 1875—published very little on account of his intense aversion to writing as a woman's vocation.

In the Smythies household other and far more serious differences arose. A contemporary, who saw Mrs Gordon Smythies, in conversation describes her as "a tall beautiful woman." Moving much in literary circles she did not lack admirers, and amongst these (it is said) was Harrison Ainsworth, who received scant encouragement. She was, however, particularly friendly with Bulwer, Lord Lytton, who helped her very generously in her novels, as must be obvious to any reader of her pages—the word "collaborated" has even been used. The Rev. Yorick Smythies insisted that this intimacy should cease, upon which Mrs Smythies at some date about 1862 left Hillside House, Weeley, and went to reside in London. She only once returned to Weeley, some 3 or 4 years later, to take charge of and remove thence her daughter, Ellen, who was dangerously ill, and who died in 1866. That the sympathies of her husband's family were entirely with Mrs. Smythies, seems certain from the fact that she was then staying at Headgate House, Colchester, with her brother-in-law, Francis Smythies (1811-88), who was a much respected figure and three times Mayor of the town.

For ten years Mrs. Smythies was exceptionally active. In 1857 appeared *Married for Love*, 3 vols., and in 1858, *A Lover's Quarrel; or, The County Ball*, 3 vols, both novels far above the average. In 1860 she published *Hope Evermore, or Something to do*, and, in Blackwood's London Library, *The Male Flirt, or Ladies beware of him* Price one shilling, in whity-pink boards with gold decoration, *The Compliments of the Season, or A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year*, 1860, is all "Pantomimes and Tips, Astley's and Madame Tussaud's, roast turkey, roast beef, mince pies, plum-pudding, wassail bowls, Yule logs, snowballs, slides, skating in the Regent's Park or on the Serpentine," thoroughly Dickensian jollity. 1861 saw no less than five books from Mrs. Gordon Smythies, and it is surprising what good fare each one of these proves to be—*The Daily Governess, or, Self-Dependence, Alone in the World; My Pretty Cousin, or, A Long Engagement;* and a couple of *London Journal* serials, *Our Mary, or, Murder will Out*, and *The Girl we Leave Behind us*. It may be remarked that when J and R Maxwell published *Our Mary* in volume form in 1880 the vast majority of readers took it to be an entirely new romance

Hitherto the reviewers had shown themselves almost uniformly friendly to Mrs. Smythies, but the tocsin sounded. *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1863, launched a bitter attack upon "Sensation Novels," and pilloried the authoress of *The Daily Governess* alongside Miss Braddon (the chief of all offenders), Wilkie Collins, Mrs. Henry Wood, and many lesser names. For any discussion of these acrimonious, and indeed unscrupulous, criticisms much space would be necessary, and it must suffice to say that seemingly there were no lengths of vituperation and censure to which the opponents of "feverish fiction," as they dubbed it, were not prepared to proceed.

In 1862-3 Mrs Gordon Smythies serialized in *The London Journal The Woman in Black*—not to be confounded with Miss Florence Warden's *A Lady in Black*, 1896, in 1863-4, *The Man in Grey*, and in 1865, *The Sleep-Walker, or Lady Theresa's Trials* Other works of fiction followed one another rapidly in 1862, *True to the Last*, in 1863, *Left to Themselves*, in 1864, *Guilty, or Not Guilty*, in 1865, *A Faithful Woman*; in 1867, *Idols of Clay* Mrs. Smythies contributed an admirable ghost story "The Spectre Bridegroom" to the Extra Christmas Number of *The London Journal*, 1867. "Incurable! . . . A Poem . . . written in aid of the funds

of the Royal Hospital for Incurables," 4to. 1863, is (as such things used to be) negligible In 1870 she published *Acquitted*, and in 1875 the last, and (in my judgement) by far the weakest of her many novels, *Eva's Fortune*.

Allibone and *The English Catalogue* give her five more titles, of which one, *Fit to be a Duchess*, 1860, may be a correct attribution Lacking further evidence, I should question the other four works so assigned.

The Times, 21st August, 1883, has. "On the 15th inst, deeply lamented, after a long and severe illness Harriette Maria Gordon, Authoress, wife of the Rev W. Y Smythies, of Hill Side House, Weeley, Essex." This notice was inserted by her favourite and only surviving son, William Gordon Smythies, of Richmond, Surrey, who was devotedly attached to his mother. The Rev. William Yorick Smythies, who was then 67 years old, honoured the memory of his beautiful and accomplished wife by remarrying less than three months after her decease.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS

Richmond, Surrey, England

GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART X

The material presented in this article is drawn from Hieronymus Bock's *New Kreutter Buch*, Straßburg, 1539. See *MLN.*, LX, 157

LAVAMENT, n : Eyn decoction von Chamillen gemacht, gibt eyn schon Lauament zů den bosen stinckenden wunden (I, 39[a]). not in Weigand.

LAXIEREN Das kraut . . mit Saltz, essig, vnd baum ol gessen, laxiert den harten bauch (I, 41[b]), Die wurtzel . . . erweycht vnd laxiert den harten bauch (63[b]): Weigand cites Rot (1571).

LECKERBISZLEIN, n ist nun mehr auch (wie ander lecker bißlin) ins Teutsch land kommen (I, 61[a]): not in *DWb*, which cites *Leckerbissen* from B. Waldis.

LECKMAUL, n.: eyn liebliche speiß fur die leckmeuler (I, 61[b]),

vmb seiner sussen wurtzelen willen, wans die leckmeuler wusten, das es also gůt wer im Sallat, sie wurden etwan der Spargen . . . lieber dann dises krauts emperen (80ª); gesunder vnd krefftiger pleiben dann die Leckmeuler Catij vnd Apicij (II, 24ª), wann sie zweymal kocht oder gewermpt worden, das die leckmeuler . . . vom Kolkraut eyn sprichwort machten . . . dz wir durch solche Apicianer vnd leckmeuler vil gůtter gemeyner speiß . . . nit mehr achten (43ª), Im fruling lassen die leckmeuler die jungen dolden der Hopffen zům salat bereyten (68ª) *DWb* refers to *Leckermaul*, cited from *Felsenburg* and Stieler.

LECKSPEISE, f das haben die Apicianische leckspis vnd geneschige schmeckbratlin, die stets in der kuchen stecken, erfunden (II, 51ª) not in *DWb*, which cites *Leckerspeise* from Stieler and Oken

LEMURE, f.. eyns kampffs der listigen spitzigen vnnd behenden Laruen vnnd Lemuren, die mich werden anfechten mit jrem gauckeln (I, 173ª). Weigand cites Goethe.

LEUCHTSEL, n Wolan die Aegypter haben von disem gewachs jr liecht vnd leuchtsel mussen nemen (I, 82ᵇ) · not in *DWb*.

LEINSAMEN, m Diser somen mit leinsomen vnd dauben mist in wein gesotten . . . zertheylet die kropff (II, 28ᵇ): *DWb* cites Frisch (1741)

LINSENBLATTLEIN, n netz feden, die sint mit den aller kleynsten lynsen bletlin bekleydet (I, 157ª), Das erst kleyn kreütlin mit den Lynsen bletlin . . auch Phacoides heyst, das ist Lynsenbletlin *ib* ; so bald man die selben Lynsen bletlin abstrupffet, ist das Kesten braun hor (158ª) not in *DWb*.

LUNGENKRAUT, n.: Von Lungenkraut vnd Brunnen leberkraut (I, 155ª), Das ander so man Lungenkraut nent, wechst an den mosichten Eychbaumen . . . also zehe ist das walt Lungen kraut (155ᵇ): *DWb* cites no example.

LUNGWURZ · Die hirten vnd vihe meyster Veterenarij, brauchen das Lungen kraut oder Lungwurtz gepuluert (I, 156ª): *DWb* cites no example.

LUSTKRAUT, n.. zilen die zů Straßburg in den garten, für eyn lustkraut, sol erstmals von Leon auß Franckreich kommen sein (I, 69ª): not in *DWb*.

MAGENGILB, f.: Wann yemants die magengilb hette, der neme die forderste junge schoß der bletter (II, 44ª): *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus (1588), the passage cited agrees verbatim with Bock.

MAGEREI, f · Die weiber baden die junge kindlin mit disem kraut in wasser gesotten so mit der Magerei vnd kleyne rauhen grind beladen sint (I, 146ª). *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus.

MARGENDISTEL, f. vnd sagen sie heyß Margen distel, Frawen distel, vnd Vehe distel, zů latein Labrum Veneris et Carduus Marie (II, 78ª): *DWb* cites no example

MASZSUSSEL. Maßlieben heyst man im Westerich Zeitloßlin, im bistumb Speyer Massusselen, zů Latein Primula veris (I, 41ª). *DWb.* cites Nemnich.

MAUERRAUTE, f.· Maur rauten vnd Roter Steinbrech . . . Die Maurraut wechst auß den rissen . . . der mauren (I, 157ᵇ); Maurrautten nent man allenthalben capillum veneris (158ª); Es wurt sunst die Mauerraut . . . wasser Coriander genent (158ᵇ): *DWb* cites Maaler.

MAUERRAUTLEIN, n das haben wir dem lieben Maurrautlin vnd roten Steynbrechlin zů lob wollen anzeygen (I, 158ᵇ) · not in *DWb.*

MILZKRAUT, n. es solt nit alleyn Splenion als Miltzkraut . . . heyssen . . . vnd mocht wol Miltzkraut oder Monkraut heyssen (I, 163ᵇ) · *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus.

MODELGEER. Von Modelgeer . . Modelgeer das man auff vngebawten ackern, rechen, neben den strassen, vnnd auff den almůten findet, nennen etlich auch Creutzwurtz . . . Die alten weiber sagen Modelgeer sei aller wurtzel eyn Eer (I, 70ᵇ) · *DWb* cites Maaler.

MONCHSKOPF, m.: stehn die rorlin mit den weissen beschornen, runden blatten ledig, wie die nackete Munchs kopff (I, 73ᵇ): *DWb* cites Nemnich.

MONCHSPLATTE, f.: verwelcken die rorlin sampt den beschornen Münchs platten (I, 73ᵇ): *DWb* cites no example.

MONDKRAUT, f.: see under *Milzkraut*, above: *DWb* cites Nemnich.

MOOSBLUME, f.: Dise Blům hab ich Moßblůmen horen deutschen,

vnd Dotterblůmen vmb der farben willen, vnd auch geel weißblůmen (I, 36ª) *DWb* cites Lohenstein.

MUCKENKRAUT, n.: Eyn kostlich mucken kraut . . . daruff sitzt kein muck oder flieg nimmer mer . . . flochkraut, dweil es die flohe vertreibt, hieß wol muckenkraut, oder wasser pfeffer (I, 22ª): *DWb* cites Stieler.

MUNDGESCHWER, n.: Reinigt vnd heylet die feüle vnd mundgeschwer darmit geweschen (I, 3ª) not in *DWb*.

MUTTERWEH, n.. machen die weiber bader, fomenta, vnnd secklin . . . fur das bauch vnd můtter wee (I, 39ª); erweckt die weiber, welche von dem Můtterwee etwan nider fallen, als weren sie dot, die werden . . . wider aufferweckt (173ᵇ): *DWb* cites Sebiz (1580).

NARRENBLUME, f.. folgens werden wir der Narren blůmen wider gedencken (II, 55ᵇ): not in *DWb*.

OFFIZIN, f.: das wurt aber nit dise schell, sunder eyn anders sein, das die officine verkauffen (I, 121ᵇ); Vnsere officine vnnd kuchen meyster der Apotecker, nennen vnnd geben sie fur Scolopendria (163ᵇ): Weigand cites Wachtler (1703).

OPERATION, f: Obernente wurckung, schreibt man auch dem gebranten wasser zů, aber in der operation nit so mechtig (I, 96ᵇ); Das gebrant wasser von Peterlin soll gleiche operation haben (137ᵇ) · Weigand cites Mathesius (1562).

OPERIEREN: pilulas formieren, vnd den krancken (wie vorgesagt) eingeben, die operieren oben vnd vnden mit kleynem schmertzen (I, 85ᵇ): Weigand cites Rot (1571).

PARADEISHOLZ, n.: von Balsam, Paradeißholtz, Amomo, Nardis (I, 42ª): *DWb* cites *Paradiesholz* from Stieler.

PULVERISIEREN · bey vilen schafferen warnemen, welche dise wurtzel gepuluerisiert vnd mit saltz vermischt jren krancken schafflin zů lecken furtragen (I, 16ª), hab er der Münch die wurtzel puluerisiert, vnnd dem hund auch geben (70ª); Mastiche eyn quinten, jedes sunderlich puluerisiert (85ᵇ): *DWb* cites Roth *dict.*

QUECKET, ptc.: das stöst jarlich von seiner weissen quecketen vnd kriechenden wurtzel, dünne runde stengelin (II, 76ª): *DWb* cites the verb *quecken* from Rädlein (1711).

QUITTENLAUB, n . verglych es sich dem quitten laub (I, 6b) not in *DWb.*

RADENDISTEL, f Von Manßtrew, Brachendistel vnd Radendistel, Das cxl Capitel (II, 84a), mit diser wallen oder Brachendistel, die auch zů teutsch Manßtrew, Ellend vnnd Radendistel heyst (84b): *DWb* cites Maaler.

RAMSEREN· Otho von Brunnenfelß sagt diser wild Knoblauch heyß im Oberland Ramseren, das ist Gerinsel, drumb das die milch vom safft des Knoblauchs gerinnet vnd zůsamen laufft. Es ist aber dis gewechs nichts anderst dann schlangen Knoblauch, Allium Colubrinum (II, 51b) *DWb* cites no example.

RASSELKRAUT, n. Die kreuter nent man Rassel, vnd flochkraut, dweil es die flohe vertreibt (I, 22a) *DWb* gives no example.

RAUTENSAFT, m.· Rautten safft in die oren gethon, Legt nider das stechen (I, 18a): *DWb* cites Sebiz.

REKTIFIZIEREN. mit jren milch wurtzeln . . . gesamlet werden sollen, als dann gerectificiert vnd auffgehaben (I, 84b): not in Weigand.

RESOLVIEREN Derhalben resoluieren vnnd zertheylen sie, harte geschwulst, knollen, beulen vnnd anders (I, 1b), seind dienstlich zů dempffen, zů erwermen vnd zů resoluieren (5a), sie auch resoluieren vnd zertheylen die zahen feuchtigkeyt der Lungen (7b), alle eüsserliche geschwer am gantzen leib, mit Pappel kraut wurtzel vnnd samen, resoluieren vnnd weych machen . . . eyn pflaster machen, vnd darauff schlagen, das resoluiert, zertheylet vnnd erweycht alle hitzige geschwer (106b): not in Weigand.

RESTITUIERN· das die ordenung von Libanotide widerumb restituiert, vnd an tag brocht werd (I, 58a): not in Weigand.

REZEPTMEISTER, m.· welches jederman wild Salbei teutschet, vnd die weysen Receptmeyster Eupatorium nennen (I, 3b): not in *DWb.*

REZEPTSCHREIBER, m : Dann dise Receptschreiber lernen jr hochste kunst von den Ammen (I, 3b): not in *DWb.*

RIEDKRAUT, n.. da vil fisch weiher sind . . . wechßt vil Ror vnd Riedkraut (II, 28b): *DWb* cites Nemnich.

RIPPECHT, adj . Gemelte kuchen kreütter gewinnen im zweyten

jar der vffwachsung, jre rippechte stengel (II, 39b) · *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus.

RODBOSCH, m.· Bathonien kreutter wachsen bede in den finstern dicken rot buschen, in den dalern (I, 52a); an rechen vnd walden wechst, sunderlich aber in den Rotboschen, da dz erdtrich zům theyl sandicht ist (149a), welche yetzgesetzte blůmen sint man in welden vnnd rot boschen (170b), In den dicken rot boschen da die Haselstauden wachsen, sint man gemeynlich die walt Lilgen vmb die beum gewickelt (II, 71a) · not in *DWb*. The first component is *Rod,* 'durch roden gewonnenes land' (*DWb* VIII, 1106), the second part is *Busch*.

ROGGENHALM, m.: stoßt die wurtzel jre dolden oder Spargen, darauß werden runde stengel, als rocken helmer (I, 116b). not in *DWb*.

ROHRGESWACHS, n. komen wir zum rechten scharpffen Rorgewachs . . . vnder welchen sol ein Ror geschlecht vff wachsen in India (II, 28b): not in *DWb*, which cites *Rohrgeschlecht* from Tabernaemontanus.

RUCKMEIßEL, m. Eyn selblin mit Bertram vnd Chamillen oley gemacht, den ruckmeyssel darmit gesalbet, vnd warm zů gedeckt (I, 136a): *DWb* cites Ryff (1559).

RUMETZ, RUMEX, f.: die zam Rumetz ist die obgenant zam Menwelwurtz, vnd die wild ist Sawrampfer . . . Die ander wild Rumex, Grindtwurtz, Zitterßwurtz, Menwelwurtz, wilder Ampffer, wilder Mangolt, Strippert, Strupff lattich, Buppen kraut, vnd bei etlichen spitze Letschen genant (I, 91a); So wil ich nun dises Schlippen oder Schlangen wurtzel, vmb der gestalt vnd krafft willen, fur das spitzig Rumex . . . halten (92b). not in *DWb*.

RUNGELSE, f.: Mangolt kraut nent man an etlichen orten Romsche, vnd vber Rhein Rungelsen, vnd Romische koll, zů latein Beta hortensis (II, 39b): under *Runkelrube, DWb* (VIII, 1520) cites "mangolt, an etlichen orten romischer kohl und *rungelsen*, heißt lateinisch beta *Tabernaemontanus* 815." The borrowing from Bock is evident.

SALATKRESZ, m Nemlich, der Sallat Creß, der Brun Creß, vnd der wisen Creß Der Garten Creß ist jederman bekant (I, 20b): not in *DWb*.

SALSAMENT, n.: Wurt jnnerlich in den salsamenten, vnd eusserlich pflasters weiß genommen (I, 22b), Meerrhetich Kleyn zerschnitten, zerstossen, mit saltz vnnd essig abbereyt, gibt eyn gůt salsament, mit fisch vnd fleysch, das wissen die Apicij fast wol (II, 47a), wurt alleyn zů den salsamenten oder sassen gebraucht, mit essig abbereyt (49a): *DWb* cites Jacobsson (1781).

SAUERAMPFERLEIN, n · Das kleyn Sawrampfferlin hieß wol Lapaciolum (I, 91a): not in *DWb*.

SCHELLENBLUME, f dringen die gelen runden Schellen blůmen mitten herausser, gleich wie droben von den weissen Hornungs blůmen gemelt ist (II, 53b), Das kleyn Wind oder Glockenkraut, ist dem grossen mit . . . blettern, vnnd Schellen blůmen gleich (66a) not in *DWb*

SCHELLICHT, adj.: Neben den Klee blettern dringen die weisse schellichte violen herfur eyn yedes blumlin auch sunderlich auff seinem stilche (I, 154b): *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus (1664).

SCHLEPPSACK, m.: Solche kunst haben etlich Schlöpseck gelernt, bringen sich selbs lieber in kranckheyt, dann das sie eyn weltlichen spot halten (I, 120b): cf *DWb* under *Schleppsack*, where various 16th century authors are cited, and *Schlappsack*, where a text of 1579 is given.

SCHLIPPENWURZEL, f So wil ich nun dises Schlippen oder Schlangen wurtzel, vmb der gestalt vnd krafft willen, fur das spitzig Rumex . . . halten (I, 92b) *DWb* cites Nemnich.

SCHMECKBRATLEIN, n. das haben die Apicianische leckspis vnd geneschige schmeckbratlin, die stets in der kuchen stecken, erfunden (II, 51a): not in *DWb*, which cites *Schmeckbraten* from Hermes (1776). Here the word is applied to a person who smells, or tastes, the roast in the kitchen.

SCHUSTERSCHWARZE, f. Item so ist Chalcantum Schůsterschwertz Dios. lib. 5. cap. 68. (I, 36a): not in *DWb* as a plant name.

SCHWERTBLATT, n.: gegen dem Meyen wann die Schwertbletter gewachsen sind, dringen die runde stengel mit jren langen spitzigen blůmen knopffen, mitten durch die Schwertbletter (II, 37a) not in *DWb*.

SEIDE, f.: War wollen wir mit dem verworren Filtz hin, das

vnsere weiber Seiden vnd Todtern nennen? (II, 67b): *DWb* cites Nemnich.

SEIDENGEWACHS, n.: Es ist aber solch Seiden gewechs nichts anderst dann eyn verwirt garn mit vilen faden (II, 67a): not in *DWb*.

SEIDENKRAUT, n.: Es kan aber gedacht Seiden kraut nicht wol Orobanche Diosco. sein . . drumb ichs fur sein schwester halten můß, hab auch solch Seiden kraut fur Epithymo gebraucht (II, 67b) not in *DWb*

SERIGKEIT, f.. eyn heylsam artznei zů dem mund wee, dann es heylet das essen, vnnd alle serigkeyt des munds (II, 61b): *DWb* under *serig* cites *Serigkeit* from Tabernaemontanus' (1588).

SKALA, n (?). andern hochgelertern vnd erfarnern eyn scalen zů gericht haben, nach welchem sie . . . haben mogen (I, [2a]). Weigand dates the word in the 18th century.

STRATUM, n. sollen die feigen in die grossen Wullen kreutter gelegt werden, ye eyn stratum auff das ander &c bis das der korb oder gefeß gefult werdt (I, 60b). not in Weigand.

SUPERSTITION, f. S. Johans kraut vnnd gurtel, ist auch in die superstition vnnd zauberey kommen (I, 99a); Aber die Christen achten solcher superstition vnnd gauckelwerck nichts, wiewol vnder den selben nach vil superstition geduldet werden (112b), ist meins beduncken eyn rechte superstition auß Theophrasto in den Dioscoriden gesetzt worden (118b). not in Weigand.

TAUSCHE: thůn sich die junge setzling bald vff, werden zů tauschen, vnnd zů letst zů weissen heupter, wann sie wetters halben nit verkurtzt werden. Solch weiß kraut pflegt man zů kochen (II, 42a); Das erst vnd aller grost wurt etwan mit seinem braunen stengel manß hoch, erfreurt selten im winter, dregt breyte blofarbe bletter, grosser dann keyn Cappes kraut, gewint keyn haupt pleiben alzeit tauschen, bluen im andern jar gleich wie der Cappes, ist am geschmack etwas bitter (43a). not in *DWb*. The etymology of *Tausche* is not easy. Quite near the passages cited, Bock twice uses the noun *Durs* in describing a kind of cabbage:

der Cappes der aller gemeynest kost ist, vnnd wol settigt, das vberig theyl, als Cappes bletter vnd dursen von diesem kraut its auch onuerloren, gibt dem rindt vihe gůte mastung (I, 41b); hab

ich nach dem winter wann der Cappes abgehawen vnnd jngethon, innwendig den vberblibenen Cappes dursen vnnd stimmelen imm marck, gůtten zeittigen volkomelichen Cappes somen funden (42a). This word appears in *DWb* as *Dorse, Dorsche,* and is traced back to Latin *thyrsus,* Greek θύρσος, 'Stengel eines Gewachses, der Strunk, Dorsch' Fischer, *Schwab. Wbch* II, 283, under *Dorse, Dorsche,* gives among others this instance· 'Zu grossem TAUschen oder Gschidel,' with the AU in heavy face type. There is no further explanation of the form, nor does *Tausche* appear in its alphabetical place in the dictionary It would seem as if Fischer regarded it as a misprint, but the two instances in Bock invalidate this hypothesis *Gschidel* is defined in the *Schwab. Wbch* (III, 466) as 'Abfalle von Gemuse . . missratene Kohl- Krautpflanze, die keinen Kopf gebildet hat.'

TERPENTIN· Der geruch aber freuntlich, beynahe wie Terpentein vnd Camillen (I, 20a); gesotten, bis der safft . . verzert ist, darnach terpentin darunder geruret (63b), Etlich nemen darzů feigen, dauben mist, honig, terpentur, oder baumol mit eynander gesotten (II, 18a). Weigand cites Mathesius (1562). The spelling *terpentur* is presumably a misprint.

TRANSFERIREN mocht sein die Arabes hetten Griechisch nit wol verstanden, oder weren nit grundtlich transferiert (I, 80b) : not in Weigand.

TRANSLATION, f.: es sint aber die aller gelerteste menner . . mit der Translation Acanthi auch noch nit eyns (II, 82a). not in Weigand.

WALSTATT, f.: andere wurtzeln Solche art hat der zam Rhetich nit, dann wo die selbige eyn mal auß jrer walstatt bewegt, wollen sie nimmer furt wachsen (II, 47a). The *DWb* (XIII, 1360 ff) records various meanings of the word, 'schlachtfeld, kampfplatz, richtstatte, ort eines vorgangs, ort, wo ein bau aufgefuhrt werden soll, ort, wo holz geschlagen ist,' but not 'Ort, wo eine Pflanze aufwächst.'

ZITRINAT: je süsser der geruch würt, wie die Citrinaten riechen (I, 3a), die fremde vnnd thewre sallat der bletter Oliuen, der versaltzenen Cappern, der gebeysten Citrinaten, vnnd gleiche ingemachte frembde kost (II, 42a). Weigand cites *Citronat* (1548).

ZITRULLE vom breyten somen, der sich den Citrullen kornern etlichermaß vergleicht (II, 72b); Von Melonen, Pfedem, Cucumer, vnd Citrullen (73a), wie die bletter an der Brionien, mit vilen schnitten oder kerfen zerspalten, die selbige nent man Citrullen (73b). not in Weigand.

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ON THE TWO MINOR POEMS IN THE HROTSVITHA CODEX

In the Emmeram codex of Hrotsvitha's works, now in Munich, there are two shorter poems, forming an appendix to the second of the three sections, the dramas They are found on folios 129 *verso* and 130 *recto* and *verso*. The first consists of four elegiac distichs introduced by six words in prose, and the second is a thirty-five line piece in leonine hexameters The early editors of Hrotsvitha—Celtes (1501), Schurzfleisch (1707), and Migne (1853)—simply ignored these two works. They were noticed and published for the first time by J Bendixen in his pocket edition of the dramas *Hrotsvithae . . Comoedias sex ad fidem codicis emmeranensis typis expressas edidit, praefationem poetriae et ejus epistolam ad quosdam sapientes hujus libri fautores praemisit, versiculos quosdam Hrotsvithae nondum antea editos eodem ex codice eis adjunxit*[1] In the following year K. A Barack, in his edition, *Die Werke der Hrotsvitha,* again published them, erroneously claiming that he was doing so for the first time.[2] But neither Bendixen nor Barack could supply any information whatever on their significance.

It was not until 1902 that Paul von Winterfeld, in his edition of the works, *Hrotsvithae Opera recensuit et emendavit,* cleared up the problem[3] He showed that the first poem (in distichs) is not by Hrotsvitha at all, but constitutes a quotation from Bede's Church History which was probably inscribed upon a wall in the convent of Gandersheim. I note that these four distichs contain three striking instances of synalepha, viz :

[1] Lubeck, 1857

[2] Nurnberg, 1858, p xv.

[3] Berlin, Weidmann See also K. Strecker in *Neue Jahrbücher fur das klassische Altertum,* XI (1903), 632, note 2

line 6 Sponsa hymno exultans et nova dulcisono
line 8 Quam affectu tulerat nullus ab altithrono

If there were any further doubt that these lines are not by Hrotsvitha, these three cases of synalepha occurring within three consecutive lines of text would probably be enough to exclude the possibility of Hrotsvitha's authorship For, as I have shown elsewhere,[4] Hrotsvitha studiously avoids synalepha, and it may well be that there is not a single genuine instance of it in the entire corpus of her writings. Indeed, when there is a choice she seems to prefer hiatus to synalepha. In the article just referred to I have suggested one such case Another is in the dedicatory lines to Gerberg prefacing the Legends

line 4 Quae tibi purganda offero carminula

It should be noted that this harsh hiatus probably has a special purpose, viz. to mark more clearly the leonine "rime" purganda—carminula. Hrotsvitha is interested primarily in rime, not only in her verse, but also in her prose [5]

As for the second of these short pieces, in thirty-five hexameters, it is now generally agreed to be an authentic work of Hrotsvitha It consists of twelve separate parts; von Winterfeld states that it constitutes a description of eighteen pictures [illegible] scenes from the book of Revelation. The verses, showing clear signs of Hrotsvitha's authorship,[6] probably were inscribed under twelve

[4] E H Zeydel, "A Note on Hrotsvitha's Aversion to Synalepha," in *Philological Quarterly*, XXIII, 4, October, 1944, 379 ff

[5] See K Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, Berlin, 1925, p 6

[6] For example, 1 the use of characteristic favorite words and expressions, such as *nitidus* (occurring three times in this work II 2, 15, 24, and often in her other writings), *praefulsere* (l 4), *potis est* (instead of *potest*—l 7), *micantes* (l 15), and *rutilantis* (l 16); 2 the frequent use of diminutives, such as *signacula* (l 9—used only in this place by Hrotsvitha), *candidulus* (l 18), and *tenellum* (l. 25—this otherwise rare word occurs twenty-one times in Hrotsvitha), 3 the use of the rare noun *incensum* (l 22—also three times in the Legend *Maria*), 4 the use of *testis* in the sense of "martyr" (l 14—thus used twenty times by Hrotsvitha), 5. the odd, but in Hrotsvitha regular, use of distributive in place of cardinal numerals *bis duodenorum* (l 3), and *bis senum* (l 24); 6 the frequent shift from present to preterite tense; and 7 the avoidance of synalepha. The statistics on the use of words in other works are based upon E M Newnan, *The Latinity of the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, University of Chicago dissertation, 1929.

murals in Gandersheim. Since to my knowledge they have never been translated into any modern language,[7] I give a literal English rendering My translation is based upon the text of Strecker's second edition (Teubner, 1930) The Roman numerals at the left mark the murals, while the references at the right refer to the book of Revelation

I	John in his purity saw the heavens opened	4, 1
	And the Father of things seated on the gleaming throne,	4, 2
	Surrounded by a fair array of twice twelve elders	4, 4
	Who shone forth with beaming crowns,	
	All clothed in raiment of beaming white	
	He also saw in the right hand of the king that sat on the throne	5, 1
	A book, the secret of which no man can discern.	
	The angel, seeking a worthy man, finds no one	5, 2. 3
	Who can open the seals of the closed book	
II	He consoles John, who is weeping,	5, 4 5
	By summoning a lamb that can loose the seals	
III	Lo, the secrets of the book are opened by the lamb that had been slain,	5, 6 7
	Soon the heavenly dwellers kneel and sing its praises	5, 8. 9
IV	Behold the martyrs, crying with a loud voice at the altar,	6, 9 10
	Receive robes glittering with shining whiteness	6, 11
V	An angel, coming from the ruddy sunrise,	7, 2
	Seals the servants of the eternal King in their foreheads	7, 3
VI	After this he beheld a multitude in white standing	7, 9
	Praising the lamb and bearing palms in their hands	
VII	Lo, the dwellers of heaven are silent about half an hour	8, 1
VIII	An angel stood at the sacred altar with a censer	8 3
	And bore incense, offering it with the holy prayers of the devout	
IX	Lo, a woman beams, surrounded by beautiful sunlight,	12, 1
	Dight with a gleaming crown of twice six stars	
	A serpent wishes to devour her tender child,	12, 3 4
	But the dragon is destroyed and the child caught up unto the Lord,	12, 5
	And the dragon has fallen from heaven and is cast into the earth	12, 9
X	Here behold the lamb standing on the mount Zion	14, 1
	And the host of virgins chanting new hymns	14, 4 3

[7] Helene Homeyer's German version of them in *Roswitha von Gandersheim, Werke* (Paderborn, 1936), p 257, is a mere abbreviated paraphrase

XI	This beast attacks the saints with the power of a dragon	13, 1, 2, 7 [8]
	Truth coming forth on a white horse laid it low,	19, 11, 19
	He lashes the old dragon to fierce Tartarus	19, 20
XII	Lo, the books of life are held open to the dead,	20, 12
	And quickened they arise who had been shackled by death	20, 13
	Presently all are given their rewards according to their works	

The two minor poems which have been discussed here should not be confused with the puzzling eight lines of Old Glagolitic which appear on the back of the very last sheet of the codex (folio 150 *verso*), under the last fifteen lines of the *Gesta Oddonis*. Attention was called to them by Karl Bartsch in Pfeiffer's *Germania*[9] There is nothing about them to lead us to ascribe them to Hrotsvitha. But they seem to make it more certain that the codex was written in the tenth or eleventh century It is baffling, though, how anything written in the Glagolitic alphabet, which was in vogue in Bulgaria and Croatia during the tenth century, got into a codex emanating from Gandersheim. Did the convent harbor a nun from the Balkans, as it once acted as host to an emissary from Spain who told the nuns of the marytrdom of Pelagius?[10]

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[8] I correct Strecker's reference here

[9] XV, 1870, p 194

[10] This article was awaiting publication when "The Works of Hrotswitha" by Zoltán Haraszti appeared in *More Books The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, XX, 3, 87-119, and 4, 139-173. Haraszti once more opens the whole question of authenticity first broached by Aschbach in 1867 He rightly feels that the Hrotsvitha manuscripts should be subjected to intensive examination by photo-chemical processes and modern paleography But the conclusions which suggest themselves after reading Haraszti's article, viz. that not only the Emmeram Munich codex and the *Primordia*, but also the recent manuscript discoveries of von Winterfeld, Frenken, and Menhardt may all be part of a colossal series of forgeries, frauds, and hoaxes cannot be accepted at present.

CHAUCER'S "GLORIOUS LEGENDE"

One of the peculiarities of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* which has received little emphasis is the paradox that the God of Love is to be honored not only by the praise of women who were faithful in love but also by the exposure of men who were false in love This paradox is first hinted in lines 301 ff of the G-text (not in F) After this Alceste pleads various excuses for the poet's having translated the *Roman de la Rose* and written the *Troilus*—these are the two specific charges against him—and in thanking her the poet pleads ignorance (F 462 ff, G 452 ff). An honest man need not share in thieves' work, he says cryptically, and a true lover ought not to blame me for censuring false lovers, I merely followed "myn auctor" in both poems and my intention was "to forthren trouthe in love" and by example warn against wrongdoing To which Alceste replies that the God does not like to be argued with and that for penance the poet shall devote the better part of his remaining years in composing a glorious legendary of faithful women and false men—

> And telle of false men that hem bytraien,
> That al hir lyf ne do nat but assayen
> How many women they may doon a shame,
> For in youre world that is now holde a game
> F 486-89, G 476-79)

Perhaps the clue to the mystery is in this last line only. But if the poet's sole offense was the translation of the *Roman de la Rose* and the writing of the *Troilus*, the penalty does not altogether fit the crime. Since the extant ME of *RR* is not certainly Chaucer's we must suppose for the sake of the argument that he did at least translate parts of the *Roman* which were unfavorable to women. The *Troilus* is more difficult to account for, since obviously Chaucer could sustain his contention that the story of Criseyde and her unhappy end was a warning to unfaithful women, and a fortiori he could insist that Troilus was a paragon of fidelity, a notable honor in the worship of Love Is this a non sequitur or something rather subtle? or is it just humorous exaggeration?

If Chaucer wrote *LGW* as a deliberate palinode to the *Troilus*

and even, as has been suggested, as a reply to mistaken criticism, he must have written it with his tongue in his cheek. If any readers were so careless as to take his sympathy with Criseyde's weakness as an apology for feminine inconstancy, overlooking the artistic impasse into which the data of his story had led him, Chaucer's best answer was a mock palinode, and that seems to be what he gave them He merely reversed the positions and gave them, with a smile, faithless men and faithful women.

But this is not all He was commanded to begin with Cleopatra. This seems odd to us, of course, accustomed as we are to the romantic queen of tragedy. Yet if it is unnecessary to warn some of us against the snares of modernizing, it is necessary to urge others to take Chaucer at his own valuations, to read the stories as he wrote them, not as we know them.

Chaucer represents Antonius as one to whom "Fortune oughte a shame" after the prosperity upon which he had fallen, he finds no reason to condemn Antonius as a false lover, and he is content at the end to ask, with a jest, if any man was ever as true as Cleopataras—

> Now, or I fynde a man thus trewe and stable,
> And wol for love his deth so frely take,
> I preye God let oure hedes nevere ake!

The next case, that of Piramus and Tysbe, is a simple one Chaucer adds to his source a mild reproof of women who trust men they do not know very well (799-801) and has to admit that Piramus was "trewe", his greatest fault (and Chaucer hardly emphasizes it) was to be unpunctual without excuse.

The case of Eneas is more complex it is not clear whether he married Dido or not, but he was guilty of desertion certainly; yet he had a good excuse, and Chaucer remembering what Vergil had made of him lets him off lightly. And anyway, he says, women are innocent and trusting and blind to masculine weakness (1254 ff.).

At Jason, however, he explodes violently. "Have at thee, Jason," he cries, "Thow rote of false lovers", and we, remembering Chaucer's comic use of pompous rhetoric elsewhere, have difficulty in taking the explosion seriously. It is a pity indeed, as he says, that false lovers have a better time than the rest—or so it seems· "For ever as tendre a capoun et the fox." Ysiphele (after a long introduction combining Guido and Ovid) shows herself hospitable

to the shipwrecked Jason and Ercules, and is at first more taken with the latter (1520 ff), but Ercules passes her on to the coy Jason (praising him outrageously, thus making himself particeps criminis). Chaucer declines to rime about the wooing. he says gaily. If there are any false lovers in the audience, they know how it went (1554 ff), and he finishes off the story thus· Jason married the queen, took what he wanted of her money, begot two children on her, hoisted sail, and never saw her again (all in less than five lines) Medea is, like Antonius, a victim of Fortune (1609-10), she decides ("It is my wille, quod she") to help Jason win the Fleece, and after his adventure returns to Thessaly with him, where he abandons her and their two children. (The first statement of his desertion is put in a subordinate clause, l. 1655). This was her reward, says Chaucer, for loving and aiding Jason, but he had already indicated that Fortune was the prime mover and shown that Medea made the first overtures. Jason, bad as he was, was in these two affairs more pursued than sinning

The legend of Lucresse is of another sort both she and Philomene are not martyrs of love but victims of lust. Tarquinius is both reproved and punished, but Chaucer's emphasis is on the modesty and suffering of Lucresse Terous, on the other hand, gets off easily he merely loses his name. Chaucer lavishes but one exclamation on him ("Lo! here a dede of men, and that a ryght!") and ends with a mock-serious fillip: Let women beware of men, if they will, for there is little faith in them though they may not all be murderers and knaves:

> That wol I seyn, al were he now my brother—
> But it be so that he may have non other.

Adriane and Phedra belong to the Ysiphele and Medea type Their tale is introduced by the story of Mynos, who was himself a false lover, but to keep the accounts parallel Chaucer shows that "Nysus doughter" made love to him first. Similarly Theseus in distress is approached by the Cretan sisters Adriane proposes that they help him with the Mynotaur (1977 ff), Phedra works out a plan of action (1985 ff), Theseus humbly accepts and swears to serve them as their page But Adriane answers boldly 'You, a king's son! that would be a shame *Yit were it betere that I were youre wyf*, and your son [who was apparently still unborn] can marry Phedra here.' Theseus swears another oath and, entering into the spirit of

the thing, protests that he has been in love with her, sight unseen, these seven years Whereupon Adriane whispers to Phedra Now we are both duchesses and likely to be queens of Athens (2126 ff) Yet it was not to be, for Theseus abandons her on the island and proceeds homeward with the more beautiful sister (and more accomplished, for she planned his successful encounter with the Minotaur) "A twenty devel-wey the wynd hym dryve!" exclaims Chaucer "These false lovers, poyson be here bane!" It seems that Chaucer has made a mock of poor little Ariadne, her story is put in a framework of levity It begins with the assault on Minos ("Be red for shame") and ends

> But thus this false lovere can begyle
> His trewe love, the devel quyte hym his while!

The legend of Phillis opens with a flourish against Demophon like that against Jason his father, only milder, but Chaucer in his eighth story is already tired · "I am agroted herebyforn To wryte of hem that ben in love forsworn" (2454 f) Phillis for variety's sake shows a little spirit and expresses some indignation before committing suicide The end is flippant again—

> Be war, ye wemen, of youre subtyl fo,
> And trusteth, as in love, no man but me

But he no longer trusted himself, and with Ypermystre gave it up. Both she and her husband had a bad background and the Wirdes were hostile from the start, and though there is no doubt that she was a good wife and Lyno was not a good husband . . *caetera desunt*

The tales which Chaucer selected for his Glorious Legendary were thus of three types His first two pairs of lovers, Antony and Cleopatra, Piramus and Thisbe, are evenly matched, the women are true lovers and so also are the men But so far Chaucer has not kept the faith, since his program called for masculine delinquents For the third pair, although Aeneas betrayed Dido, his case has to be dismissed on a technicality · he had a higher mission than love of woman. On the other hand, Tarquin, Tereus, and Lynceus are unmistakable villains, but their partners are not romantic lovers and not really worshippers of the God, each was faithful in her fashion, but not quite in accordance with the premises of the Prologue. There remain five other pairs, the

fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and tenth in order of their appearance three of these are distinct and alike, Hypsipile and Jason, Medea and Jason, Ariadne and Theseus; the other two (Scylla and Minos, Phyllis and Demophon) are but pale replicas, by Chaucer's own accounting, of Ariadne and Theseus Now these five, out of the total eleven, have a special characteristic· whereas the men are certainly faithless and the women are certainly faithful, the women are also somewhat forward, they immolate themselves, and in the language of the vulgar they ask for it. And this, be it noted, is no modern interpretation but in accord with Chaucer's rendering of their stories. Ariadne (whom the poets before and since have treated sympathetically) is the most notable offender because her eye was so obviously on the main chance. These women, as Chaucer has represented them, would not in all justice be welcome back in the Prologue. They loved, but not wisely. In spite of their fidelity they profane the shrine. they actually wooed the infidelity of men. It is necessary to ask, therefore, if Chaucer was oblivious of this discrepancy in the execution of his penitential program. After all proper discount is made for the danger of not being mediæval enough in our approach to the question, is it reasonable to suppose that Chaucer did not know what he was doing, or perhaps one should say, did not recognize where his path was leading? The terms of his commission were to honor true women and expose false men, he soon broke down and admitted that he was bored—worse, he was *agroted*—with the latter. And the men he chose to inveigh against most vigorously, Jason, Minos, and Theseus, were all entangled with women who had forced themselves on their attention, women who were so accessible that they invited trouble. One need not believe that Chaucer put the matter to himself quite like this, but something told him that his program had gone wrong He felt that Alcestis would not be happy over the turn of events, he saw clearly enough that he was not getting on. He understood that women are not really extolled or their virtues enhanced by exposing the wickedness of men· and if his pretended penance was actively and emphatically to defame men as lovers under the guise of praising the constancy of women, he found himself in a small labyrinth to which we have no clue. There may be some topical or contemporary satire which we miss; or it may be humorous perverseness

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S MOTHER

In the Prefatory Note of his dissertation, *Chaucerian Problems Especially the Petherton Forestership and the Question of Thomas Chaucer* (Lancaster, 1932), Mr. Russell Krauss mentions "Eric St. John Brook's (sic) gratifying discovery from the Cartulary of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, that Agnes Chaucer was the daughter of Hamo de Copton's brother James (*New England Genealogical and Historical Register,* October, 1929)."[1] Professor F N Robinson, whose edition of the complete works of Chaucer was published in 1933, includes this statement in his biography of the poet. "His father was John Chaucer and his mother probably Agnes, mentioned as John Chaucer's wife in 1349 She is described in the same document as a relative and heir of Hamo de Copton, and is to be identified, on the evidence of a recently discovered cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, with his niece Agnes, daughter of James de Copton."[2]

Mr. E. St. John Brooks first called attention to his discovery in a letter to the London *Times* of March 14, 1929. Here he quotes a record found in the cartulary of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, stating that "Hamo de Copton died without heirs of his body, and that his heir was his kinswoman (*consanguinea*) Agnes, daughter of John, his brother, and that Agnes married one John Chaucer."[3] Mr. Brooks expanded this article considerably for the *New England Genealogical and Historical Register,* October, 1929; but the fact stated is exactly the same: that Hamo's heir "was Agnes, his kinswoman (*consanguinea*), being daughter of John, Hamo's brother."[4]

Later, Mr. Brooks summarizes: "The evidence of the cartulary, therefore, is that Agnes Chaucer was the daughter of John de Copton, a brother of Hamo de Copton."[5] Nowhere is there mention of a James de Copton.

It is worthy of note that Mr. G. K. Chesterton gives the correct name in his biography of the poet. Perhaps basing his statement on the original notice in the *Times,* but without mentioning the

[1] P 3 [2] P xv.
[3] London *Times Literary Supplement,* March 14, 1929. P 207
[4] P 392 [5] P 393.

source, Mr. Chesterton simply states. "John married Agnes, daughter of John Copton, of a family connected with the Mint, and lived in Thames Street"[6]

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FALSTAFF AND THE ART OF DYING

Recently a scholar has suggested that Shakespeare was burlesquing the death of Socrates in his account of Falstaff's demise.[1] I doubt if we need to turn to a classical model for this picture when the clue to the irony and pathos of this scene may be found in the literature and in the conventions of conduct of Elizabethan England The death of Falstaff, as the Hostess recounts it, is a satirical picture of the conventional deathbed scene in Shakespeare's day as it was outlined in the popular how-to-die literature. The satirical touches of this account would not escape an audience well aware of the proper directions for making a good exist from this world.

In order that a satire may be successful, it must be immediately recognized by the audience. The success of the satire in such comedies as *I'd Rather Be Right* or *Both Your House* depended on the audience's familiarity with the contemporary political situation and the conventions of congressional politics Just so, the Elizabethan, being, as he was, aware of the conventional ritual attendant on a proper deathbed and a good end, would find in the record of Falstaff's death an appropriateness and a humorous touch which might be lost on a present-day audience for most of whom the business of dying has no longer a set ritual.

The formal directions for the art of dying go back to the *Ars Moriendi* of the fifteenth century. An examination of the various

[6] Chesterton, *Chaucer*. London, 1932. P 84.

[1] John R Moore, *The Explicator*, Vol I, June 1943, No. 61 and Monroe Stearn's reply in *The Explicator*, Vol II, December 1943, No 19 The descriptions of the signs of death may be found in Holland's translation of Pliny and in such books as Simon Kellwaye's, *A Defensitive Against the Plague*. London· 1593, p 16. See also the notes on the passage in *The Life of King Henry Fifth*. Arden Shakespeare. Ed H A Evans

texts and versions of the *Ars* establishes a simple pattern of directions which can be described as follows:

Part I This is an introduction which treats of the nature of death which men should face gladly and courageously.

Part II A description of the five temptations which assail man at the final hour disbelief, despair, impatience with suffering, spiritual pride and avarice which is the temptation of temporal things

Part III The interrogations. Questions on the profession of faith and a confession of sin

Part IV This section deals with rules of conduct make a will, make confession, take the sacrament, say certain prayers, and at the last say, "Lord into thy hands, etc " or make some appropriate sign

Parts V and VI contain instructions for friends, warnings about giving bodily aid precedence over spiritual aid, prayers to say to console Moriens and others to say after his death.[2]

This pattern was altered somewhat by the Protestant writers of the Post-Reformation period. Often violently anti-papist in tone, they omitted the interrogations or introduced variations of them, they added many prayers and scriptural passages, stressed the making of the will, and devoted much space to the questions of predestination, justification by faith, suicide, and the validity of deathbed repentances. The important points, however, remain the same, and this literature on holy dying became increasingly popular with humble folk who believed that the proper exit from this world might be the "open sesame" to eternal life. All agreed on the necessity for making a good end.[3]

One of the most popular books on holy dying was Becon's, *The Sicke Mannes Salve*.[4] Here, by means of a realistic dialogue between the dying man, Epaphroditus, and his friends, the author presents a model of a Christian's death. By comparing a brief résumé of this book with the pattern of the medieval *Ars* literature, we can see how closely even this strongly Puritan account follows the old rules.

[2] Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor *The Art of Dying Well* (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No 56 New York. Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 24 ff.

[3] William Perkins, *A Salve for a Sick Man.* London, 1595, p. 17 See *STC* for works of Becon, Hill, Sutton, Tuke, Verstegen, Vaughan, etc

[4] Thomas Becon, *The Sicke Mannes Salve*, 1563, went into seventeen editions by 1632

I Epaphroditus complains of illness, knows his end is near and calls his friends who urge him to consider the state of his soul (*Ars* I)

II They discuss his sins, urge his repentance and assure him of Christ's mercy (*Ars* III)

III He makes a will (*Ars* IV)

IV He advises his wife and children (*Ars* IV)

V They discuss the fear of death, the temptations of this world and the final temptation to despair of God's mercy (*Ars* II)

VI He confesses his faith and dies, saying "Lord Jesus take my Spirite O heavenly father I commend my spirit into thy hands" (*Ars* IV)

VII His friends make the proper prayers and arrange for the funeral (*Ars* V and VI)

Many years have passed since an unknown priest wrote the *Ars Moriendi, the Crafte of Dyynge*, but this vigorously anti-papist writer of the sixteenth century shows how deeply the conventional pattern for a deathbed ritual had been stamped on the people. When a formula becomes so well known we can expect the Elizabethan to recognize a satire on it

In contrast to this well established ritual for making a good end, let us consider the life and death of Falstaff Much of Falstaff's humor lies in his use of Puritan catch phrases "with his mock apologies for his sins and his size with affectations of holiness and patter about repentance"[5] In his life the staple of the jest was often the wide divergence between his pious speeches and his conduct, and in his death, the same method is used This time, however, it is the Hostess who in her kindness guilelessly takes over the language of the devout and their model of conduct and tries to fit Falstaff to a conventional end—which is unconventional after all

When Falstaff died at the turning of the tide, he cried out, "God, God" three or four times, spoke of sack and the whore of Babylon (was this his last Puritan pun?) and of the flea on Bardolph's nose which seemed a soul burning in hell (Surely the Elizabethan recalled, even as we do, the scene in Part I where Bardolph's nose reminded Falstaff of hell-fire) There were no long prayers though he called on God; no confession though he talked of sins The vision of burning souls may have been the devil's temptation to despair.[6] There was no making of a will.

[5] J Dover Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff* Oxford Press 1944, p 93. See also *Henry IV*, Part I, Act I 2; III, sc 3, V, sc 1 1, Act II, Act II, sc 4

[6] Becon, *op cit* Fol CCLX verso The devil casts a mist before the dying

There was no deathbed repentance whose validity the divines so warmly debated. Many have called upon God and died like lambs The answer was stern: "Like lambes why most of them die like stones. They live a sottish and senseless life and so they die" [7] The Hostess would reassure us all, "Nay sure he's not in hell. He's in Arthur's bosom if ever man went to Arthur's bosom 'A made a finer end and went away an it had been any christom child" [8] In her defense she recognizes the importance of making a good end, but Abraham's bosom and Arthur's were one to her Her kindly advice not to think of God because she hoped "there was no need to trouble himself with any such thoughts yet" was far from the consolation approved by the writers on holy dying, who warned that "sweet wordes and vain hopes often deceived the sicke· let them be comforted in the name of God, but in a discreet sort" [9] Whether Falstaff burns in hell or rests in Abraham's bosom remains an unsolved problem in spite of the Hostess. Clearly the Elizabethan would have recognized in this "end" the deft satire on the conventional deathbed ritual.

It is not necessary to say that Shakespeare read the literature on holy dying The amount written on this subject was so large that its general rules were part of every Christian's knowledge No Elizabethan family could have escaped some contact with the conventional ritual of the deathbed, a ritual which, originally Catholic, had become in the sixteenth century a part of the Anglican and Puritan teaching The art of dying was the art of arts, and it is safe to postulate that Shakespeare and all Elizabethans knew it by one means or another And surely the Elizabethan audience would have recognized in the Hostess's report of Falstaff's death the satiric humor of this departure from the accepted deathbed ritual and the suitability of such an end for such a sinner.

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man's eyes so that he sees "nothing but fearce wrath and terrible judgment of God against synners"

[7] Robert Hill, *A Direction to Die Well.* London, 1610. Book I, question 19.

[8] *Henry V*, Act II, scene 3, ll 9-12.

[9] Christopher Sutton, *Disce Mori*, p. 276; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p 78

"A LIVING DROLLERY" (*TEMPEST*, III, iii, 21)

In Sebastian's description of the strange shapes who offer him and his comrades a banquet, "A living drollery" (*Tempest* III, iii, 21), the word *drollery* is usually explained as "puppet show." This definition, so far as I can learn, is due to Steevens, who annotated this passage with the statement that "Shows, called *drolleries*, were, in Shakespeare's time, performed by puppets only" It has been passed on by Nares, Dyce, and all the editors, indeed, only Schmidt seems to have felt doubts about it. It stands, I think, in need of closer examination

Omitting several late seventeenth-century uses in which the word means "a jest" or "jesting," I find eight other early examples in the *NED* and the commentaries, as follows:

Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV* (1598), II, i, 155 ff Glasses, glasses is the only drinking, and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting in waterwork, is worth a thousand of these bed-hangers and these fly-bitten tapestries.

Dekker, *The Belman of London* (1606), ed Grosart iii (1885), p 87 The whole *Roome* shewed a farre off . like a dutch peece of *Drollery*: for they sate at table as if they had beene so many Anticks A Painters prentice could not draw worse faces than they themselues made, besides those which God gaue them, no, nor a painter himselfe vary a picture into more strange and more ill-fauord gestures, than were to be seene in the Action of their bodies

Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (1608), ed Arber (1880), p 1 And a *Drollerie* (or Dutch peece of *Lantskop*) may sometimes breed in the beholders eye, as much delectation, as the best and most curious master-peece excellent in that Art

Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), Ind, ed Herford & Simpson vi (1938), pp 16 f If there bee neuer a *Seruant-monster* i' the *Fayre*, who can helpe it? he sayes, nor a nest of *Antiques*? Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales*, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*, to mixe his head with other mens heeles, let the concupiscence of *Iigges* and *Dances*, raigne as strong as it will amongst you yet if the *Puppets* will please any body, they shall be entreated to come in.

Fletcher, *Valentinian* (1614), ed Glover & Waller iv (1906), p 20:

Claud. Chimney pieces:
Now heaven have mercy upon me, and young men,

I had rather make a drallery till thirty,
While I am able to endure a tempest,
And bear my fights out bravely, till my tackle
Whistl'd i'th'Wind, and held against all weathers,
While I were able to bear with my tyres,
And so discharge 'em, I would willingly
Live, *Marcellina*, not till barnacles
Bred in my sides

Dekker & Massinger, *The Virgin Martyr* (1620), V, i, ed Cunningham (1897), p 29

As a curious painter,
When he has made some honourable piece,
hugs
Himself for his rare workmanship—so here,
Will I my drolleries, and bloody landscapes,
Long past wrapt up, unfold, to make me merry

Fletcher, *The Wild goose Chase* (1621), I, ii, ed Glover & Waller iv (1906), p 320

Our Women the best Linguists, they are Parrats,
O' this side the *Alpes* they are nothing but meer Drolleries

Evelyn, *Diary*, 13 August 1641, ed Wheatley (1879), i, 18 We arrived late at Roterdam, where was their annual marte or faire, so furnished with pictures (especially Landskips and Drolleries, as they call those clounish representations)

In the first three quotations, the sixth, and the last, the meaning of the word is obvious. It means a grotesque picture or other graphic representation Precisely what kind of pictorial representation is intended may be uncertain and I suspect that several varieties may be comprehended in these examples, but the implication of a picture is patent The word is apparently of French origin, and the earliest example known to me is found in the *Meslanges Historiques* of Pierre de Saint-Julien (Lyons, 1589) It is quite explicit

Now (as if in disdain of class distinction, in scorn and mockery of the arms of gentlemen and other devices of honor) the painters, masons, goldsmiths, cabinetmakers, and such sorts of craftsmen, and especially those imbued with the new [Lutheran] opinions, and on that account enemies of lordly privilege, desiring to render all equal, indulged themselves in what they call drolleries, so that in order to show themselves less well furnished with choice inspirations than perfect imitators, they gave currency to a new kind of foolish emblems, letting it be known that, however skillful the hand of such drollists, at the same time they were wofully lacking in cleverness and even more in solidity of judgement

Such being the case, we see that, wishing to represent the arms of some gentleman which they happen to be concerned with, if the arms had no device of their own, such as those of which we have spoken in this discourse and the preceding, they will emblazon (that is to say, at the top of the arms) either a mask or the picture of a face of a faun or satyr or some meaningless and ridiculous buffoonery, and (at the worst) a baboon gaping with open mouth.[1]

Cotgrave's definition corresponds perfectly with this. "the figure of a Maske, Satire, Monkie, or such like apish visages, and antick resemblances, set on the top of a Scutcheon, or coat of Armes."[2] Baker describes Falstaff's "pretty slight drollery" as "the sort of fanciful design with groups of grotesque figures which more or less grew out of foliage, or sometimes animal forms"[3] This description closely corresponds with the *NED*'s account of the word *antic*, which was "used as equivalent to It[alian] *grottesco*, f[rom] *grotta*, 'a cauerne or hole vnder grounde' (Florio), app[arently] ad[apted from] It. *antico*, . . . orig[inally] applied to fantastic representations of human, animal, and floral forms, incongruously running into one another, found in exhuming some ancient remains (as the Baths of Titus) in Rome, whence extended to anything

[1] Pp 575 f "Or (cõme si c'estoit en desdain de la distinctiõ des Estats, en mespris, & mocquerie des Tymbres des Gentils-hommes, & autres signals d'hõneur) les Peintres, Maçõs, Orfeures, Menuysiers, & telles sortes d'ouuriers: & sur tous les imbuz des opinions nouuelles & en ce nom ennemys de superioritez Seigneurialles, en desir de rendre tout esgal se sont addonnez à ce qu'ils appellent drauleries de façon que pour se montrer moins fourniz de belles inuẽtiõs, que doctes imitateurs ils ont mis en vsage vne nouuelle maniere de signalz de sottise, faisant cognoistre que combien que la main de tels Draulistes soit docte, si y a il (au reste) en eux grandissime faute de bon esprit. & encores plus de solidité de iugement

"Qu'ainsi soit, on veoid que voulants exprimer les armes de quelque Seigneur que l'occasion leur presente: si elles n'ont vn signal exprez, tel que ceux dont nous auons parlé en ce discours, & aux precedents: ils mettront en Tymbre, c'est à dire sur le haut des armes, ou vn masque, ou le portraict d'vn visage de Faune, ou Satyre, ou quelque inepte, & ridicule babouynnerie & (au pis aller) vn babouyn baillant a gueule ouuerte" I am very grateful to Professor G O. Seiver for helping me to translate the French

[2] *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1632).

[3] Oliver Baker, *In Shakespeare's Warwickshire, and the Unknown Years* (1937), p 149

similarly incongruous or bizarre." *Antic* itself also occurs in two of the passages quoted.

On the other hand, Staunton identifies Falstaff's drollery as "one of those scenes of coarse humour which the painters of the Dutch school introduced, between the end of the sixteenth, and the middle of the seventeenth century," and this agrees very well with the quotations from Dekker and Evelyn But it may be that the heraldic humor described by Saint-Julien and the grotesque fancies of painters like Bosch and Breughel had enough in common to go by the same name.

The *NED* puts the passages from *The Tempest*, *Bartholomew Fair*, and *The Wild-goose Chase* in a class by themselves to which it assigns the meaning of "puppet-show" I suggest, however, that in each of them the other meaning, a grotesque picture, is equally suitable and that there is no established connection between *drollery* and *puppet-show*. I suspect that Steevens's gloss was derived from the assumption that since *droll* means *puppet-show*, *drollery* must mean the same thing. If so, it puts the cart before the horse, for the first recorded use of *droll* is almost fifty years later than *2 Henry IV*, which introduced *drollery*. And indeed the assumption that *droll* means puppet-show, though probable enough, is not easily substantiated. The *NED* does not differentiate this meaning of *droll* from "a farce, an enacted piece of buffoonery," and of the examples which it collects only one (from Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, 1711) mentions or hints at a puppet-show and then without making it clear whether the two things are equivalents or alternatives. Professor Elson, the editor of Kirkman's drolls, while he allows for the possibility that they were sometimes acted by puppets, finds no clear evidence to that effect[4] It may be suspected, I think, that the eighteenth-century scholars who first annotated Elizabethan plays for us did not understand that a stage-piece so elementary as a droll could be played by living actors and assumed that alternatively it must be a puppet-show. At all events, *droll* clearly is of little use in determining the meaning of *drollery* during the lifetime of Shakespeare, long before it was adopted as an English word.

[4] *The Wits or, Sport upon Sport*, ed. J. J. Elson (Cornell Studies in English xviii, 1932).

Of the foregoing quotations,[5] the only one that would give the slightest warrant for connecting drolleries and puppet-shows is that from *Bartholomew Fair*, but there the word *Puppets*, in an apology for the introduction of them in the play to follow, after so much scorn of base kinds of entertainment, does not seem to me to explain or to have any necessary connection with *Drolleries* Rather puppet-shows seem to be excepted from the class to which drolleries belong On the other hand, the allusion to *Antiques* and the announced aversion to making "Nature afraid" accord perfectly with the idea that a drollery is a representation of the grotesque or a grotesque representation of the natural.

In *The Tempest*, a "living drollery" might just as well mean an animated grotesque picture as an animated puppet-show. In view of the lack of clear indications that *drollery* was used as a name for a puppet-show, it seems to me much safer to understand it in a sense well established by contemporary usage

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ROWLEY, FOXE, AND THE *FAUSTUS* ADDITIONS

The 1616 edition of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* contained a new scene, added by Samuel Rowley and William Bird, representing happenings in the Papal court at Rome.[1] Dr Frederick Boas, who bases his recent edition of the play upon the 1616 impression, com-

[5] I do not know whether I can explain the passage in *Valentinian* (Coleridge pronounced it corrupt), but I feel sure that it does not mean what Gifford says it means, "spend her youth in making puppet shows, which she considers as the lowest scene of degradation" Marcellina has just asked Claudia whether she would wish to live to become like the emperor's bawds and the latter is emphatically voting for a short life but a merry She scorns becoming a chimney-piece, she wishes to live only as long as she can hold her own in the duel of the sexes. She had rather make herself ridiculous till she is thirty and then die than live longer in obsolescence. At all events, it is clear that no connection between *drollery* and *puppet-show* can be predicated upon this passage

[1] *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (ed Boas, London, 1932), III, i, 55 ff. and II, 1-93 See also *Henslowe's Diary* (ed Greg), I, 172

ments upon "the reckless disregard for historical truth," the "fictions of a Papal triumphant victory, and of a Saxon Bruno as a candidate for St. Peter's chair in the sixteenth century," that make up most of this scene He adds.

> It is noteworthy that alone among the 1616 additions these episodes are not drawn from the English *Faust Book* They are so fantastic that we are tempted to look beneath the surface and to wonder, when the Pope announces (III, i, 128 f) ·
>
> We will depose the Emperor for that deed,
> And curse the people that submit to him,
>
> whether there is not a half-hidden reference to the Papal excommunication of Elizabeth [2]

It is now possible to explain the elements that puzzled Boas by pointing to their source That the lines he quotes were intended as a sidewise glance at the Papal bull against Elizabeth we need not doubt. Any audience of the time would so have taken them But they have a more direct meaning also. Rowley, it can be demonstrated, employed John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*—the so-called Book of Martyrs—as a source for one series of scenes in his *When You See Me You Know Me.*[3] It is less surprising, then, to find that he went to the same source for his scene at the Papal court. According to Foxe,

> [Pope] Adrian IV, an Englishman, by name called Breakspear, belonged once to St Albans This Adrian kept great stir, in like manner, with the citizens of Rome The like business and rage he also stirred up . against the empire, blustering and thundering against Frederick, the Emperor.[4]

Adrian finally excommunicated Frederick, and later died by choking on a fly.[5] Foxe says of his successor,

[2] *Op. cit*, p 29

[3] See Foxe (ed Pratt), v, 553 561, "The Story of Queen Katharine Parr," which describes a conspiracy to dislodge the Queen from the King's favor because of her "Lutheran" tendencies Rowley used this story with only a minimum of changes to adapt it to the stage; all the scenes of the play concerned with the conspiracy, constituting about a fifth of the whole, are taken directly from Foxe There are frequent easily recognized verbal echoes. *When You See Me You Know Me* (Tudor Facsimile edition), sig H2 K3.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 189. [5] *Ibid*, II, 195

Yet came the next much worse, one Alexander III, who yet was not elected alone, for beside him the Emperor, with nine cardinals did set up another pope, named Victor IV Between these two popes arose a foul schism and great discord [6]

Victor received the Emperor's support, but Alexander had many friends, and moving swiftly he consolidated his position. At Venice he was lucky enough to get the Emperor's son Otto into his clutches.

The father, to help the captivity and misery of his son, was compelled to submit himself to the Pope, and to entreat for peace, so the Emperor coming to Venice (at St Mark's Church, where the bishop was, there to take his absolution), was bid to kneel down at the Pope's feet

The proud Pope, setting his foot upon the Emperor's neck, said the verse of the psalm, "*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*," that is, "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and on the basilisk, and shalt tread down the lion and the dragon" To whom the Emperor answering again, said, "Non tibi sed Petro," that is, "Not to thee but to Peter" The Pope again, "Et mihi et Petro," "Both to me and to Peter" The Emperor, fearing to give any occasion of further quarreling, held his peace, and so was absolved, and peace made between them [7]

Let us now compare this episode from Foxe with Rowley's addition to *Faustus*:

Pope	Cast down our footstool.	
Ray	Saxon Bruno, stoop,	
	Whilst on thy back his Holiness ascends	
	Saint Peter's chair and state pontifical	
Bruno	Proud Lucifer, that state belongs to me;	
	But thus I fall to Peter, not to thee	
Pope	To me and Peter shalt thou grovelling lie,	
	And crouch before the Papal dignity	(89-96)
	. . .	
Bruno	Pope Adrian, let me have right of law,	
	I was elected by the Emperor	

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid*, II, 195 f At this point in the ancient editions of Foxe stood one of the woodcuts that added so much to the effectiveness of the book It showed Pope Alexander, in triple crown and accompanied by a bishop and a cardinal, placing his foot upon the neck of the prostrate Emperor Frederick. On a ribbon issuing from the Pope's mouth is the verse of the Psalms, "Super aspidem," etc (91· 13); and on a separate scroll, in Latin, is the remainder of their dialogue as Foxe reports it See Foxe (ed. 1583), sig. P6.

Pope We will depose the Emperor for that deed,
And curse the people that submit to him,
Both he and thou shalt stand excommunicate,
And interdict from Church's privilege
And all society of holy men
He grows too proud in his authority,
Lifting his lofty head above the clouds,
And like a steeple over peers the Church
But we'll pull down his haughty insolence
And as Pope Alexander, our progenitor,
Trod on the neck of German Frederick,
Adding this golden sentence to our praise—
'That Peter's heirs should tread on Emperors,
And walk upon the dreadful adder's back,
Treading the lion and the dragon down,
And fearless spurn the killing basilisk'
So will we quell that haughty schismatic
And by authority apostolical
Depose him from his regal government (126-146)

These lines are a loose reinterpretation of the Papal history as found in Foxe. Rowley has reversed the order of the two popes, changed Victor's name to Bruno and given him the Emperor's lines to speak, and taken other liberties with Foxe's story. But much of the substance remains.[3]

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SPENSER AND MILTON AN EARLY ANALOGUE

Twenty years ago Hanford observed that "the time at which Milton first made the acquaintance of Spenser"[1] is uncertain. That Milton, who five decades later followed Spenser from London to Cambridge, must have acquired something more than a mild interest in the poetry of his predecessor at "reedy Cam" would

[3] For Foxe's source, see John Bale, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* (Basle, 1538), it was translated into English later as *The Pageant of Popes* (London, 1574), see fol 101. There seems to be little reason to believe that Rowley consulted anything but Foxe and his own imagination

[1] J H Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," *Univ of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature*, I (1925), 137—I am indebted to my colleague Professor Harris Fletcher for several valuable suggestions

seem, however, a reasonable assumption[2] Yet not perhaps, until Milton identified his own career and poetic idealism with Spenser's, did his "new allegiance"[3] actually begin As early as the Cambridge days when he was writing his Sixth Latin Elegy and the Italian sonnets — or very shortly thereafter — Milton's interest in Spenser may well have led him to look into the Latin verse-letter from Spenser to Gabriel Harvey which had been published by Bynneman in 1580.[4] That Milton was familiar with the Spenser-Harvey correspondence or with Spenser's Latin poem cannot, of course, be proved.

Toward the end of Spenser's poem occur the following lines

> Namque sinu pudet in patrio, tenebrisque pudendis,
> Non nimis ingenio juvenem infoelice virentes
> Officijs frustra deperdere vilibus annos,
> Frugibus et vacuas speratis cernere spicas[5]

The phrase *Non nimis ingenio juvenem infoelice*[6] could hardly have failed to impress the young Milton with the similarity to his

[2] Hanford, *art cit* "The *Faerie Queene* Milton must, one would suppose, have read before [the Horton period]" The probability, viewed with favor since Hanford's article appeared, that *Il Penseroso* was written before Horton would suggest evidence enough of Spenser's early influence on Milton

[3] *Art cit*, p 138

[4] *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters*, London 1580 See Francis R Johnson, *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser* (Baltimore 1933), p 10

[5] Spenser's poem may be conveniently consulted in R. E Neil Dodge, *The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge edition), pp 770-71. The lines are freely translated by Richard Wilton (Grosart, *Works of Spenser*, 1882-4, I, 434) as follows

> For in this native nook, this dim retreat,
> I blush to waste my days; it is not meet
> A youth with genius not unblest, should spend
> In duties mean, repeated to no end,
> The precious morning of his fairest years,
> Nor see the hoped-for fruit crown the green ears

[6] This relatively modest expression of Spenser's ego could be expected to catch the attention of Milton at the time when he was taking thought "with a sacred reverence and religious advisement how best to undergo." As Mark Pattison observed in connection with the sonnet here discussed, 'Nothing in Milton's life is more noteworthy than his deliberate intention to be a great poet"

own state. Indeed, the whole passage in Spenser's poem-letter to Harvey bears a marked resemblance to the famous sonnet which accompanied Milton's English letter to an unidentified friend, perhaps his tutor Thomas Young.[7] I quote the octave:

> How soon hath time the subtle thief of youth,
> Stolen on his wing my three and twentieth year!
> My hasting days fly on with full career,
> But my late spring no bud or blossom showeth
> Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
> That I to manhood am arrived so near,
> And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
> That some more timely happy spirits endueth.

Like Spenser, whose Puritan zeal and moral earnestness would have sufficed to prevent him from taking orders in the Anglican Church, Milton in his "father's country house" was also *sinu in patrio*. The reference in Milton's letter to "my life as yet obscure & unserviceable to mankind" is much like Spenser's *tenebrisque pudendis*.[8] And the mention in the octave of "bud or blossom" and "inward ripeness" reminds us of the *spicas*[9] of Spenser's concluding line above, Milton's "hasting days" and "wasting youth" suggest Spenser's *virentes annos*, the "same lot however mean" in the sestet recalls Spenser's *Officijs frustra deperdere vilibus* (cf. Wilton's rendering "should spend / In duties mean"). In Milton's reference to "more timely-happy spirits," which led Smart (p. 54) to suggest the name of Thomas Randolph, can it be that Milton was thinking also of Edmund Spenser, who lived in the golden age of Gloriana? To judge by the apologetic tone of

[7] For the identification of the "true & unfained freind" with Thomas Young, see Parker, *LTLS*, May 16, 1936. Parker (*RES* XI, 1935, 276-83) believes the sonnet was written in December 1632, and the letter in 1633. But see Fletcher's plausible contention (*The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, New Cambridge edition, 1941, p. 125) that the sonnet may have been written as early as 1629.

[8] Later in the first draft of his letter Milton refers to "this Pluto's helmet of obscurity." With his admission that he appears "to dream away [his] years in the arms of studious retirement" compare Wilton's rendering of Spenser. "in . . . this dim retreat, / I blush to waste my days."

[9] Somewhat similar is the modest complaint of Spenser's master Chaucer in the *Legend of Good Women*, F Prologue, lines 68-77 (F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 569), with its reference to the "ere" and the "corn."

his letter, Milton might appropriately have signed himself "Immerito"!

Smart has pointed out[10] that though the date of Milton's first love-affair is uncertain, it probably took place "many years earlier" than his visit to Italy in 1638. It seems likely that Milton may have contemplated making the Grand Tour even before he left Cambridge — during the period of his intimate friendship with Diodati, his love for the Donna Emilia, and his study of Italian history and poetry, including the sonnets of Giovanni della Casa,— long before he expressed to his father[11] his gratitude for the opportunity to study French and Italian:

> Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores,
> Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam
> Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus

If he dreamed of going to Italy, he would have noted particularly the heading of Spenser's poem, "Immerito sui, mox in Gallias navigaturi," and the lines in the poem that deal with Spenser's projected journey.

Moreover, the convention, popular with Italian poets, of concealing the lady's name was applied with marked success, to the bafflement of critics for three centuries, by both Spenser and Milton.[12] The latter was doubtless familiar with it from his study of the Italians, but here, as so frequently elsewhere, Spenser had provided a precedent in English poetry. Milton, with his "new allegiance" to Spenser, could hardly have overlooked E. K.'s gloss on "the feigned name" Rosalinde at the end of the January eclogue. If, as appears probable, Milton was reading the *Shepheardes Calender* about the time of his attachment to the Italian lady,

> il cui bel nome honora
> L'herbosa val di Reno, e il nobil varco,

E. K.'s mention of "the famous Paragone of Italy, Madonna Coelia" could not well have escaped his notice.

[10] *The Sonnets of Milton*, p. 134.

[11] *Ad Patrem*, lines 82-84.

[12] This particular parallel between Spenser and Milton could not have been pointed out before 1921, when Smart's edition of the sonnets first disclosed the name of Milton's *donna*.

The parallel experiences of the two poets at Cambridge have been frequently alluded to[13] Milton may even have been aware that his tutor, the "strict Puritan" Thomas Young, who became master of Jesus College, Cambridge in 1644, bore the same surname as the Puritan John Young, Spenser's master at Pembroke, whose secretary (and "Southerne shepheardes boye")[14] Spenser became in 1578, after Young's election as bishop of Rochester (the "Roffy" of the *Shepheardes Calender*). The knowledge of the coincidence of surnames may conceivably have led to Milton's more intent perusal of the Spenser-Harvey correspondence

Whether Milton drew upon a stock convention or upon Spenser (or both) for his octave it is impossible to determine But the 1580 edition was doubtless within his reach at Cambridge (possibly even at Horton), and it would appear improbable that the omnivorous young Spenser-conscious reader could have overlooked it. In any event, whether Milton found the idea in Spenser or not, the similarity between the two verse passages is a striking one

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JOHN DONNE'S "PARADISE AND CALVARIE"

In the justly famous "Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse," there is an interesting, but unexplained, allusion·

> We thinke that *Paradise* and *Calvarie*,
> *Christs* Crosse, and *Adams* tree, stood in one place

The relationship between Adam's tree and Christ's cross (involving the legend of Seth's visit to Eden and the story of the tree that grew out of Adam's dead mouth and eventually was made into the Cross)[1] is known to most students of English Literature. The

[13] See, for example, Grosart, *Works of Spenser*, I, 41

[14] *The Shepheardes Calender*, April, line 21.

[1] The English legends have been gathered by Morris in *Legends of the Holy Rood, EETS*, XLVI, 1871. See especially "De morte primi parentis Ade et de incepcione crucis Christi"; the Welsh Passion Play is also built around the same tale See also the two essays on this subject by W. Meyer in *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Konig-*

identification of Paradise with Calvary is harder to explain, but it results, I believe, from a cross-breeding of the story of the tree that grew from Adam's mouth and a persistent legend that Adam's grave became the locus of the Cross.

I can find no reference to this second story prior to Origen, who says, "A Hebrew tradition comes down to us that Adam is buried in Calvary, hence as all died in Adam, all shall again be resurrected in Christ".[2] St Ambrose, speaking of Golgotha, writes, "Ibi Adae sepulchrum, ut illum mortum in sua cruce resuscitaret."[3] A fuller development of the legend is hinted at in the "Sermo de resurrectione Christi" of the pseudo-Cyprian,[4] and the complete tale is found in a letter of Paulus and Eustochius to Marcellus.

In hac urbe, imo in hoc tunc loco, et habitasse dicitur, et mortuus esse

lich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XIV (1878), 185 ff. and XVI (1881), 101 ff

[2] *In Matthaeum commentariorum series*, *PG*, XIII, 1777-8. *Περὶ τοῦ κρανίου τόπον ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτι Ἑβραιοι παραδιδόασιν, ὅτι τὸ σωμα τοῦ Ἀδαμ ἐχει τέθαπται ἵνα ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσι, πάλιν ἐν τῷ χιστῳ πάντες ζωοποιηθῶσι* The full story of the burial of Adam after the Flood by Shem and Melchizedec on Golgotha is found in the fifth or sixth century Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve The story is told in summary by Nilus in his Letters (*PG*, LXXIX, 83) and in great detail in the *Annales* of Eutychius (*PG*, CXI, 911-18) The former work was printed in 1639 and the latter, translated by Pococke and annotated by Selden, in 1658, unless the *Annales* were long in manuscript, they were not available to Donne References to it were to be found in Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* (e p 1544), cf *PG*, XLI, 843 *Διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι ἔστι τὸν εἰδότα*, etc In 1639, however, Selden told the story, with proper references, in his *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*

Scilicet Adae corpus aromatis, ut ipse moribundus praeceperat, conditum, e Sethianorum monte, ubi *in spelunca thesauri* repositum est, in *medium* seu *umbilicum telluris* postmodum transferendum, idque ex ipsius etiam jussu, atque eam rem ut procuraret, in mandatis dedisse Noacho Lemechum paulo ante obitum Adae igitur corpus, uti & aliorum patriarchum ita sepultorum, in arcam secum tulisse Noachum, idque ad exitum vitae ferme retinuisse Moribundum autem Semo imperasse ut corpus Adae clam inde educeret Locus scilicet, telluris medium seu umbilicus in traditione hac, est Golgotha, ubi crucifixus Jesus Christus Quo nomine non semel apud Judaeos Hierosolyma dicuntur Atque illic a Semo & Melchisedeco repositum juxta mandata illa Adae corpus ibi postea narratur *Opera* (1726) I, 285.

[3] *Epist* LXXI, *PL*, XVI, 1297

[4] *Opera* (ed Erasmus, Lugduni, 1544), II, 322

Adam Unde et locus in quo crucifixus est Dominus noster Calvaria appellatur, scilicet, quod ibi sit antiqui hominis calvaria condita, ut secundus Adam, id est, sanguis Christi de cruce stillans, primi Adam et jacentis protoplasti peccata dilueret [5]

Though this letter was found among the epistles of Jerome, the great translator and Semitic scholar was not convinced of its truth and expressed his disbelief in several places.[6] Jerome's arguments against what Origen identified as a Jewish tradition were reechoed verbatim by mediaeval commentators like Bede,[7] Rabanus Maurus,[8] Walafridus Strabus,[9] and others. So the legend was kept alive by being constantly killed Most English mediaeval legends tell us that Adam was buried in "þe vale of ebron"; but Mandeville, and there must have been others, repeats the tale that Jerome had denied. Thus the legend came down to the Renaissance.

Donne probably knew both the story of the tree of Paradise and the tradition that Adam was buried in Calvary. The commingling of these legends in his imagination is, I think, the source of his allusion. If the tree grew in Adam's grave and Adam was buried on Calvary; then Adam's tree and Christ's cross "stood in one place." But Adam must have been buried in the county of Paradise, hence Calvary must be in Paradise.

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[5] *PL*, XXII, 485

[6] In his commentaries on Matthew 27 33 and Ephesians 5 14; I give the former

Audivi quemdam exposuisse Calvariae locum, in quo sepultus est Adam, et ideo sic appellatum esse, quia ibi antiqui hominis sit conditum caput, et hoc esse quod Apostolus dicat *Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuus, et illuminabit te Christus* (*Ephes.* v, 14) Favorabilis interpretatio et mulcens aurem populi, nec tamen vera Extra urbem enim et foras portam, loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, et Calvariae, id est, decollatorum sumpsere nomen . Sin autem quispiam contendere voluerit, ideo ibi Dominum crucifixum, ut sanguis super Adae tumulum distillaret, interrogemus eum, quare et alii latrones in eodem loco crucifixi sint? Ex quo apparet Calvarium non sepulcrum primi hominis, sed locum significare decollatorum, ut ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundaret gratia (*Rom* v, 20) Adam vero sepultum juxta Hebron et Arbee, in Jesu filii Nave volumine legimus. *PL*, XXVI, 217-8

[7] *PL*, XCII, 123 [8] *PL*, CVIII, 1136. [9] *PL*, CXIV, 174

AVANT DE PLUS THE INFINITIVE

In the seventeenth century one could employ with the infinitive *avant que, avant que de,* or even *avant* alone, but *avant de* is not found in the Grands Ecrivains from Malherbe to Boileau and Bossuet. Yet *avant de* ultimately prevailed, though even in the nineteenth century Littré allowed *avant que de,* which had been the preferred form in the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth. When did the shortened form come into use? When did *avant de* begin to be employed by writers of distinction?

The only example given by Richelet (1680) is of *avant que de.* "avant que de songer à condamner les gens." Furetière does not mention *avant de* in the first edition of his dictionary (1691). Three years later the dictionary of the French Academy ruled that, when *avant* is employed in this construction, "il est tousjours suivy d'un *que*" On the other hand, Furetière's edition of 1727, after citing the Academy's rule, adds:

> Cependant quelques-uns, pour abreger, omettent le *que* devant l'infinitif *Avant de* partir, *avant de* manger.

Though the edition of Richelet that appeared in 1719 failed to note the construction, that of 1759 added to the article on *avant que de* the observation that "Plusieurs bons auteurs du dernier siécle et de celui-ci, suppriment le *que.*" Unfortunately the editor did not name these authors or give examples in support of his statement. The earliest examples supplied by Littré are from Voltaire's *Tancrède,* first acted in 1760 M. Albert Cahen helps us little, as he states merely that the "forme *avant de* . . . n'est pas antérieure au XVIII[e] siècle."[1] M. Vic enters into greater detail when identifying a manuscript as that of Dufresny's *Dominos,* a play read to the actors of the Comédie Française in 1721. Finding "avant de se mettre en colère" in this manuscript, he asserted that this construction

> ne remplace guère *avant que de,* dans la langue littéraire, antérieurement à 1715 après 1720, l'expression est d'usage courant, mais aux yeux des puristes, elle passe encore pour une négligence ou un néologisme[2]

[1] In his note on Fénelon's changing "avant partir" to "avant que de partir" Cf. Cahen's edition of *Télémaque,* Paris, Hachette, 1920, II, 455 6

[2] *Revue du dix-huitième siècle,* IV (1917), 296

Examples I have collected will show to what extent this statement is correct.

The first of them comes from *les Intrigues de la Vieille Tour*, a play written by Duperche and published at Rouen by J.-B Besogne, probably in 1684.[3] The example occurs in scene 10

Il faut qu'il ait touché l'argent
Avant de l'attaquer

The next example is from a manuscript that also lacks a date, but was in all probability written about 1694, that of *le Docteur amoureux* "Auant d'estre à vostre seruice." (III, 4).[4] As, however, Duperche was an obscure actor and the author of *le Docteur amoureux* is not even known by name, the occurrence of these two examples in the seventeenth century does not contradict M. Vic's statement.

However, there was a great seventeenth-century writer who once used *avant de*· La Bruyère. In the paragraph devoted to absent-minded Ménalque that he added in 1691 to the section of his *Caractères* called "De l'homme" he wrote "avant de prendre congé de luy." The phrase is found first in the sixth edition and was not altered in those published subsequently by the author.[5] La Bruyère,

[3] Cf my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part IV, pp. 556, 559 J.-B Besogne is known to have published plays as early as 1678 and as late as 1711 The address he gives in *les Intrigues*, "rue Ecuyer, au Soleil Royal," is that of plays he published in 1682 and in 1691 The ornamental design shown on the title-page is the same as that of Sévigny's *Philipin sentinelle*, and the ornamental letter with which the text begins resembles closely the corresponding letter in the latter play These facts indicate that one play was published not long after the other For reasons given in my *op cit* I have put the first performance of *Philipin sentinelle* in 1682 or 1683, that of *les Intrigues* in 1683 As it is reasonable to suppose that both plays were published not long after they were first acted, the most probable date for *les Intrigues* is 1684

[4] Cf. my *Five French Farces*, Baltimore, 1937, p. 129 An anonymous play called *le Nonchalant* also contains an example of the construction. "Connoitre auant d'aimer, fut toujours ma maxime" (III, 3), but it is by no means sure that this is a seventeenth-century play or even one written before 1720.

[5] I have examined in the Library of Congress the sixth, seventh, and ninth editions, published respectively at Paris in 1691, at Lyons in 1693; at The Hague and Paris in 1696 The eighth edition, though listed in the catalogue, could not be found, but it is most improbable that it gives the phrase differently from the others.

who wanted to be "peuple," was in this case gratifying his ambition. His usage did not go unnoticed, for one of his critics remarked superciliously that "le Praticien se sert de cette conjonction *avant de* l'Ecrivain poli ajoûte un *que*," [6] implying that La Bruyère's legal training had led him to employ a barbarism.

Despite this slur, La Bruyère's example may have encouraged Regnard, who in writing his *Distrait* made use of the paragraph on Ménalque. By examining his comedies one can follow the progress of *avant de* In the *Joueur* (1696) I find "avant que savoir lire" (I, 10) and "avant que de parler" (III, 6), in the *Distrait* (1697) "avant que de penser" (IV, 6) and "avant d'accorder" (V, 3), in *le Retour imprévu* (1700) "avant que de partir" (sc. 4). But in the eighteenth century he not only adopted *avant de*, but he made of it his preferred form *Les Folies amoureuses* (1704) has "Avant de nous quitter" (I 5), *les Ménechmes* (1705), "avant de l'avoir vu" (III, 4) and "avant de partir" (IV, 3), *le Légataire universel* (1708), "avant de couronner ses feux" (I, 1), "avant de partir" (II, 2), and "avant de conclure" (V, 8), whereas it gives the longer construction only once "avant que de rien rendre" (V, 8).

La Grange-Chancel followed a similar pattern. In his *Adherbal*, published in 1699, he wrote (I, 5) "avant que de me voir" and in his *Athénais*, which left the press on Jan. 2, 1700, "Avant que de regner" (I, 1), but in the latter tragedy he also wrote (IV, 7) "avant de remplir cette place," and in *Amasis*, published late in 1701, he gave one example of *avant de* along with two of *avant que de*:

> Avant de l'immoler, je veux que son raport, (II, 4)
> Avant que de sortir mets le comble à ta rage (III, 2)
> Avant que d'exposer une tête si chere (V, 2)

His preference may have been determined by the number of syllables he had at his disposal in writing these verses, but Lesage was free in his prose to avoid *avant de* if he cared to do so. I have found in the first edition [7] of *le Diable boiteux* (1707) five examples

[6] Quoted from the anonymous *Sentimens critiques sur les Caractères* of 1701 by Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, IV, 2e partie (1924), 1018 9

[7] I have followed the text of La Renaissance du livre (Paris, Gillequin), which is said to have been "soigneusement collationné" on that of the first edition.

of *avant que de*[8] and two of *avant de*: "avant d'arriver en cet endroit" and "avant de commencer aucune affaire."[9] In 1726 the passage containing the first of these last two examples was omitted, while the second example was changed to "avant que je commence." As Lesage made similar alterations in regard to only two examples of *avant que de* out of five, he had apparently become more conservative as he grew older But he had already supported by two examples the usage sanctioned by La Bruyère, La Grange-Chancel, and Regnard Four authors of their standing were enough, I should think, to prevent *avant de* from being subsequently considered either a "négligence" or a "néologisme" Certainly its occurrence in a manuscript by Dufresny does not show that the document could not be earlier than 1720

I conclude that the modern expression may have been recorded as early as 1684, that it was certainly employed by a distinguished writer in 1691, and that it established itself in good usage as a variant of *avant que de* in the period 1700-1708.

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COMPLETION OF A TEXT OF RAIMBAUT D'AURENGA

When Carl Appel edited Raimbaut d'Aurenga's poem *Car vei qe clars chanz s'abriva*,[1] he omitted the seventh stanza, and gave only the MS. readings, saying that he could make no satisfactory sense of them I realize how presumptuous it is to try to glean after such a reaper; nevertheless, I think that a perfectly good reading can be obtained, and I offer my version here. These are the MS readings, as Appel gives them.[2]

[8] Chaps. IV (p 46), XII (p 113), XIV (p 141), XV (pp 168, 170)

[9] Chap. IX, pp 92, 94

[1] Bartsch 389, 23 (or 38), in *ZRPh*, XLIX, 484 ff.

[2] The version marked NN[2] was established by Constans from those two MSS in *Revue des langues romanes*, 19, 272; it is obviously unsatisfactory, and the few rejected variants do not help

	NN²	a
37	Que nom es clars ab que s pliva	Qe non es clars ab com pliva
	amix si gems e mentirs	amics ni ab genz mentirs
	no i es si que l'us adirs	si nō tem so camatirs
40	no i vegna avan q'om viva	leu deu venir anz quel viva
	qu'om non ama finamens	com non ama finamenz
	senes gran temensa gaia	ses granz alqes gaia

The best MS. is a, which I shall follow whenever possible, just as Appel does. I reconstruct the text thus.

Qe non es clars ab c'om pliva
amics, ni ab genz mentirs,
si non tem so c'am', adirs
leu deu venir anz qu'el viva,
c'om non ama finamenz
ses gran temens' alqes gaia

This would mean. "For a friend is not (made) glad with promises nor with gracious lies If he does not fear what he loves, hatred must needs come easily before he (really) lives, for one does not love truly without a great, but somewhat cheerful, fear"

It is not the text (substantially that of a), but this interpretation, that we must justify. The general sense fits perfectly, since Raimbaut has said in the preceding stanza that he does not know whether his lady is "hard or friendly" toward him, and that he fears her so much that a clarification of her attitude would be welcome. The individual details offer a few difficulties

37. *Ab que* can hardly mean "provided that," as it usually does. But I see no objection to taking the two *ab*'s as exactly parallel, one introducing a phrase (*ab genz mentirs*), the other a clause with subjunctive verb (*ab c'om pliva*), it is doubtless from this use of *ab* with a clause that the specialized meaning of *ab que* developed. A more accurate translation here would be "with one's promising," or "with the (mere) fact that one promises." The subjunctive, as in the usual *ab que* clause, is hypothetical. *Pliva* is the present subjunctive of *plevir*; Raynouart gives the variant *plivir*, with an example from Raimon de Castelnau: *ab cars vendre et ab pliven mentir*.

39-40. "If a lover takes his lady's love for granted, it may easily turn to hatred before he lives in the full sense of the word"—that is, before he succeeds in enjoying her favors This, I think, is not straining unduly the meaning of *deu*: it will necessarily be easy

for hatred to come And this pregnant meaning of "live" is common in all languages, living without his lady's love, or in suspense, is only half living.

42 The line is too short in a, and the meaning is clearly incomplete. One could simply adopt the reading of NN² *senes gran temensa gaia,* which satisfies both meter and sense, but I prefer to keep the reading of a and insert *temens'* from NN². The *alges* smooths the paradox of a "great cheerful fear", and although Raimbaut is quite capable of this sort of thing, there is no need to ascribe it to him on every occasion Besides, it would be easier for the scribe of a to omit the word *temens'* than to invent *alges* out of whole cloth.

Thus we have established a text and an interpretation that seem reasonably sound

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A COMPARISON OF SIMMS'S *RICHARD HURDIS* WITH ITS SOURCES

In the "Introduction" to *Richard Hurdis* (1838) Simms says that this story is a genuine chronicle of the border region where the scene is laid and that the events take place during the period which he assigns. He states that the action is founded on well known facts and that the personages are real living men, acting and suffering as he here reports. The author declares that he knew Stewart, the captor of Murrell, personally, and had several conferences with him before the publication of *Richard Hurdis.* He admits having elaborated and filled out some characters and scenes, however, as is within the province of the artist.

In fact, Simms informs the reader that the book is an account of the activities of the "Murrell gang," a famous band of outlaws who operated throughout Alabama and Mississippi during the early thirties. The Foster of the book is really John A. Murrell, the organizer and leader of the gang; and Richard Hurdis is actually Virgil Stewart, the man who tracked down and captured Murrell and broke up the band.

A comparison of *Richard Hurdis* with two contemporary accounts

of the "Murrell gang," which were probably Simms's sources,[1] reveals certain discrepancies According to *Richard Hurdis*, Murrell was an honest boy, without parents and friends, who continued to be honest until he reached manhood[2] If one may believe the "histories," however, Murrell's parents were living Murrell himself pays tribute to his father as an honest man He says that it was his mother, who, from the cradle up, taught him how to steal and who led him into a life of villainy by the time he had reached the early age of ten. He relates how he first stole goods from a peddler who lodged at their house.[3]

In *Richard Hurdis* Simms says that the first meeting between Hurdis (Stewart) and Foster (Murrell) occurred on a boat trip on the Tombigbee River, not far from the town of Columbus in western Georgia.[4] Simms represents that Hurdis had disguised himself as a gambler in order to track down the gang, whom he suspected of the murder of his friend, William Carrington During a stroll on shore one night, Foster took Hurdis into his confidence and revealed to him the organization and the activities of the "Mystic Confederacy" According to Walton's and Howard's accounts,[5] however, Stewart (Hurdis) first meets Murrell (Foster) in Madison County, Tennessee. The circumstances of their meeting and acquaintance are also different from those described by Simms. Stewart's friend, the Reverend John Henning, had had two negroes stolen. He suspected Murrell of the theft and commissioned Stewart to follow him and find out the truth Stewart overtook Murrell on the road, made his acquaintance, and adroitly drew him out, so that Murrell revealed himself as the organizer and leader of a vast criminal organization extending over the entire

[1] A Q Walton, *A History of the Detection, Conviction, Life, and Designs of John A Murrell, the Great Western Land Pirate* (Athens, Tenn, 1835), and H R Howard, *The History of Virgil A Stewart And His Adventures in Capturing And Exposing the Great Western Land Pirate* (New York, 1836). W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston, 1892), p 116, refers briefly to the factual basis of *Richard Hurdis* and mentions the author's conversations with Stewart and his reliance on "Stewart's own narrative of his experiences" — the volume by Walton But the statement that Simms "stuck closely to his authorities" indicates that Trent made no effort to compare the novel with its sources.

[2] *Richard Hurdis* (New York, n d), pp. 312-314

[3] Walton, *op cit*, p 30

[4] *Richard Hurdis*, pp. 300-301

[5] Walton, *op cit*, pp 8-15, and Howard, *op cit*, pp. 12-35

Southwest By artful questions and a perfect dissimulation Stewart pretended to be in sympathy with Murrell's guarded admission of his criminal accomplishments. When Murrell perceived this, he related the entire history of his life, pouring into the ears of the startled and now thoroughly alarmed Stewart the history of an astounding and revolting series of crimes.

It is only in a very general way that Simms follows the available contemporary source material. He is fairly accurate when he is telling of the nature of the organization, of its size, of its extent, and of the kinds of crimes which it practiced. But when it comes to specific details, such as the meeting places of the clan, he does not follow the supposedly factual accounts. The Sipsy Swamp between Columbus and Tuscaloosa, described so vividly by Simms as a meeting place of the clan,[6] is not even mentioned by either of the books he probably used as sources. Indeed, most of the specific events used by Simms, such as the long pursuit of the traitor Eberley by members of the clan,[7] or the final battle in which the Brotherhood is attacked and dispersed by officers of the law[8] and Murrell escapes by floating off on a bale of cotton down the Mississippi River, seem to be entirely products of Simms's creative imagination.

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HAWTHORNE'S NOTE TO "DR. HEIDEGGER'S EXPERIMENT"

Apparently no one has ever been curious enough about Hawthorne's note to "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" to investigate the facts regarding the charge and counter charge of plagiarism mentioned in it. The note runs as follows:

NOTE In an English review not long since, I have been accused of plagiarising the idea of this story from a chapter in one of the novels of Alexandre Dumas There has undoubtedly been a plagiarism on one side or the other; but as my story was written a good deal more than twenty years ago, and as the novel is of considerably more recent date, I take pleasure in thinking that M Dumas has done me the honor to appropriate one of the fanciful conceptions of my earlier days. He is heartily welcome to it; nor

[6] *Richard Hurdis*, pp 320 321, 328-329.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 328-376. [8] *Ibid*, pp 395-403

is it the only instance, by many, in which the great French romancer has exercised the privilege of commanding genius by confiscating the intellectual property of less famous people to his own use and behoof. *September*, 1860[1]

Briefly the facts are these. "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" was published as "The Fountain of Youth" in the *Knickerbocker* for January, 1837, whereas the novel mentioned in the review[2]—*Mémoires d un Médecin*—was published as a serial from 1846 to 1848 inclusive, or from nine to eleven years after the short story. Both the story and a chapter in the novel treat of an elixir to restore youth to the aged, but beyond the general theme, which itself dates from classical mythology, no striking similarity exists. Of Hawthorne's main thesis that man, if restored to youth, would commit the same follies over again, there is not the slightest hint in the Dumas episode.

The inconsequent reference to Hawthorne and Dumas by the English reviewer could only by some stretch of the imagination be labelled a charge He had written:

> In "Dr Heidegger's Experiment" (which we fancy may have been suggested by a scene in Dumas' *Memoires d'un Medecin*), we are taught that, if we could renew our youth by some Medean draft, we should, unless altered in other respects, commit the same follies as we have now to look back to[3]

That Hawthorne did not rest his defense merely in exposing the patent absurdity of this suggestion of influence and that he appears not to have read the French novel before levelling his counter charge demonstrate once again that even the great are human and fallible.[4]

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[1] *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 22 vols (Old Manse Edition, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900), I, 323 Although written in 1860, the note, so far as I can discover, first appeared in print in *Twice-Told Tales*, Ticknor & Fields (Blue and Gold Edition), Boston, 1864, this being the first new edition after the writing of the note.

[2] "Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Universal Review*, III (June, 1860), 742-771 Reprinted in *Littel's Living Age*, LX (June 23, 1860), 707-723 The reprint only was consulted, as the *Universal Review* (not listed in the *Union List of Serials*) was not available

[3] *Littel's Living Age*, LX (June 23, 1860), 711

[4] Moncure D Conway in his *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Walter Scott, London, undated, page 68, was undoubtedly accepting Hawthorne's charge at its face value when he wrote that "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" had been "partly appropriated by Dumas."

AN EARLY SCHILLER LETTER

The following letter, which recently came into my possession,[1] was printed by Jonas (I, no. 105) from a copy so inaccurate, that it is advisable to reprint the entire letter here

S T.

Eben erhalte ich von H von Dalberg folgenden Einschluß an Sie, und weil ich jezt gerade zur Unzeit zum Mittagessen wohin engagiert bin, und nicht gleich selbst zu Ihnen kommen kann, so [2]

Der Inhalt des Briefs wird eine Bitte des Barons seyn, ein Mscrpt von mir zurukzuschiken, das durch seine Uebereilung unter andre Papiere kam Sie werden, wenn Sie es gelesen haben, finden, daß *Sie* Selbst es zwar ohne Anstand lesen, aber nicht mittheilen durften Dalbergs und *meine* Ideen, die wir kurzlich der T Gesellschaft vortrugen oder vortragen ließen, sind sehr unter unserm Wunsch aufgenommen worden, und mit Mißvergnugen habe ich von Seiten einiger Mitglieder die Bemerkung gemacht, daß alle Institute zur Beforderung der Schonen Litteratur und Kunst wenig Eingang bei Mannern finden, die es unter der Wurde eines Mannes halten, sich laut fur etwas in diesem Fach zu erklaren Diese Empfindungen [3] konnte ich wol einem Freunde der Litteratur gestehen, aber es ist naturlich, daß die Art wie ich sie vortrage, fur diejenige die sich allenfalls getroffen glauben konnten, zu ekigt ist Sie werden also die Gute haben, und das Manuscript entweder mir selbst, oder Dalbergen durch Rennschub zurukgeben [4] Meine Idee zu einem Journal der Gesellschaft wird nie nach meinem Wunsch in Erfullung gehn, Ich wolte einen grosen Schritt zur Beforderung des Theaters thun, und behalte mir vor, Sie bei einem Plan zu einer Mannheimer Dramaturgie als Freund und *quasi* Verleger um das Nahere zu fragen Wenn ich allenfalls heute nicht in die T Gesellschaft kommen konnte, so treffe ich Sie doch Morgen, und Wann?

Frid Schiller

The letter is written on one side of a thin sheet of paper 9 inches broad and 7½ inches high, showing a crown as the top half of the

[1] See M Breslauer, London, Cat. 52, No 425 (1939), who misread the superscription *S T* (= *Salvo Titulo*) as *L S*, and assumed that the letter was addressed "to his publisher Schwan" The letter had been offered previously in Liepmannssohn's Auction Catalogue of March 8, 1886, No 812, where likewise the addressee is assumed to be Schwan See Fritz Jonas, *Schillers Briefe* I, p 488

[2] There is no punctuation here

[3] The last syllable is indicated by a long, curved stroke.

[4] Originally *zurukzugeben*.

watermark. On the verso, in the upper right corner, is the notation in a different, heavy hand: *Mannheim H Schiller den 9ten Juny 84.*

That the addressee is Anton von Klein appears from Schiller's letter of June 4, 1784, in which he suggests to Heribert von Dalberg to write "noch heute Abend an H. *Klein*, unter welchem Vorwand als Sie fur wichtig genug halten, daß er alle ihm zugeschikten Papiere auf der Stelle durch H. Rennschüb an Sie verabfolgen lassen soll." (Jonas, I, No. 104.) Again, on June 7 (Jonas, I, No 106) Schiller advises von Dalberg. "Der bedenkliche Umstand mit meinem Mscrpt . . . ich hab es wieder in Handen, und Klein dachte auch nicht mit einem Gedanken daran, daß ein Misbrauch gemacht werden konnte." These two letters also serve to fix the date of our letter as June 5, 1784.

W. KURRELMEYER

REVIEWS

The Tragic Muse of John Ford. By G. F. SENSABAUGH. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1944. Pp. xii + 190.

In this interesting book Professor Sensabaugh describes what he believes to be the intellectual structure of John Ford's tragedies. His theses are two The first is that Ford adopted from his study of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* the essential doctrines of scientific determinism. For Burton, so the author maintains, by establishing the physical causes of conduct, particularly of passion, makes vice and virtue physical, not moral phenomena. It is because Ford adopted this attitude toward the struggles of his characters that many critics from Lamb to Havelock Ellis have looked upon this dramatist as a prophet of modern modes of thought. Professor Sensabaugh states his conclusion on this point in the following provocative fashion:

> What Freud seems to have done for Eugene O'Neill Burton accomplished for John Ford, for both playwrights insist that character is determined by forces beyond human control In this insistence upon the physical basis of character, Ford removes human activity from the realm of ethical choice, and, anticipating the exponents of modern thought, looks at life with amoral eyes

If Ford was a convert to the doctrines of scientific determinism, it is difficult to believe that his conversion was due to his reading of the *Anatomy of Melancholy.* Burton wrote as a physician, pre-

scribing medicine for diseases of the mind. "Why not," he exclaims, "a melancholy divine . . profess physick" And he makes his elaborate analysis of "heroical love" in order to suggest remedies for the disease. He never suggests that a victim of that combination of humors which produces headlong passion is beyond the reach of will and moral imperative On the contrary his work is full of such statements as this:

> Many are of opinion that in this blind, headstrong passion counsel can do no good . . But without question good counsel and advice must needs be of great force, especially if it shall proceed from a wise, fatherly, reverend discreet person

If Ford saw in Burton a scientific determinist, he misread him.

Professor Sensabaugh's second thesis is that Ford espoused the cause of unbridled individualism, particularly as it asserted itself in love. In this way he "associated himself with the spirit of his day." The source of these emancipated notions of love was Queen Henrietta Maria. For she enthusiastically espoused the ideals of Platonic love and influenced her courtiers to adopt the practices of the cult. In the Queen's mind and that of some of her coterie, the doctrines retained their pristine purity To them love was an exalted state of soul and contemptuous of physical desire To give this sort of love precedence over all other human obligations was mere sentimental extravagance. But many English courtiers, though privately amused at these high-falutin notions, found it convenient to exploit them in the interest of their frank sensuality.

Ford, according to Professor Sensabaugh, is of this second company in that he applies the ethics of court Platonism to sexual love But he does so not as did the Restoration wits with leering self-satisfaction, but in serious advocacy of a morality higher than convention or law. In other words Ford sympathized with the extravagant desires of his lovers and so "belittled marital ties and argued convincingly for individual rights" in amorous experience

The truth of parts of this theory Professor Sensabaugh has unquestionably established Ford's lovers when swayed by uncontrolled passion do exhibit just those symptoms which Burton describes as signs of "heroical love." Bassanes the jealous husband in *The Broken Heart* is a pathological case described with obvious reference to Burton. Moreover the lovers do adopt most of the doctrines of platonic love. They act on the belief that beauty and love are more authentic guides to virtuous conduct than convention or law. But it is quite another thing to insist, as does Sensabaugh, that Ford adopted the moral attitude of the most extreme of his lovers, that he too believed that nothing dictated by love could be sin. As a writer of love-tragedies, he had of course to win some sympathy for the lovers, but he invariably shows that in their unsuccessful struggles with custom and morality, they meet inevitable disaster.

It is surely fair to examine Professor Sensabaugh's views where he makes his strongest case — in his analysis of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*. He writes of this play,

> Lavishing all his sympathy and some of his best poetry upon these characters [Giovanni and Annabella], Ford seems to suggest that they are right and his more conventional people . . . are wrong

And he goes on to insist that in this play Ford portrays the inevitable defeat of conventional ethics in its conflict with immutable physical forces This seems to me an anachronistic point of view. It is extremely doubtful if any contemporary of John Ford could have passed such a judgment on this tragedy. For the dramatic treatment of both Annabella and Giovanni falls into tragic moulds conventional at the time. Annabella, like the protagonists of homiletic plays, is thrown into despair by the consciousness of her sin. She weeps and wrings her hands at her confession to the Friar and asks him in deep agony, "Is there no way to redeem my miseries?" And at the beginning of the fifth act he makes a conventional gallow's speech of repentance and warning to future generations to avoid her sin and her fate. "O, Time," she cries

> . . bear to ages that are yet unborn,
> A wretched, woeful woman's tragedy.

Giovanni is fitted neatly into a different but no less conventional tragic formula. A Jacobean dramatist had no surer and more expeditious way of stamping a character as a villain than to brand him an "atheist," a kind of synonym for Machiavellian. And Ford in the very first scene of *'Tis Pity* presents Giovanni as an atheist, a free-thinker in both religion and morality. Ford's audience would expect a man thus ticketed to follow a course of crime to the abyss of disaster and death. It would know that the Friar's warning to Giovanni that "death waits on thy lust" was forecasting the course of the dramatic action. Giovanni does justify his incestuous love for his sister by appealing to a mixture of the principles of préciosité and the imperatives of heroical love. He cries

> 'Tis my destiny
> That you must either love or I must die

and "Love me or kill me, sister." And he is sure that the depth of their love will take away all soil from their conduct. But since Ford had carefully stigmatized him as a villain, Giovanni in perverting these principles of Platonic love for his own devices would seem to his audiences a devil's advocate. In like fashion the manifestations of his wild passion taken from Burton's *Anatomy* they would accept as symptoms of amorous hybris very like that of the doting Mark Antony and as clear a foreboding of his fall.

Ford's other plays are even less endorsements of the doctrines of scientific determinism and individualistic morality. *The Broken Heart* which dramatizes the pathetic situation of Lady Penelope Rich and Sir Philip Sidney is a tragic tale of a girl faithful to the sanctity of trothplight. Penthea's infidelity to her vows through forced submission to the embraces of a fool and a brute was an insult to her finer instincts that any sensitive girl might feel Her suicide for love is only a conventional extravagance of romance To see in her situation, as does Professor Sensabaugh, Ford's approval of her abandonment of morals to follow science is to look at the play with eyes asquint And to say that "in both nature and function *The Broken Heart* matches Ibsen's *Ghosts* or Eugene O'Neill's *Strange Interlude*," is to pull completely out of shape familiar seventeenth-century dramatic patterns.

In other words Professor Sensabaugh has been overenthusiastic in estimating the importance of influences exerted by Burton's analyses of passion and of the formulae of court Platonism upon John Ford's tragedies. He has satisfied every unbiassed reader that Ford drew upon both sources to give substance to his plays and that much of their intensity can be traced to the conflict of these systems of ideas with traditional morality But the critic has, in my opinion, failed to prove that these importations induced Ford to attack custom and morality because they bar man from realizing celestial love, which is the only true custodian of his health and sanity.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

Columbia University

Shakespeare & Jonson, their reputations in the seventeenth century compared. By GERALD EADES BENTLEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945 Vol. I (discussion), pp. 149, $2.50 Vol. II (allusions), pp 307, $6.00 Both vols., $7.50.

Professor Bentley has discovered in seventeenth century books and manuscripts 59 allusions to Shakespeare and 1,079 allusions to Jonson not listed by earlier compilers. One can feel only admiration and gratitude for the wide reading, the alertness, and the faithful recording that have provided us with these new materials. They have been presented with scrupulous care in a well-planned and pleasing volume.

This reviewer's enthusiasm does not extend to the supplementary work to which, in the nature of the case, he must devote his discussion. In a separate volume, Professor Bentley weighs the significance of the Shakespeare-Jonson allusion material and comes

to what he considers new and surprising conclusions. Ambiguity of language makes it difficult for us to determine what these conclusions are, and forces us to choose between alternatives if the author means one thing, his conclusions are not new, if he means another, his conclusions are new but almost certainly mistaken. The terms "literary reputation" and "popularity" are not synonymous, and in demonstrating that Jonson had the greater "literary reputation" in the seventeenth century, where demonstration was scarcely needful, Professor Bentley has not, as he seems to believe, proved that Jonson had the greater "popularity." All would be well if the author had persisted in the use of the saving phrase "among writers," but this he fails to do—most disastrously in his concluding chapter Failure to define terms and a curious inflexibility of mind in the presence of statistics account for the disparity in merit between the author's fresh facts and his fresh opinions

Our uneasiness begins as soon as Professor Bentley defines an allusion and eliminates all that do not fit his definition. He exercises his shears impartially on the Shakespeare and Jonson lists, but the process in practice bears down more heavily on the former. A law demanding amputation of all height in excess of six feet would work greater hardships, however impartially administered, on those who are six feet one than on those who are five feet eleven Who is to define ideal height? and who is to define an allusion? Professor Bentley's decision that publication records are not valid allusions eliminates 293 items from the Shakespeare list and only 53 from the Jonson. But if our object is to measure the "popularity" of the two men, the publication records seem so relevant that either we should revise our definition of an allusion or abandon allusions as a gauge

Having pared the "valid" allusions to 1430 for Shakespeare and 1839 for Jonson, Professor Bentley sets the two to running their race, pointing out that Jonson wins numerically both in the century as a whole and in nearly every decade. It is when the allusions are classified in twenty different categories that we perceive that the contestants are not running the same course There is more allusion to Shakespeare's characters and acting rôles and more spontaneous quotation from his works, more allusion to Jonson as a great writer and public figure and more mention of his titles There are 178 complete poems about Jonson and only 54 about Shakespeare But do these figures reveal so much about "popularity" or even "literary reputation" as about the peculiar customs relating to commendatory verse? On the reviewers's desk is a copy of William Cartwright's *Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems,* 1651. In contains 56 complete poems in praise of this little author some of prodigious length and one even asserting that in Cartwright "Ben Jonson held Shakespeare's quill." What can be the significance of figures that make Shakespeare run second, in this

category, not only to Jonson but even to William Cartwright? Can we ignore as a matter dealing with publication and not allusion that, in spite of the 56 poems, the single edition of Cartwright's works proved to be sufficient?

There are 89 allusions to *Catiline* and only 52 to *Henry IV*, 1 and 2, and *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Was *Catiline* more popular, then, than Shakespeare's three plays combined? If so, why are there 131 allusions to Falstaff the character and only 7 to Catiline the character? Which is the better gauge of the power of penetration of Dickens's little story—the number of printed references to its title or the fact that "old Scrooge" has become proverbial? In discussing Pepys's Diary, Professor Bentley points out that Jonson is praised, Shakespeare disparaged, but it seems more significant that Shakespeare performances are mentioned 37 times, Jonson performances only 22. If most playgoers preferred Jonson to Shakespeare, the theatre managers were singularly obtuse. Incidentally if all playgoers had kept diaries and mentioned performances of Shakespeare and Jonson in the ratio of 37 to 22 what would have happened to Professor Bentley's statistics and their tiny majorities? We cannot say an allusion is an allusion, and give each the value of *one*. An allusion to a performance implies many spectators, whereas a commendatory poem leaves the number of readers in doubt.

Without accepting either alone as a gauge of absolute worth, we need only look about to recognize that "popularity" and "literary reputation" are cousins of varying removes, and are sometimes even wholely unrelated. My literary friends tell me without hesitation that Yeats is a greater poet than Kipling; yet it is Kipling whom they are able to quote. What a tremendous tome a T. S. Eliot allusion book would be! Could we guess from their nineteenth century literary reputations that Scott's verse was more widely read than Wordsworth's? or that, even in England, Longfellow's was more widely read than Tennyson's or Browning's? What of novelists like Proust and Joyce? Everyone who reads them "alludes" to the fact, and those who read them extensively feel that they have earned the right to record the experience in print. There are authors whom it is now "correct" to admire just as in the seventeenth century for different, but similarly exclusive, reasons it was "correct" to admire Jonson. For a university man to prefer him was a matter of elementary loyalty.

Jonson as a truly great writer had some measure of popularity as well as literary reputation, and Shakespeare some measure of literary reputation as well as popularity, but the distinction between them is clear enough in the main. As an entertainer of the court, as a colorful personality, as a center of a literary circle, as a creator of critical issues, and a citizen by naturalization of Academic-land, Jonson naturally called forth a greater volume of testimony from bookish people than did Shakespeare, who, primarily, was only a

writer whom people liked. Although he has not made the issue clear, and seems insufficiently aware of its importance, Professor Bentley's work even in the less admirable volume, performs a service. He himself has provided the tabulations with which we combat him His clear and systematic arrangement of his material leaves us free to interpret it as we please If he were not so reliable a scholar, his facts might have created a false impression—a much more serious matter than his expression of opinions with which we respectfully disagree.

ALFRED HARBAGE

University of Pennsylvania

Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies. By GEORGE GORDON. Oxford University Press, 1944 Pp vii + 158. $2.50.

The friends of the late president of Magdalen College, Oxford, have piously issued a selection (made by Sir Edmund Chambers) from his writings on Shakespeare The book, consisting of a dozen essays, contains some matter already in print Gordon's well-known S. P E tract on Shakespeare s English, a revised version of the introduction to his edition of *The Tempest* (1912), considerable portions of his introduction to *Twelfth Night* (1915), now recast as a lecture on "The World of the Comedies" The remainder is made up of extracts from lectures, some of them quite short and obviously never intended to stand alone[1] The "other studies" include lectures on "*Othello*, or the Tragedy of the Handkerchief" and "A Note on the World of *King Lear*."

Gordon approaches his principal subject through a lecture which cogently restates the case against Meredith's and Bergson's view of comedy. He comes to grips with it in "Shakespeare's Answer" and "The World of the Comedies ' and adds footnotes to it in "The Dislike of Comedy," "Shakespeare's Women" and "Shakespeare's Clowns." "Shakespeare's Answer" is the most substantial discussion of the subject It states persuasively the claims of romance. Shakespearean comedy is an "incomparable rainbow mixture of Old England and Utopia" "The World is made of Life and Hope: the Shakespearian Comedy is a portrait of the World" Shakespeare makes the world safe for women; the romance of the comedies may have been his escape from the blood and battle of the concurrent histories. His subject is love in idleness; "most of these plays begin with some artificial seclusion or segregation from the world," but

[1] One cannot help wondering whether it might not have been better to print one lecture intact instead of the less distinguished of these snippets, which have little but wit to recommend them Or whether Gordon's forthright and judicious introduction to *Hamlet* (1912) does not better deserve the wider acquaintance which reprinting would gain for it

"Life always comes in and claims its due." The comedies wage "a holy war, conducted without malice or bloodshed on Egotism, Sentimentalism, Pedantry, and Self-importance"

There is no quarrel with these excellent sentiments, nor indeed with anything in the whole book One's feeling of disappointment on closing it is due to what one doesn't find there. Writing on one of the most challenging subjects in Shakespeare, Gordon is content with a mere oc'ry of success. To be sure, it is idle to censure him, most of all when he himself is not responsible for the appearance of his lectures in print. He does not address critics and scholars, but Laodiceans in the enjoyment of Shakespeare, and he knows how to kindle their interest No doubt, too, the exigencies of the lecture excuse his desultoriness, his discursiveness, his appeals *ad hominem*, his refusing the high jumps. Yet the inveterate humorist and steady observer of these lectures often seems happily qualified to take all of Shakespeare's comedy to be his province and to survey it with the most sensitive instruments He chose not to do so, was perhaps debarred from doing so. So be it. The book is welcome as it is Its virtues are a lively sympathy with its subject, lucidity, and wit The tone is warm, the style incisive, the humor pervasive. Of its kind there is nothing better.

M. A. SHAABER

University of Pennsylvania

Machiavelli's THE PRINCE, *An Elizabethan Translation.* Edited with an introduction and notes from a manuscript in the collection of Mr Jules Furthman, by HARDIN CRAIG The University of North Carolina Press, 1944 Pp. xlii + 177. $3.50.

It is well known that the name of Machiavelli in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England meant two different things. To some—Spenser, Sidney, Ralegh, Bacon and, later, Milton—he was a political theorist of importance. These men presumably read the original. The other suggestion of Machiavelli's name—associated with Old Nick and exemplified by *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*—is commonly supposed to be derived from Gentillet's *Anti-Machiavel* through Paterick's rendering into English, other continental attacks on Machiavelli seem not to have been translated.

Until recently it has been believed that a man confined to the English language had, before Dacres' translation of *The Prince* in 1640, no means of knowing what that little book really said. But in the past few years various manuscript copies of translations have been found. One of these, with abundant references to the others, is printed in the attractive volume now under review.

What sort of Englishman wished a translation of *The Prince*?

There must have been much demand for an English version, since a number of manuscripts have come to light. Many others must have been current, in fact the one now printed is shown by internal evidence to be a copy, as Mr Craig says One devoted English student of Machiavelli who relied on translations is known to us, namely Francis Quarles. His *Observations concerning Princes and States and upon Peace and Warre* (1642) and the first century of his *Enchyridion* (1641), from which the later work is partly taken, are to a great extent from Machiavelli A hasty survey indicates that about one-fifth of the sections of the first century are taken from *The Prince*; other sections are from the *Discourses on Livy* or the *Art of War*. Mr Haight is right in saying that Quarles seems to have used Dacres' translation (*RES*, 12 (1936), 154) though with freedom. I find no indication that the manuscript translation was known to him. But if a man of Quarles' education was waiting for Dacres, there must have been many Englishmen glad to read an English *Prince* in manuscript

The manuscript presented by Mr Craig is, as may be inferred from the printed version, not without copyist's mistakes For example, *alwayes* (p. 11) is his error for the two words *al wayes* (*tutte le porte*), *continewe a wholle seege together* (46) means *continue the siege a whole year, of the crueltie* (46) seems to lack *of the enemy*; *thereby doth he learne to fynde oute his cooninge* (64) suggests alternatives (*learne . fynde owte*) of which one should have been crossed out by the translator The translation is so free that the boundary between freedom and error is hard to set, in the reference to *Duke Lewes* (p. 6) the rendering is not that of the modern Italian text, the translator says that the errors of the King *coulde never have hurte him* (*possevano non lo offendere*—p. 13), *to overcom* (59) should be *to be overcome*, it is said that the Spanish and Germans at Ravenna were *both usinge the same order of fyghte as the Swisers* (p 119), whereas the point of the passage is that the Spanish used a different method, and there are many misleading renderings

Deliberate is the use of figures that changes the tone of the work, I have recorded nineteen metaphors not in the Italian and presumably there are others In other respects the translator has given Machiavelli his own style, as when he reminds us of Euphues by writing *sett a fayre varnishe on his fowle vyce* (76), incidentally the *fowle vyce* is not in the original, similarly Euphuistic is *rather take pleasure to passe their tymes delicately, then paynes to practise armes diligentlie* (63); many others could be cited Another frequent trick of style is the use of two English words for one in the original, as *oppresse and overburthen* (70). Such bedizening of the Italian original is found also in Fairfax's rendering of the *Jerusalem Delivered*.

While many of the changes expand the text, there are some omissions, as at the end of chapter 19 The account of the death of "Remerus Orcus" (30) is abbreviated to the loss of its quality.

From the reproduction on the dust jacket of Alciati's emblematic picture of Chiron educating Achilles—an illustration of chapter 18—to the last note on the manuscript, the work of Mr Craig and of the Chapel Hill Press deserves praise

ALLAN H GILBERT

Duke University

Edward Bellamy By ARTHUR E MORGAN New York. The Columbia University Press, 1944 Pp. xvii + 468. $5 00

Prior to the appearance of this volume, less perhaps was known about Edward Bellamy than about any other American writer of comparable stature Curiosity about Bellamy was abundant, to be sure; and scholars were aware of the existence of manuscript materials which might possibly satisfy it These unpublished materials, made available to Dr Morgan and his assistants by the Bellamy family, have not only been employed in this biography, but have been made accessible to other students "Both the original manuscripts and typed copies are in the Harvard College Library Only typed copies are in the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, and the Antioch College Library." (p 421)

In the first half of the biography, especially, Dr. Morgan has in large part followed the excellent plan of allowing Bellamy to reveal himself in his own words—in passages quoted from his unpublished manuscripts These quotations, in their immense range and significance, demonstrate what attentive readers of *Looking Backward* have long believed—that Bellamy had the intensity, originality, scope, and fineness of quality of a major creative artist. He had, too, the genius's knack of dealing with fundamental rather than with merely superficial questions He lacked only energy. Of particular interest are certain quotations indicating a knowledge of Darwin and Taine, and others showing that Bellamy's interest in economic justice was of much more gradual development than has usually been supposed.

In addition to presenting the manysidedness of Bellamy, the biography opens other significant new ground, as, for instance, in its study of the little-known relationship between theosophy and the popularity of nationalism. And it is serviceable also in its renewal of emphasis on things already known, such as the strongly nativist strain in Bellamy's socialism. Few biographies, in short, have added more substantially to the sum of knowledge about their subjects.

Yet the net effect of Dr Morgan's study is less satisfactory than the preceding sentence might suggest. The treatment of Bellamy's literary artistry is inadequate, that of his philosophy has appar-

ently suffered from the author's decision to publish Bellamy's philosophical writings in another volume. Other limitations of the book arise out of the fact that Dr Morgan's special qualifications—those of the engineer and executive—are not such as to equip him fully for the task of historical investigation, and he has not always overcome the handicap of his amateur status He has only the spottiest acquaintance with the considerable body of scholarly work recently done in the social criticism of the Gilded Age, and he appears to have misunderstood badly portions of one of the best of these studies, Robert L. Shurter's unpublished thesis, *The Utopian Novel in America*, 1865-1900. Dr. Shurter had made substantial beginnings in the study of the relation of *Looking Backward* to certain sources, particularly John Macnie's *The Diothas* and Laurence Gronlund's Marxian treatise, *The Cooperative Commonwealth*. Dr Morgan, instead of following up these beginnings, has treated them merely as charges of plagiarism, has attempted to refute the case for Bellamy's indebtedness to Macnie, and has all but ignored Shurter's impressive list of verbal parallels between *Looking Backward* and *The Cooperative Commonwealth*. The charitable interpretation of this procedure is, of course, that, as an amateur in literary history, Dr. Morgan simply failed to see the bearing of Shurter's work (1) on the problem of the workings of creative talent, and possibly (2) on the interaction of native with foreign strains in the development of ideas in America Dr. Morgan's treatment of Bellamy's relation to Marxian socialism is, in consequence, inconclusive and potentially misleading.

Such limitations point the need for further study of Bellamy and particularly of the Bellamy manuscripts. Although a most valuable study of Bellamy has now been made, the definitive study is still to seek.

WALTER FULLER TAYLOR

Mississippi College

The Crooked Rib. By FRANCIS LEE UTLEY. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1944. Pp. 368. (The Ohio State University Contributions in Languages and Literature, No. 10.)

Taking his title from the *Scholehouse* (*c.* 1541) attributed to Edward Gosynhill, Professor F. L. Utley in *The Crooked Rib* indexes 403 separate (chiefly verse) satires and defenses of women in English and Scots literature through 1568. Some tributary material on people unhappily married, step-mothers, and women's head-dresses (see *Surrey Arch. Soc.*, 1891) also filters into this bibliographical collection compounded mainly from other well-known manuals (the author reserves for later publication new

transcriptions of Nos. 2, 7, 13, 105), though nothing is anywhere said about the provocative Amazons described by Maundeville, the Lady Meed (but see No. 235) satirized in *Piers Plowman*, or Gower's pointed reference to the domination of Alice Perrers over Edward III This study holds a wealth of detail, dispels false notions that the age was misogynous, and proves the least tedious to read of the many indexes for this period The last is not due to the inclusion of any remarkable number of fresh data but rather to the clear, accurate, close marshalling of evidence. *The Crooked Rib* is not the history that Brantôme's *Les Dames* most monumentally is; however, Professor Utley's book is a seasoned, impartial, and not uninteresting treatise on the early arguments concerning women. Although drama is largely excluded, the selections from prose and poetry amply testify that the Middle Ages and the Renaissance had almost the identical lame answers about women that in many quarters are entertained today.

In an *Introduction* of some 97 pages Professor Utley sketches the background of the arguments (1) the motive forces, (2) the genres, (3) the history of the satires and defenses Continental literature, excluded by language from the *Analytical Index*, is here discussed, and many great authorities are quoted. Since minor Spanish poets are mentioned, the omission of Juan Ruiz's *El Libro de Buen Amor* is not easily understood. And against women, why omit the persistent poison-maid motif in the *Gesta Romanorum*? This learned study, at pains to trace in the past something for and something against women demonstrates that these literary remains are mostly repetitious, conventional exercises. Yet the living description in *Paston Letters* of the treatment accorded young ladies should have been included Moreover, as for alluding to actual people as birds (*re* p. 42, see *Les deux perroquets* Bedier, p. 138), Wyclif reports a peer using a bird fable to describe his fellow-members at a parliament in 1371, and of course in the *Monk's Tale* Chaucer depicts the Count of Pisa's "litel children thre" as "briddes for to putte in swich a cage!" In different connections: first, recently there seems to be a tendency to overestimate the influence of courtly love in mediaeval England, and thus it arrestingly figures little in these selections; secondly, as for Constantine's wife, or for ladies preferring inferior men (pp. 238, 246) there is an analogue in *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, where an Oriental king's daughter refused for husband the God Indra only later to fall in love with a thief.

But these minutiae become irrelevant! The main point is that after some ten years of research Professor Utley has produced a firm contribution to the history of the affairs of women—a list as full as could be desired since the tide in women's affairs can lead, as Byron once said, "to God knows where."

HALDEEN BRADDY

University of Kansas

Endymion in England the literary history of a Greek myth. By Edward S Le Comte New York. King's Crown Press, 1944 Pp. xiv + 189. $2.25.

Among the pioneers in the study of classical mythology in English literature are Professors Charles G. Osgood, Robert K. Root, and their disciples of Princeton University They have studied the sources and uses of various myths in Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser and Ben Jonson. Dr. Le Comte, taking a different tack, in his study, traces the fortunes of a single myth in antiquity and then in English literature, from the reign of Elizabeth through that of Victoria. By this method the author shows specifically the varied rhetorical and pictorial patterns and themes associated with the Endymion myth in English literature for more than 300 years.

From Platonic love in Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* to prostitution in Swift's "The Progress of Beauty" and to other satiric and burlesque conceptions in the neo-classical period, and then upward again to Keats's use of Endimion as a symbol of aspiration, the theme ranges The last two chapters, concerned with the interpretations of the myth in the nineteenth century — with special attention to Keats — are probably the most interesting and significant For Arthur Hugh Clough, Endymion illustrates the longing of the finite for the infinite; for Letitia Landon, the redeeming power of love; for Mathew Arnold, the isolation and loneliness of the modern man; for Ernest Dowson, mutability; for Keats, "the moon-lover, voyaging up and down the Platonic ladder of love and truth and beauty, has turned out to be an effective symbol of aspiration." These are among the variant themes and individual interpretations in the nineteenth century.

Chapter One is an excellent survey of the Endymion myth in antiquity The author notes the allusions in Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Lucian, Aristotle, Cicero, and the scholiasts He is aware also of the reference books of the Renaissance through which ancient myth and legend were disseminated. Some of these—which made the classical versions of myths easily accessible to writers of the sixteenth century—the author might profitably have consulted Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium*, for example, has a compact account of Endymion with references to Pliny and Apollonius. The proverb "Endymionis somnum dormire," quoted by Stephanus, is expounded by Erasmus in the Adagia (II, 357D) with references to Aristotle and Cicero. Cartari, *Imagines Deorum* (1581), has a long account of Diana with space devoted to Endymion and with a most interesting illustrative woodcut. Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica* (1556, I, 62↑B), presents the sleep of Endymion as a symbol of the death of the pious man, Endymion as the soul, and Diana as the queen of heaven. From these books authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth century could have learned all that they needed to know about the Endymion myth.

The several illuminating references to Endymion in painting and sculpture make us wish that the author (beyond his declared aim) could have devoted more space to the myth in art, such as Guercino's painting of the Sleeping Endymion, Caracci's fresco of Diana embracing Endymion, Bartolozzi's engraving of Diana and Endymion, etc.

Though there are many references to the myth in foreign literatures, this is not a study in comparative literature. It exhibits however, tremendous industry in combing the English poets, great and small, for allusions and references, and in showing the persistence of the myth with its variant interpretations through three centuries of English literature It is thus a study, wide in range and rich in implications and suggestions for students of literary history.

D. T. STARNES

University of Texas

Ernest Dowson By MARK LONGAKER Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press 1944. Pp xii + 282. $4 00

This is a solid and thoroughly scholarly biography of the poet who perhaps best represented what the yellow 90's wished to be. Mr Longaker has taken pains, and, judging from his success, exercised great tact, to acquire all the information about Dowson that is still available For this we owe him a debt of gratitude, since the study of the 90's has hardly got beyond the stage of memoirs, "impressions," and that popular kind of social history which is more calculated to entertain than to inform or evaluate, solid books about the period are badly needed.

The evidence about Dowson is all here We can now judge with reasonable accuracy the extent to which he was a drug addict (not at all, absinthe was his narcotic when, toward the end, he took to such things), the effect on him of Missie's marriage (insignificant in itself; even in the long run the affair with Missie was rather a subsidiary than a central cause of his break-up), the extent to which he represented a new and melodramatic type of personality with what everyone from Hardy on down was describing as a "universal wish not to live" (very small; Bohemia, bad teeth, tuberculosis and a temperamental indecisiveness are more than enough to explain what happened).

Mr. Longaker has deliberately made no effort to place Dowson in his period or to deal with his poetry, except in the most elementary biographical way. This is a real limitation. Not to center a poet's biography in his poetry is not only to neglect the most important thing about him but to throw the biography itself out of focus, particularly when the poet lived in the 90's, when Wilde's doctrine that

life imitates art was something more than an epigram There are two obvious strains in Dowson's poetry, both inherited from the romantics. These are a sentimental attachment to innocence, particularly in melodramatic juxtaposition with luscious vice ("But when the feast is finished and the lamps expire, / Then falls thy shadow, Cynara! the night is thine"), and the sensuous pursuit of death ("Cease smiling, Dear" is a jigsaw puzzle of Keats' quotations on the subject). The Dowson who brought Marie around to Poland to spend evenings with Missie and Madame and could never really make up his mind to marry Missie is separated from the author of "Cynara" and the "Sonnets of a Little Girl" only by that fog of daydream rhetoric which had been rolling in all through the century, and there is no doubt that, if there intervened between the "days of wine and roses" and the "pass[ing of] the gate" a period of dirtiness and toothlessness and disease, Dowson was supported to the end by the conviction, so often expressed in his verse, that the disaster to which he contributed so much was in the nature of the well lived life

If the style in rhetoric has changed a good deal since the 90's, the style in feeling has not Not to see through the rhetoric to the poses which the 90's lived is to miss a good deal of what makes our poets and their poetry what they are today It is also to leave Dowson's poetry merely something politely called "lyric beauty," that is to say, rhetoric.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Wells College

Peter Markoe (1752?-1792) A Philadelphia Writer. By Sister MARY CHRYSOSTOM DIEBELS, S. S. N. D., Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1944 Pp. x + 116

Sister Mary's dissertation is not a biography of Peter Markoe, although she sketches in the known facts of his life. It is an objective and detailed examination of two plays, one epistolary prose satire, and twenty-five poems which Markoe published in the unsettled years of 1784 to 1790. Her purpose is two-fold: to determine Markoe's significance as author; and to ascertain to what extent his work represents the America of the late eighteenth century. The volume contains an Appendix in which she attempts to identify obscure allusions in Markoe's poem, "The Times," to which he left no key. There is also an extensive Bibliography.

Of the two plays, *The Reconciliation; or The Triumph of Nature A Comic Opera, in Two Acts* (1790) is an adaptation of a translation, now lost, of Salomon Gessner's *Ernst.* It is important only as an example of German literary influence and as one of the "earliest comic operas written in America by an American" (p

48), antedating the work of Dunlap. *The Patriot Chief A Tragedy* (1784) is a neo-classical tragedy on a political theme, with an undercurrent of American political propaganda of an anti-aristocratic nature. It is imitative, conventional, and readable.

The epistolary prose satire, *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States in America* (1787), resembles Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* It "seems to be the first example in American literature of a discussion of national affairs built upon a foundation of pure fiction." It lies "midway between Hopkinson's *Pretty Story* (1774) with its suggestion of fiction, and Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (1792-1815), the first political novel in America" (p 65). It demonstrates the superior merits of a society which can convert an unwilling Mohammedan to Christianity and democracy.

Both the tragedy and the prose make better reading today than the verse satire, the best known of which is "The Times" (1787-1788). This poem belittles many a political and social contemporary, only a few of whom it is now possible to identify with certainty. It expresses Markoe's opposition to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is of uneven power The best of its satire is "indignant rather than sympathetic, condemnatory rather than congenial, Juvenalian rather than Horatian" (p. 86).

This book is an avowed niche-filler and as such is admirable. There are typographical errors in the quoted passages which could have been avoided by the substitution of photostats as copy On page 102 the author of *The Shipwreck* should be William Falconer, instead of Thomas The text throughout is carefully documented.

LOUIE M. MINER

Brooklyn College

BRIEF MENTION

La Jeune Indienne, Comédie en un acte et en vers. Par CHAMFORT. Avec une introduction par GILBERT CHINARD. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945 Pp 80 $2 00. Chamfort's "bluette" of 1764 has historical interest in that it is the first French play to introduce a Quaker into its cast and to have its scene laid in one of the English colonies that became the United States. It is an example in miniature of a *drame bourgeois* that shows the author's interest in moralizing and in two of M. Chinard's specialties, the exotic and the primitive. The editor has connected it with the theme of Inkle and Yarico, reproducing in appendices the versions of Ligon, Steele, and Raynal He has made accessible in an attractive form a text that was not readily in reach,

despite the fact that a good many editions of it were published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

In publishing the text of 1764 M. C. explains that he kept the original punctuation and capitalization because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries capitals were used to lend dignity or emphasis, punctuation to indicate "des pauses et des nuances de diction." I have much sympathy with this point of view except when the punctuation is so extraordinary that to preserve it would mislead the reader, but I would retain capitals and punctuation to lend a savor of the past rather than as a guide to understanding an author, for the use of capitals was most inconsistent and may, as well as punctuation, be due to faulty printing What meaning, for instance, can be given to the fact that on p 45 *père* is written with a capital in "Précieux à mon Pere," but with a small letter in "de me rendre à mon pere"? And what "nuance de diction" lies in the facts that on p 70 a speech ends with a comma, on p. 72 with a colon? These last I should interpret as misprints, for eighteenth-century printers were no more accurate than they are today, when it is possible to publish "n'est connu" (p. 58) for "m'est connu"; "font" (p 64) for "sont", and "Que dit-elle?" (p. 70, line 4) for "Quiconque, en recevant des dons." Except to establish the fallibility of printing and of proof-correcting, such slips, are, however, of little importance when one takes into consideration the taste displayed in the presentation of the volume and the learning evidenced in the introduction.

H. Carrington Lancaster

A Romantic View of Poetry By Joseph Warren Beach Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1944. Pp. iv + 133. $2 00 These lectures propose the generalization that "poetry is the sovereign means of realizing the satisfaction we take in living," and then explore this view under several headings Concrete words realize the satisfaction of "sensory appeal on the level of primary physical experience" Epic and much lyric poetry is a process of "restatement, or recapitulation, of what has been satisfying in itself." The motivation for most poetry is "the need to realize or discharge emotions" Finally, "the divisions or contradictions of the mind" also "have their contribution to make to the satisfaction taken in poetic art"

All these very general propositions are in some sense undoubtedly true. They are among the commonplaces of criticism, however, and in some cases, seem only remotely pertinent to the poems quoted as examples. Moreover, the logic of Professor Beach's lectures is perplexing. It is not clear why just these few aspects of poetry should

have been chosen for investigation, or what the relevance is of the digressions on, for example, the theory of language, the conflicting schools of psychology, the "new humanism," or the problem of free will and determinism

Despite its formal arrangement, however, it is probably a mistake to judge this work primarily as critical theory. Taken as a frankly discursive appreciation of some nineteenth century poetry, the book is extremely readable On a number of individual poems Professor Beach's comments are both penetrating and witty. He gives a convincing exposition of the ethical pattern of the romantic morality play, "Prometheus Unbound" In particular, his analysis of "Don Juan" as "a perpetual counterpoint of romanticism and cynicism, of high and low," and of Keats' "Ode to Melancholy" as an almost Donne-like poem of wit and paradox may reshape for many of us the experience of reading these poems.

M H. Abrams

Harvard University

CORRESPONDENCE

Zu Oskar Seidlins "Das Etwas und das Nichts" Seidlins Interpretation der Fauststelle Vers 1335 fg (*Germanic Review*, XIX, 3, S 170 fg) wird am starksten gestutzt durch seine Beobachtung, daß Mephisto den Gedankengang Fausts, der sich eng an das Johannesevangelium anschließt, parodiert und der gottlichen Schopfungslehre Johannis eine parallele Satanologie gegenuberstellt

Es tritt aber außerdem noch ein andrer Parallelismus hinzu, der übrigens auch noch nie bemerkt zu sein scheint und dem Argument Seidlins weiteres Gewicht verleiht Wenn Faust namlich in der Bibelubersetzung *Logos* zuerst als *Wort*, dann als *Sinn* und *Kraft* und endlich als *Tat* verdeutscht, so durchschreitet seinerseits nun Mephisto dieselbe Stufenfolge in seiner Selbstdefinition Faust fragt ihn nach seinem Namen und Mephisto, statt darauf zu antworten, suggeriert ihm, da er doch das *Wort* so sehr verachte, die Frage nach seinem Wesen (= *Sinn*) Als Faust darauf eingeht, obwohl der Sinn aus dem Namen zu lesen sei (Verderber und Lugengeist) und diesen mit "wer bist du denn" dennoch verlangt, antwortet Mephisto sofort mit *Kraft* und *Tat* ("Ein Teil von jener *Kraft*, Die stets das Bose will und stets das Gute *schafft*"), womit denn die Gelegenheit gegeben ist, sich über Mephistos Taten im folgenden weiter zu unterhalten

Ernst Feise

Im Juni-Heft 1941 der *MLN* hat Walter A Reichart fur den sonderbaren Titel einer verschollenen Jugendarbeit Gerhart Hauptmanns aus dem Jahre 1888 (*Solange Gott nimmt, nehm' ich auch*) eine uberraschende Erklarung beigebracht Danach handelt es sich nicht etwa, wie man vermutet hatte, um ein soziales Thema, sondern um den trotzig-launigen Ausspruch eines Witwers, der sich nach dem Verlust mehrerer Frauen noch einmal verheiraten will Die Richtigkeit dieser Deutung hat Hauptmann selbst aus der Erinnerung bestatigt Wenn nun aber Reichart annimmt, dass Hauptmann die Anregung zu seiner kleinen Humoreske durch Theodor Fontanes einige Jahre vorher erschienene Novelle *Unterm Birnbaum* erhalten habe, worin der Ausspruch in ahnlicher Fassung ("Nimmt Gott, so nehm' ich wieder") einem alten, viermal verwitweten Hauptmann von Rohr zugeschrieben wird, so scheint mir das nicht zuzutreffen Die Geschichte ist namlich nicht etwa von Fontane erfunden, er selber tischt sie ja als eine bekannte Anekdote auf Dass es sich wirklich um eine solche handelt, geht daraus hervor, dass schon Jeremias Gotthelf einmal darauf anspielt. Im 13 Kapitel seines Romans *Zeitgeist und Berngeist* ist davon die Rede, dass der Hunghans, wenn seine Frau sterben sollte, gewiss bald eine andere nehmen werde, denn "solange Gott nehme, nehme er auch." (Bd 13 der Zuricher Gesamtausgabe, S 227) Der Wortlaut deckt sich hier also genau mit dem Hauptmannschen, und wenn man eine direkte "Quelle" fur diesen annehmen wollte, musste man sie bei Gotthelf suchen, wobei man noch darauf hinweisen könnte, dass sich Hauptmann zur Zeit der Abfassung der Humoreske in Zurich befand, und dass sich der angehende Naturalist wohl zu dem grossen Schweizer Realisten hingezogen fühlen mochte Dennoch mochte ich nicht behaupten, dass die Anregung von Gotthelf stammt; dazu ist die Erwahnung in *Zeitgeist und Berngeist* wohl zu flüchtig und beilaufig Auch Gotthelf scheint ja den Ausspruch schon als bekannt vorauszusetzen Ich mochte annehmen, dass es sich um eine in der Schweiz oder Deutschland umlaufende Anekdote handelt, die vielleicht ursprunglich einmal in irgend einem Volkskalender gestanden hat Ob der "Held" der Geschichte wirklich ein Hauptmann von Rohr war, wie Fontane angibt, ist wohl auch zweifelhaft Vermutlich hat Fontane den Namen nur erfunden, um der Geschichte mehr Relief zu geben, wobei er wohl an seine alte Freundin Mathilde von Rohr dachte, die eine passionierte Anekdotenerzahlerin war und ihm den Stoff zu manchen seiner Geschichten geliefert hat, z B zu *Schach von Wuthenow*

EDUARD BERENDT

Geneva

NECROLOGY

BERT JOHN VOS

BERT JOHN VOS died at his home in Tucson, Arizona, on March 28. Born at Katwyk aan Zee, The Netherlands, on October 27, 1867, he came to this country as a child, his family settling at Grand Rapids, Michigan He got his undergraduate training at the University of Michigan, where Calvin Thomas was his teacher. In 1888 he came to the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student, under Henry Wood in German, and Basil Gildersleeve in Greek After a further year at Leipzig, he took his Ph. D. in German at the Johns Hopkins in 1892. After teaching one year at the newly founded University of Chicago, he was called back to the Johns Hopkins in 1893 as Associate, and then Associate Professor of German. From 1908 to his retirement in 1937 he was Head of the German department of the University of Indiana. From 1913 to 1915 he was Co-Editor of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES From 1917-1918, and again from 1924 to 1925, he was President of the Association of Modern Language Teachers of the Central West and South, he was Chairman of the Western Section of the Modern Language Association 1917-20, and Vice-President of the Modern Language Association, 1926-27.

From his earliest years, Vos's interest was directed largely upon Old High German and Middle High German topics· his *Diction and Rime-Technic of Hartman von Aue* (1896) is still cited as an authority. He prepared a number of school editions of modern German authors, e g. Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmarchen*; Heine's *Harzreise* Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.* Also these editions he grounded on thorough research· before publishing the *Kinder- und Hausmarchen,* for example, he insisted upon comparing the exceedingly rare first edition, inaccessible in this country, which was generously loaned by the Royal Library of Munich. Vos's greatest success was his *Essentials of German* (1903) which saw numerous editions, with a sale of several hundred thousand copies

Vos had a keen eye for recognizing the abilities of his students and assistants, and was never jealous of their success. His old students, of whom the writer was one, always found in him an unselfish adviser and a devoted friend.

W. K.

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CHAUCER'S HOPELESS LOVE

In describing in the *Book of the Duchess* (759 ff.) John of Gaunt's early service of Love, before he began loving Blanche of Lancaster, Chaucer used all of a passage in Machaut on a maiden's similar experience except the statement that it lasted "set ans ou huit." He omitted Machaut's phrase of time in this context, Professor Roger Loomis has recently inferred,[1] because he had already used it in the proem, where he claims to have loved some lady hopelessly "this eight yeer" (37). "Any biographic construction based on the duration of the poet's love-sickness must therefore be abandoned," and with it goes "the one solid prop" for the view that his lady was Joan of Kent, who had married the Black Prince eight years before the *Book of the Duchess* was begun. Thus does "a man of gret auctoritee" prescribe Joan's withdrawal to the wings of the Chaucer scene, but so extremely "reluctantly" that an appeal for her recall seems almost to be on order.

It is possible that courtly lovers were expected to serve a kind of apprenticeship, a period of being in love only with Love.[2] There may even have been some "notion of eight years as a specific time for the service of love" in that sense, though this seems more likely for girls than for boys, since they were considered mature at twelve and fourteen respectively. For Gaunt, who is known to have chosen Blanche by the time he was eighteen, it would have

[1] *MLN*, LIX (1944), 178-80.

[2] If so, Prof. Loomis's note draws attention to a stage preliminary to the recognized four (see, e. g., M. V. Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, London, 1937, p. 157). Chaucer shows Gaunt at all five stages: first the prentice, then successively the mute, confessed, slightly encouraged and wholly accepted lover of Blanche.

meant becoming thrall to Love at the age of ten or less. That perhaps is why, in transferring to *his* apprenticeship Machaut's account of a maiden's, Chaucer changed "set ans ou huit" to the vaguer "many a yer" (775). We are at least not bound to postulate an earlier application of the French phrase to himself as the only conceivable motive for his altering it here. In any case Chaucer's own love was the very different matter of love for "oon," which was supposed to last till he or she died. The "eight yeer" of the poet's love-sickness ought therefore to be simply his own unaided reckoning of its duration up to date and his later allusions to it further support this reading as after all the right one. An additional difficulty about the inference that "eight yeer" is a displaced loan from Machaut is its dependence on an assumption which there is some reason to question, namely, that lines 35-42 of the *Book of the Duchess* were certainly written before lines 759 ff

The poem is agreed to have been begun soon after Blanche's death in September 1369. Nine months later, a period which would allow ample time for the completion of a first draft, John of Gaunt went to Aquitaine to take over the king's lieutenancy from the Black Prince [3] With the Duke went his household, now presided over by Lady Katherine Swinford, and already including, it is thought likely, her sister Philippa, Chaucer's wife.[4] On 20 June 1370, ten days or more before Gaunt sailed, Chaucer himself received a passport and licence to be abroad till 29 September.[5] Since the coincidence of his journey with his patron's has escaped notice, the poet's destination has remained a mystery The reasonable conjecture, however, is that he was bound for Aquitaine with Gaunt,[6] probably in expectation of returning with the Prince and

[3] S Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt* (Westminster, 1904), p 79

[4] R Krauss, *Three Chaucer Studies* (N Y, 1932), I, 151 and n 41

[5] *Life-Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc), 63.

[6] That Chaucer had been with Gaunt in Picardy in the campaign of Aug -Nov. 1369 there seems no reason to doubt (*L-R*, 61, W. Longman, *Edward III*, II, 162, Armitage-Smith, *op cit*, p 72, n 1) Gaunt returned on Nov 19 Chaucer's return evidently by Oct 8 (*L R*, 59) may not have been unconcerned with the death of the Duke's wife on Sept 12 In 1370, at the same time as Gaunt sailed for Bordeaux, Knolles set out to invade Normandy (Rymer, *Foedera*, Record ed , III, II, 890); but Chaucer had no known connection with Knolles, whereas his connection with Gaunt and the Lancaster household was already intimate. The time-limit of his leave also points to his having accompanied Gaunt

Princess of Wales. In that case he would almost certainly have read his important new poem at the English court in Angoulême, where, it may be remembered, Princess Joan's celebrated predecessor, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had heard and judged the works of her troubadours With Joan as hostess Chaucer could not gracefully have proceeded to recite his eulogy of another lady without first pausing to acknowledge her. A way of doing this would have been to introduce into the proem an assurance that his love for Joan, rendered hopeless by her marriage to the Prince had nevertheless continued unabated "this eight yeer" In 1370 it was actually nine years since the marriage, but if Chaucer had not reckoned from the year of beginning the *Book of the Duchess*, 1369, he would have been impolitely revealing that his compliment was an afterthought Can we be certain that it was not? It follows his answer to the question of why he is sleepless

> Myselven cannot telle why
> The sothe, but trewely, as I gesse,
> I holde hit be a sicknesse
> That I have suffred this eight yeer . (34-7)

Line 34 seems to complete his answer. Line 35 adds a redundant phrase, awkwardly tacked on, and contributes nothing of value except a rhyme for the coming key-word "sicknesse." "The sothe," accordingly, looks not unlike a bit of putty marking the beginning of a later insertion.

Several of Chaucer's long poems which are not about his beloved lady contain similar asides on her, and she was evidently the subject of all his extant serious love-poems[7] That these tributes are in the tradition of *amour courtois* has slowly come to be recognized but the full implications for the poet's life and work have yet to be considered. The troubadours and trouveurs who set the long-enduring fashion regularly attached themselves to the service of

[7] As distinct from the flippant *Rosemounde, Women Unconstant* and *Merciles Beaute*, which I have found reason to think were for little Isabel of France (cf J M Manly, *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer*, London, 1940, p 40) The revised *Legend Prologue* (G or A) appears to be connected with Richard II's marriage (Nov 1396) to this French princess; witness the introduction of "newe" fleurs-de-lys into the garland of the god of Love, here probably representing Richard. See G 161 and n 16 below

some married great lady, countess, princess or queen It was an arrangement of mutual benefit Writing himself the lady's faithful servant, love-sick but never sick of love, the poet poured forth praises of her beauty and virtue Provided his songs were good enough to please castle audiences far and wide, they greatly pleased the lady whom they celebrated, and, says Jeanroy, "en échange de ce service, elle lui doit, comme le bon seigneur au vassal, aide, protection et secours" [8] Good love-songs, too, were considered a poet's best claim to fame,[9] and the greater the renown of his lady the better for his own Chaucer in the flower of his youth, Gower tells us, filled the land with love-songs [10] While he had been a page in the household of Prince Lionel and the Lady Elizabeth he must have seen at court functions their foster sister, Joan, Countess of Kent, the observed of all observers on account of her amazing beauty, her charm, her leadership of fashion and the romance of her past He was nearing twenty when Joan became Princess of Wales and thereby prospective Queen of England, the ideal sovereign lady for an aspiring English poet And this well-marked year in which the Prince of Wales acquired Joan for his bride, and in which there was no other outstanding English marriage, is the year from which Chaucer publicly dates his complimentary pose of rejected suitor Some hearers or readers of the *Book of the Duchess* could hardly have failed to infer that Princess Joan was the lady for whom the author, in the approved manner of complimenting *grandes dames*, professed to have been pining "this eight yeer."

On the debated issue of who Chaucer's "lady sovereyne" of the *Legend* Prologue was, new documentary evidence is available She is there represented as Alceste, and, oddly, as laying down the law

[8] Prof A Jeanroy's standard work, the chief source of my remarks on the tradition *La Poésie Lyrique Des Troubadours* (Paris, 1934), I, 91 One troubadour explained to his lady "Si j'ai chanté votre valeur, votre sagesse, ce n'etait point que je vous aimasse je le faisais pour acquérir honneur et profit" (*ibid*, p 97 f)

[9] *Ibid*, II, 62 f To be judged good, a love-poem needed metrical distinction The three famous metres which Chaucer introduced into English were used as offerings to his lady rhyme royal (most of the love-poems), heroic couplet (*LGW*) and *terza rima* (*To His Lady*). *WN* has a nine-line stanza of two rhymes

[10] *Complete Works*, ed Macaulay (Oxford, 1901), III, *CA*, VIII, 2943-7 *

on a king's duties in the course of making peace between the god of Love and the poet (F 342 ff). The poem has recently been ascribed to late 1384 or soon after.[11] Early in 1385 Princess Joan, by now long a widow and for the past few years retired, made peace during a return visit to court between Richard II and John of Gaunt.[12] The quarrel had arisen through Richard's crediting a charge of treason against his uncle, and then heeding counsels of revenge from young friends who found it profitable to encourage his vanity and his desire to rule single-handed. By the time his mother intervened, another of the king's uncles, Thomas of Woodstock, was involved besides the earls of Oxford, Salisbury and Nottingham, and civil war was imminent. Joan began with a thundering lecture to her royal son on his folly in countenancing flatterers,[13] and his need to keep on good terms with his nobles, especially with his father's eldest brother, to whom special respect was due, and with his other uncles[14] Enough of her historic speech on that occasion is preserved in contemporary chronicles, and has now been found,[15] to show that it is Alceste's speech on a king's duties to discountenance flatterers, to deal justly with his lieges, to give due respect to the nobles nearest to him in status and kinship, and so on, every word speaking to the point to which Joan had spoken Realizing that although Alceste addressed her lecture to the god of Love she was aiming it at Richard, Professor Legouis guessed that she was the mother of the young king,[16] the

[11] Carleton Brown, *MLN*, LVIII (1943), 274-8

[12] Malverne's suppl to *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), IX, 55 8, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series), II, 112 26 The interview with Richard which led Gaunt to prepare for a siege in one of his castles took place at Sheen on 23 Feb 1385 Joan quickly appeared, lectured Richard, and brought Gaunt back for the reconciliation at Eltham on 6 March

[13] M. Galway, *TLS*, 10 Oct 1942, p. 499, quoting *Chronicon Adae De Usk*

[14] Malverne, *loc cit*, p 57 f.

[15] The parallel in Malverne is here noted for the first time

[16] *Geoffrey Chaucer*, trans L Lailavoix (London, 1913), p 41 In Prol F the god of Love, Alceste's consort, is evidently the late Black Prince See 552-3, 1-6, 230-1, 212, 563-4 In revision (cf. n 7 above) Chaucer removed all these signs that the god was a shade and Alceste his widow, together with the god's allusion to her, *qua* daisy, as "my relyke" (321) Apparently this is an allegorical way of saying "my relict," despite *NED*'s not recording *relict* in the sense of widow until 1545. O F *relicte* in that sense is recorded in 1363 (Godefroy) The removal of "my relyke" does

earliest audiences of the *Legend* Prologue would have known that she was As "Alceste," then, Chaucer's sovereign lady is unmistakably Joan, as his unnamed "oon" of the *Book of the Duchess* she is more probably Joan than anyone else. The later certainty thus reinforces the earlier probability

In various ways Chaucer's amorous allusions and effusions up to the time of the *Legend* Prologue reveal continuity and interconnections They also range in reference over exactly the quarter century between Joan's last marriage and her death Some seven years after the *Book of the Duchess* the poet complains again of his love-sickness in the *Parlement of Foules* (89-91) Some four years later still, he may have had it in mind in the *House of Fame* (614-25) At the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, completed at about the same time as the *Legend* Prologue, he does further homage to "Alceste" (bk v, 1777-8, cf 1527-33) The passage in the *Parlement* is practically identical with passages in two of his love-poems, the complaints *To Pity* (99-104) and *To His Lady* (42-4) In the first he addresses the lady as "rial excellence" and "regalye" (59, 65), in the second as "hynesse" (70), titles appropriate to the Princess of Wales Both complaints are dated about the time of Chaucer's visit to Italy in 1373, and in them he speaks of having loved the lady "yore" (*Pity*, 93) and "ful yore" (*Lady*, 79), terms which would refer back to his lady of the *Book of the Duchess* Other love-poems which either certainly or all but certainly concern the same royalty are the *Balade of Complaint, Womanly Noblesse* and the balade in praise of "my lady" in the *Legend Prologue* (F 249-61). In all these he vows to remain the lady's faithful servant for life In the love-poem part of the *Legend* Prologue he

not support the proposed reading, "my treasure" Prof Loomis justly notes the impropriety of representing Alceste, the faithful wife of King Admetus, as the widow of the god of Love It is lessened by the description of the god as "eke a kyng" (431), and by the use of "Alceste" and "god of Love" as pseudonyms for real persons, in the manner of the troubadours' complimentary *senhals* (Jeanroy, *op cit*, I, 317 ff). "Alceste" implies sacrificial devotion to a dying husband, "god of Love" was applied in the previous century to a knight who, like the Prince in his day, was expert in *amour courtois* (F Hueffer, *The Troubadours*, London, 1878, p 274) Yet some impropriety remains, suggesting that Chaucer was more concerned to compliment *his* Alceste than to avoid *lèse-majesté* to the mythical queen.

repeats the vow to the Princess Here however he notably contrives at once to hint that his love has become platonic and yet not to obviate a contrary inference I love her, he says.

> And evere shal, til that myn herte dye
> Al swere I nat, of this I wol nat lye,
> *Ther loved no wight hotter in his lyve* (57-9)

According to troubadour custom, a poet professed a desire to win a great lady only when she was unavailable. Chaucer's care not to express that desire in regard to the widowed Princess is natural, but his care not to deny it suggests that he may previously have harped on it, as he had done in early compliments to his lady A year after the death of the Black Prince, in the *Parlement of Foules* of 1377,[17] although he speaks in his own person of his hopeless love, he makes Africanus say to him·

> Thow of love hast lost thy tast, I guess (160)

There is nothing explicitly passionate in any reference to his lady known to be later than this, nor in *Womanly Noblesse* (? 1380). Apparently the toned-down protestations coincide in time with Joan's widowhood, and after her death on 7 August 1385 Chaucer addressed no more of them to a mature and living *grande dame*[18] Instead, he burst into gay anti-feminism.[19] Beginning therefore with an antecedent likelihood that he adopted the Princess of Wales for his sovereign lady as from 1361, we proceed, via tributes of steady continuity and appropriateness to her, to the certainty that by 1385 she was his established sovereign lady The burden of proof consequently passes to whoever would maintain that she was not the "oon" to whom he alluded in the *Book of the Duchess.*

The question of Joan's patronage of Chaucer can for the present be no more than touched on Hints of it appear soon after her return from Aquitaine, and clear signs onwards from her husband's death in June 1376 Chaucer's appointments, for example, as a

[17] H Braddy, *Three Chaucer Studies*, II, a contribution which wears well

[18] Cf n 7 above, and Chaucer's leaving unfinished the *LGW*, a long poem for Joan There are allusions to "Alceste" in the *Fk. Ta.* (1442) and in the *IMLT* (75), the first probably memorial (Robinson, p 826), the second evidently not (Carleton Brown, *SP*, XXXIV, 8-35)

[19] Another custom of the troubadours when off duty as censers (Jeanroy, *op cit*, II, 192 ff.; cf 26, 45)

confidential marriage commissioner for her son.[20] his bumper crop of royal honours in the early years of Richard's reign, when the mother of the boy king was the real ruler of the land, his close friendship with several of her most intimate servants, including Clifford, Stury and Vache, and the misfortunes he shared with them when she was no longer alive to give him "aide, protection et secours," but Thomas of Woodstock was free to vent his spleen on those whom she had conspicuously favoured[21] In the *Troilus* frontispiece, which represents the author reciting to a court audience at some time in 1382-85, the lady in the foreground registering marked appreciation is surely without question Princess Joan, recognizable by her coronet, by the wide-sleeved, ermine-trimmed gown she had made fashionable,[22] and by her significant position, providing a stem for Richard[23] Chaucer's last known reward in direct connection with the Princess was of mourning for her funeral.[24]

[20] See Braddy's thesis (cited n 17 above), except the aside (p 39-41) on Chaucer's owing his appointments to Alice Perrers The detailed arrangements for Richard's marriage were strictly his mother's business, by natural, traditional and circumstantial right Besides, after Edward III's death (June 1377) had reduced Alice to complete political nonentity, Chaucer continued to be appointed as before (*L R*, 143) A document not hitherto considered in this connection is worth noting Soon after the meeting of a conference in Jan 1378 to discuss a French match for Richard (*Foedera*, IV, 28), which conference was almost certainly the one in Richard's reign attended by Chaucer, Princess Joan decided to explore the possibilities of a Navarrese match The document in question shows her completely dominating the marriage council and managing the whole affair, including the appointment of the confidential commissioner (*Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, ed R. Delachenal, Soc de l'Hist de France, 1920, II, 301 ff , 286, n 1)

[21] All the reasons for ascribing these misfortunes to Gloucester cannot be given here, but some are indicated in Miss Rickert's paper on Vache (*MP*, XI, 209-25) and in mine on Chaucer as J. P and M P (*MLR*, XXXVI, 29-31)

[22] *Le Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry*, ed. A De Montaiglon (Paris, 1854), p 47

[23] Cf the three men standing on much the same level, who appear to be the king's three uncles John is on the extreme right The man between him and the one on the extreme left, Brusendorff thinks, is probably Thomas. Brusendorff however does not mention Edmund or his portrait, an examination of which might lead to a different conclusion (*The Chaucer Tradition*, Copenhagen, 1925, p 22, n 6)

[24] E Rickert, *TLS*, 11 Aug 1927, p. 548.

My own view of the challenged paper of 1936, in which Joan was first proposed as Chaucer's sovereign lady, is that it blundered darkly to the right conclusion. The perception behind Professor Loomis's reluctance to abandon that conclusion entirely, considering the argument for it, seems to be nothing short of clairvoyant, whereas his recent fear that it ought to be abandoned seems groundless Evidence in support of the original proposal is still accumulating, and already too extensive to be fully presented in a few pages. But it is hoped that these samples, offered at once, may at least ward off a final decision to regard the eight years of Chaucer's hopeless love as a borrowed reckoning, rather than as a personal one, constituting the first of a series of courtly bows to the Princess of Wales in poems concerning others

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THE *MANUEL DES PÉCHÉS* AND AN ENGLISH EPISCOPAL DECREE

In his recent study of the *Manuel des Péchés*, Dr. E J. Arnould called attention to a decree appearing in the Constitutions of Bishop Grosseteste, describing it as "un chapitre qui pourrait presque servir de table ou d'introduction à notre *Manuel*"[1] Perhaps the decree in question was, in a sense, actually just such a "table." It runs

Quia igitur sine decalogi observatione salus animarum non consistit, exhortamur in Domino, firmiter injungentes, ut unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum, id est, decem mandata legis Moysaicae, eademque populo sibi subjecto frequenter praedicet et exponat Sciat quoque quae sint septem criminalia, eademque similiter populo praedicet fugienda; sciat insuper saltem simpliciter, septem ecclesiastica sacramenta, et hi qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant quae exiguntur ad verae confessionis et poenitentiae sacramentum, formamque baptizandi, doceant frequenter laicos in idiomate communi· habeat quoque quisque eorum saltem simplicem fidei intellectum, sicut

[1] *Le Manuel des Péchés*, Paris, 1940, p. 20. This work was reviewed by Charlton Laird, *Speculum*, XX (1945), pp. 99-103.

continetur in symbolo, tam majore quam minore, et in tractatu qui dicitur *Quicunque vult*, qui cotidie ad primam in ecclesia psallitur [2]

The materials here demanded correspond closely with the contents of the earlier versions of the *Manuel*, and the arrangement of topics is strikingly similar [3] The decree, however, has a history outside of Grosseteste's Constitutions of such a character as to make an actual relationship between it and the *Manuel* seem probable

Grosseteste's statute was not of his own making, but was taken over, as C. R Cheney has put it, "with only slight retouching," from the Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester (1240).[4] The changes made by Grosseteste serve principally to soften the emphasis on confession which appears in the original.

Sciantque sacerdotes ea, quae exiguntur ad verae confessionis poenitentiae sacramentum Et quia observatio decalogi necessaria est fidelibus ad salutem, exhortamur in Domino sacerdotes, et pastores animarum, ut sciant decalogum, id est, decem mandata legis Mosaicae, quae populo suo sibi subjecto, frequenter praedicent, et exponant Sciant quoque, quae sunt septem criminalia peccata, quae populo praedicent fugienda Sciant autem saltem simpliciter vii ecclesiastica sacramenta, quae sunt Habeat etiam saltem quilibet eorum fidei simplicem intellectum secundum quod continetur in psalmo, qui dicitur "Quicunque vult," et tam in majori, quam in minori symbolo, ut in his plebem comissam noverint informare [5]

The demand for priestly knowledge concerning confession here appears at the beginning, as though it were a topic sentence That an emphasis of this kind was intended is clear from what follows immediately·

Ut autem sciant sacerdotes, quorum aliqui sunt simplices, pro quibus delictis superioribus sunt poenitentiae reservandae, ut sciant etiam parochianos suos instruere, quomodo debeant confiteri, necnon et eorum conscientias perscrutari, injunctionum etiam diversitates, quia non sanat

[2] *Epistolae*, ed H R Luard, Rolls Series, 1861, p 155

[3] It now seems probable that the *Manuel* originally contained the following sections (1) the Articles of the Faith, (2) the Ten Commandments, (3) the Seven Sins, (4) Sacrilege, (5) the Sacraments, (6) the Points of Shrift See Laird, *op. cit*, p. 100; Arnould, *op cit*, pp 60-106 Professor Laird tells me, however, that in a forthcoming article he will suggest that the original *Manuel* may not have contained the Articles of the Faith The baptismal ceremony is discussed under the sacraments

[4] *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1941, p 121

[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, p. 669.

oculum quod sanat calcaneum, quendam tractatum de confessione fecimus, quem sciri ab omnibus capellanis praecipimus, et etiam observari in confessionibus audiendis, quia longum esset, ipsum in praesenti synodo publicare [6]

It is unfortunate that Bishop Walter decided not to publish his treatise with his decrees, for it does not survive [7] Several features of his description of it, however, are pertinent to the present discussion In the first place, the instructional materials listed do not constitute specifically a list of minimum requirements for catechistical instruction, [8] rather, they are presented as suitable materials for a treatise *De confessione* Moreover, they are referred to as "*delictis*," a clear indication that the author was interested primarily in sins connected with the various rubrics; that is, he was not concerned, for example, with the abstract theology of the commandments and the sacraments but with transgressions against them Finally, Bishop Walter wished not only to instruct his priests in the technique of confession, but also to have the priests teach their parishioners how they should confess, and how they should examine their consciences

[6] *Loc cit*

[7] Cf Cheney, *op cit*, pp 42-43

[8] The absence of the Lord's Prayer is a striking illustration of this fact It was demanded as a primary element of religious knowledge throughout the Middle Ages E g see St Augustine, *Sermones*, *Opera*, Paris, 1679-1700, v, cols 331, 343, 942; St Caesarius of Arles, *Opera*, Maretioli, 1937–, I, pp 75-76, 890; Rabanus Maurus, *Homeliae* (First Series), Migne, *PL*, CX, c 27, Benjamin Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, London, 1840, pp 397, 445, F Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1898-1916, I, pp 302-304 (I Cnut, 22, 1-6), B Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo Saxon Church*, London, 1844, 1846, II, p 604, A Napier, *Wulfstan*, Berlin, 1883, pp 20-21, 33, Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, Lib. II, Caps LXII, CLVI, Migne, *PL*, CXL, cols 637, 651, Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter*, Cambridge, 1937, pp 175, 176, and, in general, F M Powicke, *Christian Life in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1935, p 32 The *Ave Maria* was also considered fundamental in the thirteenth century. See H Leclercq, "Sur la Salutation Angélique," in Hefele *et al*, *Histoire des Conciles*, Paris, 1907-1938, v, Appendice IV, p 1747 In 1237, three years before Walter de Cantilupe's statutes were issued, Bishop Alexander of Coventry demanded that every Christian repeat the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave* seven times a day. See Wilkins, I, p 642 A typical catalogue of the elements of catechistical instruction appears in the famous decree of Archbishop Peckham (1281), Wilkins, II, p 54 This list is more comprehensive and considerably more general than that of Walter de Cantilupe

Turning now to the *Manuel des Péchés*, we find a book, which, as the title indicates, is concerned with "*delictis*," and which was written to teach laymen "*quomodo debeant confiteri, necnon et eorum conscientias perscrutari*"

La uertue del seint espirit
Nus seit eidant en cest escrit,
A nus les choses ben mustrer
Dunt hom se deit confesser,
E aussi en quele manere,
Qe ne fet mie bon a tere,
Car ceo la uertue del sacrement,
Dire le pechié, et coment
Tuz pechiéz ne poun recunter,
Mes par tant se peot remembrer,
E les pechiéz amender,
Qe cest escrit uelt regarder

Pur la laie gent ert fet,
Deu le parface, si li plest,
Qe il vere pussent apertement
Qant il trespassent, & qant nient [9]

In other words, not only is the general outline of the *Manuel* very similar to that of Walter de Cantilupe's decree, but the purpose of the *Manuel* is similar to the purpose of the treatise which Bishop Walter had in mind when he wrote the decree. Both treatises may be described as compendia of sins designed to promote the efficacy of confession On the basis of the available evidence, one may say that the *Manuel* has the appearance of an elaboration for lay consumption of some treatise such as that described by Walter de Cantilupe.

Bishop Grosseteste was not the only churchman to appropriate Walter de Cantilupe's decree A variant appears in the Constitutions of Bishop Walter de Kirkham of Durham (1255) which differs only slightly from that of Bishop Grosseteste. The Lord's Prayer, the *Ave*, and the Sign of the Cross are added to the list of materials demanded, so that the whole has the appearance of a list of catechistical materials rather than that of an outline for confessional instruction.[10] A fourth variant, which is exactly like Grosse-

[9] Ed F. J Furnivall, *EETS OS* 119, ll. 1-12, 113-116 Cf. Arnould, *op cit*, pp 58-59

[10] Wilkins, I, p. 704 Cf. note 8, above.

teste's except for an unimportant introductory sentence, appears in the Statutes of Bishops Walter and Simon of Norwich.[11] But the most elaborate variant of all forms one of the decrees of Bishop Peter Quivil's Synod of Exeter (1287) It is probably too late to have had any influence on the *Manuel*,[12] but an examination of it may shed some light on the tradition of the decree

Omnium mater errorum ignorantia praecipue sacerdotibus est vitanda, qui in populo docendi officium susceperunt, quorum opus in praedicatione et doctrina consistit, ut aedificent cunctos tam fidei scientia, quam operum disciplina Ne igitur per caecitatis ignorantiam, dum ducatum praestant populo christiano, ambo in foveam delabantur, singulis locorum archidiaconis injungimus, ut diligenter inquirant, qui rectores, vicarii, aut sacerdotes in literatura enormem patiuntur defectum, et postquam eis de hoc constiterit, nobis denunciare quam citius non omittant

De parochialibus sacerdotibus frequentem assumant experientiam et habeant, an sciant decalogum, id est, praecepta legis Moysaicae, ipsa que subditae plebi exponant, et solicite praedicent observanda An etiam sciant septem peccata mortalia, ipsaque praedicent populo fugienda Sciant etiam septem sacramenta ecclesiastica, et qualiter habent conferri, ut supra diximus,[13] unumquodque Et in articulorum fidei christianorum saltem simplicem habeant intellectum, prout in psalmo, "Quicunque vult," et in utroque symbolo continentur, in quibus plebem sibi commissam tanto tenentur studiosius informare, quanto quilibet, qui fidem catholicam firmiter non crediderit, salvus esse non poterit

Sacerdotes autem si quos invenerint circa praemissa nimia ignorantia laborare, ipsos protinus suspendant ab officio sacerdotali, maxime a regimine animarum, ad quos quidem divinus sermo dicitur "Tu vero scientiam repulisti, et ego te repellam, ne fungaris mihi sacerdotio"

Ut autem quilibet sacerdos, cui animarum cura incumbit, melius sciat et intelligat, qualiter debeat in ipsa versari, praecipimus, quod quilibet, cui parochialis ecclesiae regimen incumbit, quandam summulam plurimum utilem, immo verius necessarium a diversis tractatibus extractam sub compendio (quae summula sub eisdem verbis incipit, quibus et praesens synodus) citra festum Stī Michaelis habeat scriptam, et ipsam sane intelligat, ac ea utatur sub poena unius marcae, loci archidiacono applicandae Quam si archidiaconus remiserit, et ipsam, vel ipsius partem quandam levari poterit, et recipere praetermiserit, eundem archidiaconum in duabus marcis fabricae ecclesiae Exonensi volumus obligari[14]

[11] *Ibid*, I, pp 731-732

[12] Arnould, *op cit*, p 256, dates the Manuel *ca* 1260

[13] The first chapter of the synod, Wilkins, II, p 130, states that the priests are to have an adequate knowledge of the sacraments, and in the following sections, pp 131-137, there is an elaborate explanation of what they are to know about each one

[14] *Ibid*, II, pp 143-144

This variant differs from the earlier ones quoted chiefly in that Bishop Quivil was more deeply concerned about clerical ignorance than were his predecessors It is not clear from the decree whether he had in mind catechistical materials or materials concerned with confession, but unlike Walter de Cantilupe, he published the treatise he wrote to carry out his educational program with his decrees, so that we can readily discover what he meant by examining the treatise

The prologue to the *Summula,* as Bishop Quivil called his treatise, in good sermon style, develops the theme *Altissimus de terra creavit medicinam* (Ecclus 38) to form, with a concordance of authorities, the conclusion that the Trinity is a physician, sin is a malady to be healed, and penance is the proper medicine. It then continues

> Haec ergo ego Petrus, Exoniensis presbyter, intime considerans, et insufficientia presbytorum secularium confessiones audientium compatiens, quorum ignorantium, proh dolor! saepissime sim expertus, praesentem summulam eisdem assigno, ut eam sciant ad utilitatem suam et confitentium [15]

We see that the treatise was not written to enable priests to enumerate the commandments, sins, and so on by rote,[16] it was a treatise *de confessione* to assist the priests in analyzing the experience of their penitents. Both Walter de Cantilupe and Peter Quivil, then, wrote confessional treatises based on an outline of materials which corresponds closely with the general contents of the *Manuel,* which in turn is a confessional treatise addressed to laymen.

Although the *Summula* is later than the *Manuel,* it probably represents fairly well the type of material traditionally associated with the decree, so that by comparing the two works it is possible to form some judgment as to whether or not an hypothetical association of the *Manuel* with the decree is justifiable Except for the omission of the sacraments, which Bishop Quivil had already discussed at length, the *Summula* elaborates the topics of the decree in the sequence in which they appear there. For the purposes of the comparison, we may disregard the *exempla* in the *Manuel,* which represent a part of its author's efforts to adapt his

[15] *Ibid*, II, p. 162.

[16] This is the view of Miss Margaret Deanesley, *The Lollard Bible,* Cambridge, 1920, pp 196-197.

material for lay consumption. I append below summaries of two sections of the *Manuel* together with corresponding sections of the *Summula*

1 The First Commandment

M.

Even if you have committed the worst of sins, renouncing God, you may be forgiven if you ask mercy, as an *exemplum* shows If you have practiced necromancy or conjured the Devil, you have violated this commandment If you have used the psalter for divination or looked in a sword or basin, that was great folly If you have believed in bird omens, or omens of morning meetings, you have been foolish (There follows an exposition of St Gregory's six causes of dreams Cf *Moralia*, VIII, Cap XXIV, 42, Migne, *PL*, LXXV, c 827, or, better, *Dialogi*, ed U Moricca, Rome, 1924, pp 309-310, for an *exemplum* from the *Dialogi* follows) One should not believe in sorcery, speak against the faith, nor believe in the three fates No mortal sin is forgiven without confession [17]

S

Recurrat igitur poenitens ad primum mandatum et solicite videat in seipso, si transgressus fuerit illud An scil cultum soli Deo debitum, daemoniis, vel aliis creaturis exhibuerit, scil faciendo praestigia, id est, recurrendo ad conjurationes, sicut solet fieri pro furto, in gladio, in pelvi, et in nominibus scriptis et inclusis in luto, et impositis in aqua benedicta, et similia, vel recurrendo ad auguria sortiarii, vel si sortiariis pro talibus consuluerit, et daemonibus sacrificaverit, sicut faciant quidam miseri pro mulieribus, quas amant fatue [18]

2 The Fifth Commandment

M

One should not slay another for felony without justice, nor put anyone in a prison or other place so that he dies If you deprive anyone of a limb, you are guilty If you fail to give to the poor and hungry, you are guilty of spiritual slaughter False counsel resulting in death is evil Judgment without mercy is criminal, as an *exemplum* shows Distracting others from good purposes is spiritual slaughter, and detraction also slays Evil speaking, as an *exemplum* demonstrates, is to be avoided [19]

S

Deinde videndum est, quod si transgressus fuerit quintum mandatum, quod est, "non occides"; sive manu occidiendo vel vulnerando, vel praecipiendo, vel voluntarie, scil occidendo, vel odiendo usque ad mortem;

[17] *Manuel*, ll. 923-1314

[18] Wilkins, II, 162

[19] *Manuel*, ll. 1887-2146.

quia qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est vel subsidium necessarium subtrahendo, quia si non paveris, occidisti, vel spiritualiter, vel pravum actionis, sive locutionis exemplum [20]

I have purposely selected sections in which resemblances exist, that is, correspondences like those indicated above do not appear in all sections of the two books. However, there are other resemblances For example, a glance at the section of the *Manuel* on pride will reveal that it consists largely of a list of objects, situations, attributes, and so on about which one is apt to be proud. The second half of Peter Quivil's discussion of the subject runs as follows

Habet autem superbia materiam multiplicem, scil bona naturalia, quando scil homo superbit ex bonis naturalibus, quae habet, ut ex fortitudine, si est fortis homo, ex ingenio, si est boni ingenii, ex specie, si est pulcher, ex facundia, si sit homo eloquens, ut quidam legistae, et etiam laici, qui loquuntur coram judicibus laicis, vel etiam si habeat bonam vocem Item ex nobilitate, si est ex magno genere, ex prole, ut si multos, vel plures, vel bonos filios vel filias habet Habet etiam superbia pro materia bona temporalia, ut quando homo superbit, quia multas habet vel pretiosas vestes, domos, vel agros, vel reditus, vel multos homines, vel servientes, vel bonos equos, vel quando praepositus est aliis in temporalibus Habet etiam superbia de materia bona gratuita, quae sunt ex gratia, ut quando superbit, quia sciens est, vel etiam bonus clericus vel bonus praedicator vel bonus placitator, vel bonus artifex, vel bonus colonus Vel quando homo superbit propter virtutem, quia credit se bonum esse, et abominabitur peccatores vel quando superbit, quia habet gratiam hominum, vel quia habet bonam famam, vel dignitatem ecclesiasticum, vel ordinem, et secundum omnes istas diversitates, diversae poenitentiae sunt injungendae.[21]

Many of the details in this passage also appear in the *Manuel* It is thus possible to say that the same general type of material appears in both works, although the resemblance does not consistently extend to specific details. The *Manuel* is, of course, much longer and far more elaborate than the *Summula.*

To conclude, the *Manuel* resembles two works we know to have been based on the decree in general outline and purpose, and it resembles at least one of these in content. In view of the popularity of the decree, and the estimation in which it was held by

[20] Wilkins, II, 163
[21] Wilkins, II, 164

English bishops, it seems unlikely that these resemblances were fortuitous. Just exactly where in the history of the decree the *Manuel* arose, it is impossible to decide on the basis of the facts now at hand;[22] however, the assumption that the *Manuel* and the decree were related seems a reasonable working hypothesis on which to base further research.[23] It is probable that the decree accounts in part for the popularity of the *Manuel*, whether there is a direct relationship between the two or not.

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THE PREFACE TO SCALIGER'S *POETICES LIBRI SEPTEM*

Julius Caesar Scaliger's famous *Poetics*[1] published in 1560, two years after the author's death, is preceded by a prefatory letter addressed to his eldest son Sylvius.[2] Of interest in itself as an

[22] The decree may have appeared elsewhere in church councils, not all of which are at present available. See Cheney, *op. cit.*, p. vi. There is also possibility that it may have appeared in other contexts outside of the councils.

[23] I hope to make the resemblance between the *Manuel* and the *Summula* clearer in a study of the literary tradition from which both arose.

[1] Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* went through at least five editions, but the differences between them are so slight that they would be called reprints today. The copy from which I quote in this paper is the third edition, 1586.

[2] Stephanus Sylvius Caesar Scaliger, Lord of Verona, Vives and Gohas, the eldest son of Julius and Andiette de La Roque Scaliger, was born in Agen in 1530. He studied first at the College of Guyenne and later at the College of Navarre in Paris in 1562. He married Marguerite de Nozières de Bezat, the daughter of a nobleman. She died in the same year and he married Catherine de Biran, Lady of Gohas, in 1575. Although he was left a large fortune by his father, he managed to spend not only his own but most of that of his brothers before his death in 1585. (Jules de Bourrousse de Laffore, "Jules César de Lescale," *Société d'Agriculture, sciences et arts d'Agen*, 2nd series, I, 50-53.) His one appearance on the stage of history was in 1562 when he was sent to Symphorien de Durfort by the people of Agen to ask what to do about the threat that Monluc's advance faced them with. (De Bèze, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1884, II, 912.) He was a very learned man, but did not practice any of the arts or sciences. Joseph's estimate of him is colored by his annoyance at his

example of the elder Scaliger's style, this letter deserves being examined because of the unfortunate fact that its contents have been misunderstood. Both George Saintsbury in his *History of Criticism* and Charles Sears Baldwin in his *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* were under the impression that the letter was entirely about the *Poetics*. Actually, as I shall show, a good part of it is an answer to certain criticisms made of a previous book of Scaliger's, his *De Causis linguae latinae*.

First, though, let us look at the passages in question in Saintsbury and Baldwin. Saintsbury writes:

> Nothing (certain inevitable postulates being granted) can be more luminous and intelligible than the book. That he stands forth in the preface to his son Sylvius with an air of patronage at once paternal and pedagogic, announcing himself as the pioneer of the subject, dismissing those who allege Varro, as with levity ignoring the fact that neither Varro or anybody else in antiquity did, or could do, anything of the kind, that he blandly sweeps away the *plebs grammaticorum*, that he labels the *Ars Poetica* itself as teaching *adeo sine ulla arte ut saturae proprius esse videatur*, Aristotle as fragmentary, Vida as *optimus poeta in theatro, claudus magister in schola*—is all of it agreeably Scaligerian in manner.[3]

In much the same manner, Baldwin writes of Scaliger's *Poetics*:

> Its complacency must have been sometimes startling even to the Renaissance. The prefactory letter to his son Sylvius is magisterial.
>
> "To this art we have applied the sanctions of philosophy which are the executives of all nature. That for lack of them it has hardly been an art before us is evident from our discussion."

Baldwin then continues his translation from the preface through the remarks on Aristotle and Vida cited by Saintsbury:[4]

having spent the family fortune. He says of him, "Sylvius fuit doctus, habitat prope Bartas, erat negligens, nihil scripsit, libros non reliquit, bona ejus habuit Nepos uxoris ipsius, per stultitiam et negligentiam fratris." (*Scaligerana*, editio altera, Rouen, 1667, p. 233.)

[3] *A History of Criticism* (New York, Edinburgh, and London, 1902), II, 70.

[4] *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (ed. with an introduction by Donald L. Clark, New York, 1939), pp. 171-172. Since in the introduction Professor Clark writes, "[Baldwin's] method to go directly to the original sources, both for theory and practice, to make his own translation, and to ignore secondary sources, which he rarely cites," we may consider that Baldwin's misinterpretation was made independently of Saintsbury's. I

A reader of these two passages who had not looked into Scaliger's preface to his great work might very well wonder both why anyone had said that Varro, of all people, was Scaliger's predecessor in writing an art of poetry, and why Scaliger, who was an admirer of Aristotle, should claim to have been the first to apply philosophical concepts to the study of poetic theory To be sure, Scaliger says later on that Aristotle is fragmentary and neglects the order of the subject but this is not the same thing as saying his approach to poetry was non-philosophical It would not be until one had read Scaliger's preface from the beginning that he would discover that both of these remarks refer to Scaliger's Latin grammar, *De Causis linguae latinae* [5] Then light would break Of course Varro would be the person whom people would say Scaliger had copied since Varro is best known for his *De Lingua latina.* And if Scaliger says that Scaliger is the first to have written a scientific grammar of the Latin language he is on fairly firm ground. Harry Thurston Peck in his *History of Classical Philology* calls Scaliger's *De Causis linguae latinae,* "the *first known scientific Latin* grammar." [6] The remarks cited by Saintsbury and Baldwin about Aristotle, Horace and Vida come further on in the letter and do, in truth, introduce what Scaliger is going to say about his own *Poetics.*

The fact that both the prefactory letter to *De Causis linguae latinae* and that to the *Poetices libri septem* are addressed to Sylvius, and that the two works were both written, according to their author, for the instruction of his beloved son, makes it difficult to understand the second letter until one has glanced at the first The preface of *De Causis* . . . begins:

Now, Sylvius, that you have passed out of the difficulties of more elementary literature, it is not proper that you undertake the more serious studies

sincerely trust that no one will consider this correction of what, after all, is a minor slip as an attack on the late Professor Baldwin's scholarship since I am well aware of the very real value of his books

[5] *Causis* is untranslatable but if I had to give an English title to the book, I should call it *The Laws of the Latin Language.*

[6] (New York, 1911), p 322 The emphasis is Peck's. John Edwin Sandys calls the *De Causis linguae latinae* "an acute and judicious work on the leading principles of the language. " *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908), II, 178.

before knowing the reasons for the particular rules, for through them the scope of each and every important field of learning has had to be revealed [7]

The father goes on to say that unless he felt able to exempt his son from the usual difficulties with Latin grammar, he would feel that life was very bitter indeed

With this as background it is easier to avoid the possibility of misinterpreting the preface to the *Poetics* since this second letter to Sylvius begins with a clear reference to the previous one and shows that the *De Causis* and the *Poetics* may be considered as two steps in the education this learned father wants his son to have

The preface to the *Poetics* commences·

We have already taken pains, Sylvius, that you should enjoy the most carefully selected instructions for the first rudiments of letters Now it remains that you should be led by no common road to the higher studies that come after This will be a task that will be greater in proportion as the latter studies are more important than the former [8]

But, instead of turning to these higher studies at once, Scaliger has to answer the criticisms that have been made of his Latin grammar, and he spends almost half the letter doing this. He says that those who had hitherto ruled the Empire of Letters resented having to learn their grammar all over again, so that they could teach it properly These people criticized Scaliger's book from two contradictory points of view. One school said it was too superficial and the other said that the subject matter was too lowly to be treated so profoundly, especially since it was admittedly written for an adolescent [9]

[7] "Praefatio," *De Causis linguae latinae* "Egressum te ex angustiis tenuioris literaturae, SYLVI CAESAR fili, non ante decet inire rationem grauiorum studiorum, quàm istarum praeceptionum caussas notas habeas, per quas excellentissimae cuiusque scientiae cursus aperiri debuit" Professor William Stuart Messer was kind enough to look over my translations from the Latin in this paper and to give me suggestions for certain better ways of rendering some Latin phrases

[8] All translations from the *Poetics* in this paper are from a complete English version being undertaken by Rossiter Bellinger and myself "Praefatio in Libros Poetices, " f iir "Postquam nostra cura, Sylvi, factum est, vt ad prima rudimenta literarum lectissimis praeceptionibus vterêre nunc reliquum est, ut ad consequentia studia non vulgari via perducaris, tanto maiore opera, quò haec sunt illis grauiora."

[9] Sylvius was ten years old when the *De Causis* . . was published

He then continues

The fact that the laws of the Latin language, which had remained unknown to all the centuries previous, had been extracted from the secret treasuries of nature was what inflamed these worthless and indolent critics, not the lowliness of my effort, as some say in criticism, or its flamboyance, as others proclaim For let those who from some unhappy ignorance thought that Varro too had labored in this field know this neither he nor anyone of his time could have ever undertaken this work, much less have completed it.[10]

Scaliger once more replying to those who said his grammar was too simple repeats that he wrote for an adolescent, and says that his great contribution has been to apply the ordinances of philosophy to the art of grammar That he means his *De Causis* . and not his *Poetics* is abundantly clear by what follows· "Now I have a question for those Palaemons By whose edict was it ordered that I should refrain from healing the ulcers caused by those diseased explanations of theirs which have poisoned the minds of youths?"[11] Since Palaemon was a man with an evil reputation, who taught grammar (in the modern sense) at Rome in the first century A. D., Scaliger's dubbing his opponents with this name proves, as does what follows, that they were critics of his *De Causis* . . , not of his *Poetics*, which had not even issued from the press It is difficult to imagine Scaliger answering criticisms of a book which he had not yet published. Scaliger, then, boasts of having like a new Hercules held these new Antaeuses off the earth, which gave them renewed strength for their factionalism, until he choked them to death.

At long last, half way through the preface, Scaliger begins to speak to Sylvius about the *Poetics* he has written for him. He says that now that Sylvius is versed in fundamentals, it is time that he should be taught logic and oratory. This is especially important, he feels, since Sylvius is preparing to practice Law. Law,

[10] "Praefatio in Libros Poetices," f. iiv "Vrere id eorum ignauiam atque supinitatem, quum ex naturae penitissimis thesauris erutae sunt causae linguae Latinae, quae omnibus antea saeculis ignotae fuissent, non operam nostram, vel vt illi premebant abiectam, vel vt hi ventilabant, luxuriantem Nam qui putarunt, nescio qua fatali levitate sua, Varronem quoque illa molitum esse sciant, neque illum, neque illius temporis vllum vel solos conatus ad talem operam praestare potuisse."

[11] *Ibid*, f iiir "Et quaero de istis Palaemonibus, si definire audent, quo, cuius edicto, non audebimus nos mederi vomicis earum definitionum, quae venenarunt animos adolescentum?"

he says, is more than obstinacy or a great number of citations It is established for the harmony and justice of mankind, and the student of law learns good principles, not only from studying philosophy, but from reading the historians and the poets "Those who condemn such reading are boorish, insensible, and harshly arrogant men who are not worthy to be placed in the category of human beings" [12]

Poetry, he goes on, has existed coeternally with nature itself Poetry is found in the songs of birds when they harmonize among themselves and make equal their inequality by a mutual exchange of sound, and in the movements of the heavenly bodies Poetry is that which "animates matter itself, being a rhythmical harmony of unlike movements which are held in the modulations of the most trifling speech." [13]

It is to help Sylvius in this divine study that Scaliger has undertaken this difficult task. Although some might think he had been aided by his predecessors, they were an inspiration rather than a help, since Horace's *Ars Poetica* teaches artlessly, Aristotle's commentaries are fragmentary, and Vida merely instructs a poet who is already a poet Thus, Scaliger stakes out his claim to be the first constructor of a complete theory of poetry. He particularly feels proud that he is the first to arrange the subject matter significantly.

If Sylvius now trains himself in these things, he may become the example to his younger brothers that his father had been to him.[14] For Sylvius need not listen to the "bloodsuckers of good fame" who say such studies are a waste of time and that one should devote oneself to the more serious and more practical branches of knowledge

Scaliger ends with a splendid plea for the values of humane studies

So, then, this is the task we set for ourselves While they devote their years to dice, or gape at gold, or snatch at civil offices, or as sycophants

[12] *Ibid*, f. iiiv. ". . quam qui damnarunt, agresti atque aspero supercilio bruti homines, ne in hominum quidem censu reponendi sunt."

[13] *Ibid*, f iiiir ". . quae materias ipsas animet numerosa concordia dissimilium momentorum, quae in levissimae dictionis flexibus continentur"

[14] Sylvius' younger brothers were· Audectus Caesar, who died young, the great Joseph, born in 1540; Leonard, born in 1541; and John Constant, born in 1544

at the tables discuss military strategy among the dishes, we shall seem neither to have scorned their pleasures nor to have found fault with their ambition, but rather to have been unwilling to be censured for the nobility of our pursuits and the greatness and honesty of our minds [15]

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POSSIBLE ADDITIONS TO THE CHURCHILL CANON

The statement of Andrew Kippis, editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, that Charles Churchill published several "juvenile pieces" in the poetry section of *The Library*, which he and his friend Robert Lloyd directed for several months, has been ignored.[1] Kippis could hardly have been mistaken about Churchill's contributions to *The Library*, since he was its editor His statement at least justifies an attempt to determine whether any of the poems in the magazine may be attributed to Churchill

One or more poems were published in each monthly issue of *The Library, or Moral and Critical Magazine* from its first number in April, 1761, to its last, May, 1762. The name or initials of the authors of some are given; others are unsigned. Neither Churchill's name nor his initials appear. The attribution of any of them to him, then, must rest largely on internal evidence. Although such attribution is sometimes dangerous, Churchill's known work is so homogeneous in subject matter, style, and versification that fair probability may be achieved, especially since the number of poems

[15] "Praefatio in Libros Poetices," f iiiiv–[1] "Quare porro danda est opera nobis, ut dum illi ad aleam aetatem transmittunt, aut inhiant auro, aut captant magistratus, aut mensarum asseclae de bellorum summa disputant inter patinas: nos neque illorum voluptates contempsisse, neque ambitiones carpsisse, sed studiorum nostrorum nobilitatem, animorum magnitudinem simul, & simplicitatem, perstringi noluisse videamur"

Scaliger tells in another place that there was no one in Agen with whom he could speak of literary matters. When friends dropped in, the conversation was always of wars, storms, politics, horses and hunting He did not find fault with these colloquies, but was always happy to return to his books. (*Adversus Desiderium Erasmum orationes duae*, Toulouse, 1621, Oration, II, 38-39)

[1] Andrew Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, second ed (1778), III, 581

to be considered is small and since the field may be narrowed still further by the immediate elimination of many of them, including all those signed.

The imitation of Horace's *Epistle XIII, Book 1*, "by a Gentleman of Trinity College, Cambridge" (October, 1761), and *Il Solitario* (May, 1761), by the same author, are obviously not Churchill's, since he was never enrolled at Trinity College. It is not likely that he was the translator of three of Frederick the Great's poems published in the January, February, and April issues of 1762; nothing in their subject matter or style suggests Churchill, and there is no evidence of his interest in Frederick the Great's writing. It is also unlikely that he wrote an *Epistle from the Country, to a Friend in Town* (May, 1762); he was in London at that time, and the praise of country life in the poem is not characteristic of Churchill. A number of short *jeux d'esprit*, some of which are addressed to "Celia," which appear in several issues of *The Library*, are unlike any known work of his and may be disregarded So may an *Elegy* (October 1761), an obvious imitation of Gray's *Elegy*, Churchill's low opinion of Gray is presumptive evidence that he would not have been likely to imitate him.

Of the remaining poems in *The Library*, a strong case may be made for the attribution of at least two to Churchill. One is the *Epistle to R. L. L.* (June, 1761). The initials almost certainly indicate Robert Lloyd, his closest friend and his collaborator in directing the magazine's poetry section The poem is in iambic tetrameter couplets, one of the two verse forms Churchill is known to have used. The ideas expressed, including the attack on the servility of critics, the contempt for poetic rules, the insistence on the value of modern literature, and the exaltation of Shakespeare above the ancients, are found in other works of his, notably *The Rosciad*, published three months earlier, in which he had put these sentiments in the mouth of Lloyd. Stylistically, too, the poem is like Churchill's other works: the lines are occasionally rough, and his common device of introducing an implied dialogue to further his argument is used in lines 49-50 and 65-6. The reference to the poem as "these my virgin rhimes" (l. 69) is in harmony with Kippis's description of his poems in *The Library* as "juvenile pieces" The time of publication, too, seems significant: Churchill had established his reputation with *The Rosciad* in March, it seems

probable that he was using his newly won position to publish an earlier unsuccessful work

The text of the *Epistle* follows.

EPISTLE TO R L L

No happy aera e'er was known,
So full of writers, as our own,
While few can boast a lawful claim,
To present, or to future fame
Rhimes they may make, such, ten to one,
As ——— or as ——— have done,
But have as poets, no pretence,
Unless they set the stamp of sense
The clinquant ring of tinsel sound,
Unto the ear is pleasing found,
But sense gives value to the whole,
Rhime is the body, sense the soul.

Nor yet can ev'ry wight of sense,
A poet instantly commence.
'Tis not a long dull train of thought,
Into smooth numbers coldly wrought,
Can give a title to that name,
Which few deserve, but many claim.
No, there is something more required,
Bards, to be bards, must be inspired.
The man, who truly loves and wooes
The favour of the heav'n-born muse,
Must from her fury catch the flame,
And in his bosom feel the same.
That spark, which as the ancients say,
To animate the new-made clay,
PROMETHEUS stole, must fill his breast,
And blaze with warmth divine confest
Then borne on wings of fire, he quits
The servile track of critick wits,
Rejects the doctrines of the schools,
And soars beyond the reach of rules; [2]

[2] Cf Cold-blooded critics, by enervate sires
Scarce hammer'd out, when Nature's feeble fires
Glimmer'd their last; whose sluggish blood, half froze,
Creeps labouring through the veins, whose heart ne er glows
With fancy-kindled heat,—a servile race,
Who in mere want of fault, all merit place,
Who blind obedience pay to ancient schools,
Bigots to Greece, and slaves to musty rules;
The Rosciad, 179 86.

Leaving those laws to be obey'd
By fools, which first by fools were made

The sons of GREECE and ROME thus fir'd
Urg'd on their way, to fame aspir'd,
Their course with noble ardour run
And wore the laurels which they won

Thus fir'd, the sons of Britain feel
An equal, or a greater zeal, [3]
The flying prize as ardent press
With more desert, but less success
Envy our judgment leads astray,
And prejudices bar their way,
Else why are critick herds misled
To tear the crown from SHAKESPEARE'S head,
Which they would only have to grow
And bloom on an Athenian brow
SHAKESPEARE! A modern!—well what then?
Moderns, my learned sir, are men,
And when you've set forth all your store,
What were the mighty ancients more?
What great enchantment's in the sound
Of ROME or ATHENS to be found

That they unto themselves should claim
This grand monopoly of fame? [4]
What is their plea, and, fairly try 'em,
Wherefore is HOMER more than I am?
Not because fate it chanc'd to please,
That HOMER should be born in GREECE;
His merit would have been as great
If born in any other state, [5]

[3] Cf
May not some great extensive genius raise
The name of Britain 'bove Athenian praise,
And whilst brave thirst of fame his bosom warms,
Make England great in letters as in arms?
The Rosciad, 213-16

[4] Cf
Where do these words of Greece and Rome excel,
That England may not please the ear as well?
What mighty magic's in the place or air,
That all perfection needs must centre there?
The Rosciad, 201-4

[5] Cf
Genius is of no country, her pure ray
Spreads all abroad, as general as the day,
Foe to restraint, from place to place she flies,
And may hereafter e'en in Holland rise.
The Rosciad, 207-10.

Nor doth he disjoint all our noses,
Because he wrote as soon as MOSES
Almost as soon, well, let it be
Great adept in chronology

I never shall perplex my pate
About the trifle of a date,
Nor vitiate these my virgin rhimes,
With settling an account of times
Was he to write some ages hence,
He would not have a grain less sense,
And had he ages wrote before,
Doubtless he would not have had more
Born at what place or time you will,
HOMER would have been HOMER still
His Spirit must have been the same,
He might indeed have chang'd his name
In ENGLAND born, perhaps had known
The name of MILTON for his own,
Whilst MILTON, if a son of GREECE,
Had in return made use of his
And ('tis a point I must maintain
Against the antiquated vein
Of supercilious critic pride),
The gain had been on HOMER'S side

Far be it from my thoughts to tread
Irreverent o'er the learned dead,
Envious to lessen their renown,
And tear the sacred trophies down
With something like a filial zeal
Their works I read, admire, and feel;
But if their merit I confess,
Makes that the modern's merit less?
Or doth it follow because they
Have purchas'd honour in their day,
That I (a consequence most fine!)
Mayn't purchase equal fame in mine?
Must my ambition be confin'd,
And lag contentedly behind,
With superstitious awe adore
The virtues which have gone before,
And yet not dare, or dare in vain,
Attempt those virtues to obtain?
The son who struck with servile fears,
His parents excellence reveres,
But thinks it an unduteous deed

Should he their excellence exceed,
And therefore at a distance views,
Admires his track, but not pursues,
Can in good reason only have
The name of an admiring slave;
Whilst that brave youth, and that alone,
Truly deserves the name of son,
Who when a parent's worth is known,
Can't rest until it is his own,
Nor stop, inflam'd with virtue's fire,
But dares be better than his sire [6]

Another poem which may be Churchill's is a short epigram published in *The Library* in May, 1761, under the title "On Reading in the News Papers that the PLAYERS had given a Benefit to a distressed Clergyman" (Written by a Clergyman):

What fine discourses, each revolving year,
On CHARITY from our DIVINES we hear!
The gift of Charity so little theirs,
They send a starving BROTHER to the PLAYERS!
"And who, says Garrick, wonders at the fact?
"Who knows not *Priests* can *talk*, and *Players act*?" [7]

Observe that the author is said to be a clergyman, that the poem is in one of Churchill's two known verse forms, and that there is a reference to Garrick and the other players. Churchill had praised Garrick highly in *The Rosciad* in March, 1761, and in the following month had sharply attacked him in *The Apology*. Garrick almost immediately sought a reconciliation and with the help of Lloyd effected one. The exact chronology of the quarrel and reconciliation is not known, but this poem, appearing in the month following *The Apology*, may have been intended as a friendly gesture in response to Garrick's overtures. The slighting reference to the clergy would, of course, have been entirely characteristic of Churchill.

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[6] *The Library*, I (1761), 152-4.
[7] *Ibid*, 104

EDWARD YOUNG AND WYCOMBE ELECTION

Edward Young wrote to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu on March 1, 1726 "I am obliged to go down to-morrow to *Wycombe election*, which is on Thursday; as soon as I return I will wait on your ladyship" Young's errand at Wycombe has not been identified by his biographers W. Thomas, author of the fullest biography of Young, merely conjectures that Young may have rendered there some political service possibly related to his receipt of a crown pension shortly afterwards [2] It is possible to identify the election mentioned in the letter and to reconstruct Young's errand.

The election held at Wycombe on Thursday, March 3, 1726 was one in a series of disputed parliamentary elections in Wycombe which reflected Walpole's effort to control the House of Commons. An election held at Wycombe on February 1, 1726, to supply a vacancy had returned Charles Collyer.[3] Harry Waller, the defeated candidate, had petitioned the election, charging illegal conduct on the part of local officials in Collyer's favor.[4] Debate in the House on Waller's petition had developed into an attack by the Opposition on Walpole's electioneering methods, as the Tories supported Waller and the Administration upheld Collyer. The Opposition had prevailed, and a new election at Wycombe had been ordered and appointed for March 3.

The election on March 3 again resulted in the return of Collyer. Again Waller petitioned, charging that at this election the poll list was padded to give Collyer a majority of voters, that inspection of

[1] *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe, rev W Moy Thomas (London, 1887), II, 15-16

[2] W Thomas, *Le Poete Edward Young* (Paris, 1901), p 111 "La lettre mentionne une élection parlementaire à Wycombe . . . où le poète doit aller le lendemain, peut-être pour y rendre quelque service politique au gouvernement Quoiqu'il en soit, ses efforts littéraires ou autres étaient appréciés en haut lieu, car il reçut . une pension royale la seule, fait remarquer Maucaulay, que le ministre Walpole ait apparemment accorde à un homme de lettres"

[3] Charles Egerton, M P. from Wycombe, had died November 7, 1725. Egerton had defeated Harry Waller in the elections of 1722, Waller had petitioned that election unsuccessfully

[4] *Journals of the House of Commons* 12 Geo. I February 7, 1725 (*OS*).

the poll list was denied to Waller and his supporters, and that the postmaster dispersed the voters as soon as Collyer was declared elected by illegally reading the Riot Act [5] Again the Administration supported Collyer's side, but again Waller's petition was upheld This time Waller's name was ordered substituted for Collyer's on the Wycombe returns, and the town officials held responsible for the original return of Collyer's name were tried and imprisoned [6] The hearings on Waller's petition of the March 3 election intensified public interest in the whole series of incidents, which had become by this time a contemporary scandal [7]

A pamphlet evidently written in support of Waller accused "a noble Lord, a Stranger of the Borough" of coming to Wycombe to manage the election of March 3 in Collyer's favor and thus, clearly, in favor of Walpole and the Administration [8] Edward Young's connection with that election suggests the identity of this "noble Lord" Young's friend, associate, and literary patron in 1726 was George Bubb Dodington, an active borough-master and supporter of Walpole Dodington was Young's only link with practical Walpolian politics at this time Wharton, who had been his patron in 1722 when Young had stood unsuccessfully for Parliament, was by 1726 in political oblivion, and Young had taken orders in 1724 on expectation of ecclesiastical preferment [9] Moreover, Dodington

[5] *Journals of the House of Commons* 12 Geo I March 8, 1725 (*OS*) A hearing on Waller's petition was held on March 17, 1726

[6] *Journals of the House of Commons* 12 Geo I March 17, 18, 1725 (*OS*), April 5, 6, 7, 1726 The mayor of Wycombe and the postmaster were committed to Newgate, where they remained about two weeks What was evidently an Administration effort to protect them shows in the record in the form of a motion to adjourn, which was offered in the midst of their trial in the House.

[7] Cf a letter in the Portland Mss. dated March 16 "No other news of any kind. Hampden's petition and Wycombe election, both very scandalous, are the only subject of talk" (*Historical Mss Commission Report on the Mss of the Duke of Portland*, VII, 431)

[8] "Wycombe Election," reprinted as an appendix in John Parker, *The Early History and Antiquities of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire* (Wycombe, 1878) See p 100

[9] See a letter from Young to Thomas Tickell reprinted in Richard E Tickell's *Thomas Tickell and the Eighteenth Century Poets* (London, 1931), p 105 The publication of a series of letters from Young to Tickell in this volume has settled the question of the date and circumstances of Young's ordination

seems to have been familiar with the details of this Wycombe election at the time [10] and much later in his life he was to be accused of trying to manage another Wycombe election [11] If Dodington was the "noble Lord" who managed the election of March 3 in the interest of the Administration, then Young's errand in Wycombe on March 3, 1726 was to fill the normal eighteenth century role of clergyman in the train of his patron [12]

The election of March 3 at Wycombe was of more than ordinary importance to Walpole. The likelihood that Young was present in the train of Dodington supports Thomas' conjecture that the grant to Young of a crown pension may have been related to the errand mentioned in Young's letter to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu Thomas' alternative conjecture, that the pension may have rewarded literary efforts, is not similarly supported

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DIRECT ECHOES OF FRENCH POETRY IN STEFAN GEORGE'S WORKS

Stefan George's early association with the young symbolist poets and their master Mallarmé clarified and, occasionally, directed his own poetic aims. Besides, some French verses seem to have found

[10] To Dodington, an under-secretary of the Treasury, John Scrope, the Secretary, wrote on September 20, 1726 "I wish we dont, like Waller, spend more money to get one borough thann would buy half a score" (*Historical Mss Commission Report on Mss in Various Collections*, VI. *Mss of Miss M Eyre Matcham*, p 5) On October 4, Scrope again wrote Dodington, "A county election is a frightful thing " (*Ibid*)

[11] The Earl of Bute wrote Dodington, then Lord Melcombe, on June 15, 1761· "It has been asserted to Lord Shelburn that your lordship attempted to supply his vacancy in Wycomb without his knowledge" (*Historical Mss. Commission Report on Mss in Various Collection*, VI. *Mss of Miss M Eyre Matcham*, p 49) Lord Shelburn, who had been M P. from Wycombe, was raised to the peerage on May 20, 1760

[12] Cf Edward Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons* (Cambridge, 1903), I, 296 "Every considerable eighteenth century borough-master had clergymen in his train This was the case with . . Dodington in the reign of George II" References to Dodington's *Diary* (pp 256, 260, 307) are later than the period in which Young is known to have been attached to Dodington's household.

a direct echo in his poetry E L Duthie, in her well-informed book,[1] has enumerated several passages that George seems to have taken over from Baudelaire and Albert Saint-Paul, we, therefore, restrict ourselves only to such passages as are not mentioned in Miss Duthie's book

The Parnassian poets' usage of color and sound was continued by the symbolists and by George. George's title of a poem, *Weisser Gesang*,[2] reflects, perhaps, Gautier's *Symphonie en blanc majeur* George's *Wir werden heute nicht zum garten gehen* [3] and Théodore de Banville's beginning of a poem

> Nous n'irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés
> Les Amours des bassins, les Naiades en groupe [4]

are similar in theme, some of the words, and, above all, the atmosphere of sadness and subdued resignation

During his very first stay in Paris George decided to translate Baudelaire It is natural, that *Les Fleurs du Mal*, which became part of his life's work, left a deep impression on George's own poetry. The *Einladung* [5] recalls Baudelaire's *Invitation au Voyage* [6] in both poems the flight from the ugly city is glorified in the quick rhythm of short lines Again, *Entfuhrung*, with the opening line *Zieh mit mir geliebtes kind*,[7] makes one think of Baudelaire's *Mon enfant, ma soeur* from the above-mentioned poem.

In George's earliest series of poems, *Zeichnungen in Grau*, which shows the first distinct traces of his contact with the French poets, there is many a passage that betrays Baudelaire's influence.

> Und so wollt ich finden
> Die weise Lasterreiche
> Mit zerstörenden kunsten
> Wollte mit offnen armen

[1] E L Duthie, *L'Influence du symbolisme français dans le renouveau poétique de l'Allemagne* (Paris H Champion, 1933), pp 232 ff

[2] Stefan George, *Das Jahr der Seele*, p 66 We quote throughout from the *Gesamt-Ausgabe* (Berlin Georg Bondi)

[3] *Ibid*, p 20

[4] Théodore de Banville, *Œuvres* (Paris Lemerre, 1889), p. 14

[5] George, *Hymnen, Pilgerfahrten, Algabal*, p. 16

[6] Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris Calmann Levy, 1925), p 84

[7] George, *op cit*, p 64

In mein unheil rennen
Wie ein rasender lieben
Mich ganz verderben
Und bald des todes sein [8]

Mit jener unleugbaren hasslichkeit
Die des lasters majestät ist [9]

These passages breathe Baudelairean spirit, and similar tones will never be found again in George's work. In *Wechsel*,[10] also of his early period, again and again the hair is praised as the one beautiful attribute of the beloved One could think of Baudelaire's *La Chevelure* [11] The line *Aus kunstlichem himmel mich reissen* [12] seems to be a direct translation of Baudelaire's book title *Les Paradis artificiels*

In George's mature work, too, Baudelairean conceptions and rhythms can be found

Ich bin der Eine und bin Beide
Ich bin der zeuger bin der schooss
Ich bin der degen und die scheide
Ich bin das opfer bin der stoss [13]

Je suis la plaie et le couteau!
Je suis le soufflet et la joue!
Je suis les membres et la roue,
Et la victime et le bourreau! [14]

Then we find lines with a precise correspondence in metre and rhythm, although the contents is different·

Je suis l'Ange gardien, la Muse et la Madone [15]
Ich bin freund und fuhrer dir und ferge.[16]

Significantly the female principle of Baudelaire has been transposed into a male principle.

Several passages in Baudelaire contain an enumeration of rare

[8] George, *Die Fibel*, p. 93
[9] *Ibid*, p 91
[10] *Ibid*, p. 96
[11] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 37.
[12] George, *op cit*, p 97
[13] George, *Der Stern des Bundes*, p 27.
[14] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 141
[15] *Ibid*, p 66
[16] George, *Der Teppich des Lebens*, p. 20.

things, with a definite center of gravity in the last words of the line

De l'huile de coco, du musc et du goudron [17]
Où tout n'est qu'or, acier, lumiere et diamants [18]
Tout se fera Benjoin, Encens, Oliban, Myrrhe [19]

One cannot help hearing at the same time George's lines

Den geist von amber weihrauch und zitrone [20]
Aus demant alabaster und kristall [21]
Und werden lorbeer tee und aloe [22]

Especially *se fera* and *werden* are completely parallel Before George there were hardly any similar lines in Germany poetry

Perhaps this initial verse sounded in George's ear·

Je veux te raconter, ô molle enchanteresse,[23]

when he, also as a first line, wrote

Ich will mir jener stunden lauf erzahlen [24]

The situation of a struggle between the poet and the angel, bringer of the severe law, dominates George's *Vorspiel*, whereas Baudelaire wrestles with the devil

Und aller wachen sehnsucht stimmen schrieen
Ich lasse nicht, du segnetest mich denn [25]
Il n'est pas une fibre en tout mon corps tremblant
Qui ne crie O mon cher Belzebuth, je t'adore [26]

Again, in Baudelaire's *Le Rebelle*, an *Ange furieux* announces to the poet

Tu connaîtras la règle!
(Car je suis ton bon Ange, entends tu?) Je le veux! [27]

In George's *Vorspiel* the poet does not become a rebel. He subordinates himself to the Angel and accepts those rules that can be regarded as George's *ars poetica*

[17] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 38
[18] *Ibid*, p 42
[19] *Ibid.*, p 93.
[20] George, *Hymnen*, p 93
[21] *Ibid*, p. 95
[22] *Ibid*, p 35
[23] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 82.
[24] George, *op. cit.*, p 119
[25] George, *Teppich*, p 15
[26] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 57.
[27] *Ibid.*, p 147.

Nun spricht der Ewige ich will' ihr sollt' [28]
Nun tu ich alles was der engel will [29]

Whereas Baudelaire, *poète maudit,* answers

Mais le damné repond toujours "Je ne veux pas" [30]

Bruno Adriani has drawn the attention to the similarity of image and sound between two other passages [31]

Berceuse dont la main aux longs sommeils m'invite [32]
Blumen der fruhen heimat nickten draussen
Und luden schaukelnd ein zum langen schlummer [33]

Furthermore one might find a certain similarity in contents between Baudelaire's *Bénédiction* and George's *Spruche fur die Geladenen in T.* Both poems speak of the malediction of the poet at his birth. The similarity is more pronounced in the earlier French version, *Proverbes* The godmother's gifts of the "fée maligne" are:

Elle te donne comme étrennes
Ces yeux sinistres et si mornes [34]

George's own German version, that speaks of "augen so trub und sonder," made milder that Baudelairean "sinistre," because the poet, at that time, felt no longer that he was *maudit.* Another originally French poem, *D'une veillée,* takes up the theme of Baudelaire's *Bénédiction*

Tes lèvres (elles sont muettes) content le drame
Des âmes que Dieu condamne [35]

A last similarity between Baudelaire and George is of a metrical nature, or rather metrical and syntactical, and belongs probably to the chapter of the influence of the Alexandrine on German poetry. A certain type of measured line strikes us again and again as one of the definite characteristics of George's poetic style:

[28] George, *op. cit*, p 24
[29] *Ibid*, p 16
[30] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 147
[31] Bruno Adriani, *Baudelaire und George* (Berlin Riemerschmidt, 1939), p. 62.
[32] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 105
[33] George, *op cit*, p 37
[34] George, *Schlussband,* p. 134.
[35] *Ibid*, p. 135

Erhellt die weiher und die bunten pfade [36]
Von nackter helle und von blassen duften [37]
Von grabesgrunen und von sichrem heile [38]
Den blauen raden und dem blutigen mohne [39]
Ein stolzes beben und ein reiches schallen [40]
Die kahlen mauern und die starren masten [41]

Like George, Baudelaire often uses this architecturally harmonious verse as a last line so as to give a certain balance to the whole preceding poem

Les miroirs ternis et les flammes mortes [42]

George translates faithfully

Die truben spiegel und die tote helle [43]

We believe that this translated line became the germ for all the other ones which are patterned according to this one. Examples in Baudelaire are

Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes [44]
Le travail de mes mains et l'amour de mes yeux [45]
L'univers moins hideux et les instants moins lourds [46]

Examining now George's relationship to passages from Mallarmé, it is hardly astonishing that the most striking parallel which we find, a direct translation, is not a line from Mallarmé's poems, but an expression belonging to his private life, as Mallarmé impressed George above all as the embodiment of the living poet. George signed some of his letters with "Ihre hand!",[47] which is a translation of Mallarmé's personal formula "Votre main." The other direct translation from the French is, of course, the title of the *Blatter fur die Kunst*, translated after the model of *Les Ecrits pour l'Art*, the symbolist review. In George's title of the poem *Juli-*

[36] George, *Jahr*, p 12
[37] *Ibid*, p 26
[38] *Ibid.*, p 32
[39] *Ibid*, p 37
[40] *Ibid*, p 65
[41] George, *Die Bucher der Hirten- und Preisgedichte*, p 100 Many similar verses could be added
[42] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p. 257
[43] George, *Baudelaire-Umdichtungen*, p 181
[44] Baudelaire, *op cit*, p 9
[45] *Ibid*, p 18
[46] *Ibid.*, p 35.
[47] George, Hofmannsthal, *Briefwechsel* (Berlin Bondi, 1938), p 11

schwermut [48] there seems to be a reminiscence of Mallarme's *Tristesse d'été* George's "In zeiten feucht und falb" [49] can be traced back to Mallarmé's "les siècles fauves" [50] in an almost direct translation The noun "flug" with an adjective of color, is used just as unusually as in Mallarmé's

Des vols qui n'ont pas fui [51]
Ce blanc vol ferme [52]
Aux noirs vols du Blasphème [53]
Dein zauber brach da blaue fluge wehten [54]

A comparison is possible between George's poem in prose, *Heim*, and Mallarmé's prose poem *Plainte d'automne*.

Es klingt von unten her die gassenweise der orgel die wir so oft bespottet die aber am herzen nagt [55]

une orgue de Barbarie chanta languissamment et mélancoliquement sous ma fenêtre un air suranné, banal d'où vient que sa ritournelle m'allait a l'âme ? [56]

Mallarmé's *Apparition* was translated by George. The divine visitor

Passait, laissant toujours de ses mains mal fermées
Neiger de blancs bouquets d'etoiles parfumées [57]

The same theme, the apparition of a higher being bearing flowers and strewing them before the poet, recurs in the first poem of George's *Vorspiel*. In the first of the *Hymnen*, another apparition, Mallarmé's "mal fermées" may have contributed to George's "Halboffen ihre traumesschweren lider" [58] In his poem *Prose* Mallarmé speaks of the poet's turning toward an old grief to understand his sister, i. e. his soul, better, a situation reflected in *Das Jahr der Seele*:

. comme à l'entendre
J'occupe mon antique soin [59]
Mein heilig streben ist mich traurig machen
Damit ich wahrer deine trauer teile [60]

[48] George, *Teppich*, p 75
[49] George, *Jahr*, p 68
[50] Mallarmé, *Poésies*, 39th edition (Paris Gallimard, 1931), p 56
[51] *Ibid*, p 124
[52] *Ibid.*, p 94
[53] *Ibid*, p 133
[54] George, *op cit*, p 32
[55] George, *Tage und Taten*, p 20
[56] Mallarme *Divagations* (Paris Charpentier, 1935), p 8
[57] Mallarmé *Poésies*, p 16
[58] George, *Hymnen*, p 13.
[59] Mallarmé, *op cit*, p 89
[60] George, *Jahr*, p 30

In *Prose* the accompanying soul becomes *docte* by wandering along with the poet, "Et docte déjà par chemins"[61] In the *Jahr der Seele* the poet says to his companion

> Du sprichst mir nach in klugen silben
> Was mich erfreut im bunten buch[62]

Addressing a companion as "sister" is a familiar poetic device, frequent in Baudelaire's and Mallarmé's poems But Mallarmé s "Mon âme vers ton front où rêve, ô calme soeur"[63] seems to have the same tone as George's "O schwester nimm den krug aus grauem thon"[64] Live things, especially eyes, were commonly compared to precious stones George, also, uses this Parnassian comparison

> Ses yeux polis sont faits de mineraux charmants[65]
> et les yeux, semblables aux pierres rares[66]
> Dein auge blau, ein turkis, leuchtet lange[67]

Could one perhaps see a reminiscence of Mallarmé's "les bois oubliés"[68] in George's beautiful innovation "totgesagter park?"[69] Or could Mallarmé's boldly shortened expression "L'adieu suprême des mouchoirs"[70] remind us of the also boldly condensed line of George, "Aus scheidestunden werden tranen rinnen,"[71] that also speak of a farewell?

Kurt Wais, finally, points to the fact that the shipwreck, one of Mallarmé's central themes, also appears in one of George's prose poems[72]

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[61] Mallarmé, *op cit*, p 90
[62] George, *op cit*, p 16
[63] Mallarmé, *op cit*, p 24
[64] George, *Hirtengedichte*, p 11
[65] Baudelaire, *op. cit*, p. 42
[66] Mallarmé, *Divagations*, p 6
[67] George, *Hymnen*, p 32
[68] Mallarmé, *Poésies*, p 48
[69] George, *Jahr*, p 12
[70] Mallarmé, *op cit*, p 44
[71] George, *op cit*, p 45
[72] Kurt Wais, *Mallarmé* (Munich C H Beck, 1938), p 515

CRISTÓBAL DE MESA AND TASSO'S *RIME*

Arturo Farinelli, in his brief essay on "Tasso in Ispagna,"[1] has called attention to the fact that Cristóbal de Mesa, one of the many Spanish poets who visited Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, was a great admirer of Torquato Tasso. He knew the Italian poet personally and was influenced by him ("Mas después que cinco años traté al Taso, El estilo mudé de otra manera"),[2] he wrote a limping Italian sonnet in his honor, to which Tasso graciously replied,[3] and he used the *Gerusalemme liberata* as a model in writing his own heroic poems. But Cristóbal de Mesa has interest also as one of the Spanish authors who assiduously studied the Petrarchists of Italy and wrote sonnets in the Italian manner. I should like here to supplement Farinelli's remarks by pointing out that Mesa was among the first Spanish poets to make translations (without acknowledgment, of course, as was the fashion of the time) from Tasso's *Rime*. His first collection of *Rimas*, published at the end of the volume entitled *Valle de Lágrimas*, Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1607 (1606),[4] appeared only a few months after the first part of Pedro Espinosa's *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*, which includes among many flowers transplanted from Italy a first cluster of sonnets and madrigals from Tasso.[5] Mesa inserts in his collection[6] three sonnets taken from Torquato, none of which had been translated in the *Flores*:

[1] A. Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna*, Turin, Bocca, 1929, II, 237-86

[2] *Rimas*, Madrid, A. Martin, 1611, p. 147v. (Published in the same volume as his *Patrón de Espana*. Copy in the library of the Hispanic Society of America.)

[3] Tasso's sonnet, "Quei che con sommo studio il mondo ammira," was published by Mesa in his *Navas de Tolosa*, 1594, and again in his *Valle de Lágrimas*, 1606, and was reprinted by A. Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, I, 690. It is not included in the various editions of Tasso's lyric verse.

[4] I have used a microfilm reproduction of the copy of this work owned by the Hispanic Society of America. The date 1606 is given at the end of the volume.

[5] See the notes in F. Rodríguez Marín's edition of the *Flores de poetas ilustres*, 1896; E. Mele, "Di alcune imitazioni tassiane di poeti spagnuoli," *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXVI (1904), 34; C. B. Beall, "A Spanish Sonnet imitated from Tasso," *Hispania*, XXV (1942), 423-4.

[6] Pp. 67v-69r.

Quando ya tus cabellos y tus ojos
Pierdan el oro y llamas encendidas,
Armas que vencen almas, vencen vidas,
Causando glorias, y causando enojos
De ti llevando el tiempo los despojos,
En mi estaran tan frescas las heridas,
De tus candidas manos homicidas,
Que prometiendo flores, dan abrojos
Que despues de ti triunfen los años,
Y tu espejo de Venus den al templo,
Por lo que aun desde agora te lastimas
En recompensa de tan graues daños,
Verás en mi de amor vn claro exemplo,
Pues verâs tu beldad viua en mis rimas

Quando la edad, de bienes robadora,
Trocare tu beldad, o gran vengança,
Y ligera hiziere cruel mudança
Del breue don con que te adorna agora
Y esse cabello, que tu frente dora
Boluiere blanco el mal sin esperança,
Y del rostro que grana, y nieue alcança
Faltare el lustre de otra nueua Aurora
Quando (mal grado de tu ser) los años
Den al tiempo de ti triunfos diuersos,
Vista a mi, a quien tu luz tiene tan ciego
Siendo mi fè escudo en tantos daños,
Tu hoguera mi pecho, y mi amor fuego,
Renaceras qual Fenis en mis versos

These are taken from two of Tasso's most popular pieces, which had already been imitated in England by Samuel Daniel (one of them through Desportes) and were soon to be combined into one by Mesa's friend Francisco de Medrano.[7] The original text follows

Quando avran queste luci, e queste chiome
Perduto l'oro, e le faville ardenti
E l'arme de' begli occhi, or sì pungenti,
Saran dal tempo rintuzzate, e dome
Fresche vedrai le piaghe mie, nè come
In te le fiamme, in me gli ardori spenti,
E rinnovando gli amorosi accenti,

[7] See C B Beall, "Francisco de Medrano's Imitations from Tasso," *Hisp Rev*, XI (1943), 76-9. Luis Martín de la Plaza probably had both these sonnets in mind when he composed his "Ocasión de mis penas, Lidia ingrata," included in the *Flores* of Espinosa

Alzerò questa voce al tuo bel nome
E 'n guisa di pittor, che 'l vizio emende
Del tempo, mostrero negli altri carmi
Le tue bellezze in nulla parte offese
Fia noto allor, ch allo spuntar dell'armi,
Piaga non sana, e l'esca un foco apprende,
Che vive, quando spento è chi l'accese

Vedrò dagli anni in mia vendetta ancora
Far di queste bellezze alte rapine·
Vedro starsi negletto, e bianco il crine,
Che la natura, e l'arte increspa, e dora
E sulle rose, ond'ella il viso infiora,
Spargere il verno poi nevi, e pruine,
Così il fasto, e l'orgoglio avrà pur fine
Di costei, ch'odia piu, chi più l'onora
Sol penitenza allor di sua bellezza
Le rimarrà, vedendo ogni alma sciolta
Degli aspri nodi suoi, ch'ordía per gioco
E se pur tanto or mi disdegna, e sprezza,
Poi bramerà nelle mie rime accolta,
Rinnovellarsi, qual Fenice, in foco[8]

Another sonnet of Tasso's, which seems to have inspired no other foreign imitators, was Mesa's model for the following.

Gusta mi dama que la sirua, y ame,
Y mientras su beldad mas reuerencio,
Pone a mi grande amor freno, y silencio,
So pena de no oyrme, aunque mas clame
No quiere que jamas suyo me llame,
Y mi bien de mi mal no diferencio,
Ved si mayor tormento dio Mezencio,
Al mas fiero, al mas impio, al mas infame?
Y peno, y sufro el mal, yo me consumo,
Y no aliuio el dolor con los suspiros,
Porque es mi fuego igual a su belleza
Y si a mas no poder saliere el humo,
Y sangre de los golpes de sus tiros,
Sola culpa tendra naturaleza

Vuol, che l'ami costei, ma duro freno
Mi pone ancor d'aspro silenzio Or quale
Avrò da lei, se non conosce il male,
O medicina, o refrigerio almeno?
E come esser potrà, ch'ardendo il seno

[8] *Opere di Torquato Tasso*, Florence, Tartini e Franchi, 1724, II, 266

Non si dimostri il mio dolor mortale,
Nel risplender di fiamma, a quella eguale,
Ch'accende i monti in riva 'l mar Tirreno?
Tacer ben posso, e tacerò ch'io toglia
Sangue alle piaghe, e luce al vivo foco
Non brami già, questa è impossibil voglia
Troppo spinse pungenti a dentro i colpi,
E troppo ardore accolse in picciol loco
S'apparirà, Natura, e sè n'incolpi [9]

It may be well to note in conclusion that Mesa also translated (p. 103) Castiglione's famous sonnet, "Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine", his version should take its place in the series of imitations so interestingly studied by Morel-Fatio in his "Histoire de deux sonnets." [10]

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O SÔPRO DE DEUS

Em 1896 o insigne poeta português Guerra Junqueiro publicou o seu inspirado poema *A Patria*, bastante bem conhecido e apreciado até fora de Portugal, de maneira que excusado sera fazer aqui uma análise pormenorizada dêle.[1] Entre os conceitos brilhantes que abundam nesta obra mestre, cheia de côr e de força, há um que, mais que nenhum outro, deu motivo à crítica refiro-me à personificação da alma portuguesa pelo papel dum doido Enumera êste as façanhas heróicas do povo português na época da sua grandeza, a dos grandes descobrimentos e das conquistas de ilhas e de continentes inteiros além dos mares, conduzindo à fundação dum império quási mundial, o qual, infelizmente, se desvaneceu tão rápidamente como se tinha construido.[2]

[9] *Ibid*, p 272.

[10] A Morel-Fatio, *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, Paris, E Bouillon, 1904, III, 141-52

[1] A F G Bell, *Studies in Portuguese Literature*, Oxford, 1914, p 221 ss

[2] *Auswahl von Guerra Junqueiros Gedichten*, herausgg v Luise Ey, Heidelberg, 1920, p 88

Cruz de Golgata em ferro traduzida,
Minha espada de herói, o cruz de morte,
Cruz a que Deus baixou por nos dar vida,
Vidas ceifando, desumana e forte
Ergueste imperios, subjugando o Oriente,
Mas Deus soprou ei-los em nada

Desde o ponto de vista histórico, esta maneira de concebêr a queda do império português não e inteiramente exacta. o império português existe ainda O que impediu que Portugal continuasse sendo uma Grande Potencia não foi uma catástrofe terrivel tal como foi a destruição da Armada espanhola, em 1588, mais simplesmente a consequência natural da Revolução francesa que havía de conduzir à declaiação da independência do Brasil.

Estas observações históricas em nada deminuem o esplendor da metáfora Deus soprou . ei-los em nada. . . . O que, sem dúvida, merece uma notícia é que, no texto citado, o que parece ter inspirado o poeta foi a ruina do império espanhol, mais bem que a do império português Com efeito, Guerra Junqueiro parece ter-se lembrado duma poesia de Schiller, bem conhecida e citada com frequência Trata-se do poema sôbre a destruição da Armada espanhola, escrito em 1786 e publicado na revista *Thalia* (II, 71) Citemos aqui a última estrofe:[3]

Gott der Allmächt'ge sah herab,
Sah deines Feindes stolze Löwenflaggen wehen,
Sah drohend offen dein gewisses Grab—
Soll, sprach er, soll mein Albion vergehen,
Erlöschen meiner Helden Stamm,
Der Unterdruckung letzter Felsendamm
Zusammensturzen, die Tyrannenwehre
Vernichtet sein von dieser Hemisphäre?
Nie, rief er, soll der Freiheit Paradies,
Der Menschenwürde starker Schirm verschwinden!
Gott der Allmacht'ge blies,
Und die Armada flog nach allen Winden.

Como é sabido, o poeta alemã aproveitou, para escrever aquela poesia, uma obra francesa entitulada *Portrait de Philippe II roi d'Espagne* de Mercier, publicada em 1785, a qual diz assim:

Le Tout-Puissant voulut conserver ce noble rempart de la liberté . Il souffla, et cette flotte invincible fut brisée et dispersée . Ces mots

[3] *Die unuberwindliche Flotte* (Jubiläumsausgabe, I, 248 ss)

font allusion a la medaille que la reine Elisabeth fit frapper en mémoire de ce grand evenement On voyait au revers une flotte tracassée par la tempête, avec cette legende affavit Deus et dissipati sunt [4]

A metáfora é de origem bíblica. veja-se *Exodo* (XV, 10) *Flavit spiritus tuus et operuit eos mare,* e *Jeremías* (XIII, 24) *Et deseminabo eos quasi stipulam, quae vento raptatur in deserto*

E de notar-se que a atribuição dessa medalha à rainha Isabel é errónea mais bem se trata duma medalha comemorativa da destruição da Armada espanhola derrotada em 1588, batida pelos Holandeses de Middelburg. Veem-se nesta medalha algumas naus lutando contra as ondas, com a inscrição *Flavit Jehova et dissipati sunt. 1588* O revés mostra um templo construido sôbre um promontório com as armas do príncipe Maurício de Orange que ostentam a inscrição· *Allidor, non laedor* O êrro de Mercier é devido ao ter seguido o escritor inglês Joseph Addison, o qual foi o primeiro quem atribuiu a medalha em questão à rainha Isabel

Schiller, porêm, não foi o primeiro poeta a adoptar aquela metáfora o grande poeta francês Jean Racine já se tinha lembrado dela quando escreveu na sua nobre tragédia *Athalie*

> Comme le vent dans l'air dissipe la fumée,
> La voix du Tout-Puissant a chassé cette armée

Nem na Alemanha parece que Schiller fôra o primeiro poeta a adoptá-la Numa poesia religiosa de Martim Crugot, poeta silesião da segunda metade do século XVIII°, intitulada *O Cristão na Soledade,* publicado em Breslau em 1756, na qual ainda se trata da Armada espanhola lêmos O Omnipotente soprou e dispersou à invencível como o vento dispersa a palha.[5] E sabido que o poeta mais anterior mencionado por Schiller na primeira edição do seu poema é este mesmo Crugot, cuja poesia é, portanto, a fonte principal da *Armada invencível* de Schiller.[6]

Voltando ao poeta português, não há motivo para suppôr que Guerra Junqueiro tivesse conhecido um ou o outro dos textos alemães ou franceses anteriores ao de Schiller. Pelo contrário, tudo indica que a sua única fonte foi a obra do grande poeta alemã, o qual, conhecido na Peninsula por meio de traduções francesas e

[4] Mercier, *Portrait de Philippe II roi d'Espagne, Amsterdam,* 1785, p IX

[5] K H Manchot, *Martin Crugot, der altere Dichter der unuberwindlichen Flotte Schillers,* Bremen, 1886, p 23.

[6] *Ed. cit,* p 349

espanholas, foi para êle, sem dúvida, um modêlo muito simpatico, visto que nele encontramos o mesmo idealismo elevado, um pouco retórico, que caracteriza a musa de Guerra Junqueiro. Parece todavia que o poeta português ha reconhecido que uma transferência da nossa metáfora não fora inteiramente feliz o sôpro de Deus, quer dizer o vento, pode esparramar e destruir uma armada e talvez (como nos versos de Racine) um exército, mas é difícil imaginar que possa produzir a ruina dum império mundial ao menos direitamente Por esta razão ha introduzido, parece, a expressão *ergueste*, que em efeito sugere a comparação do império português com uma torre ou outro edificio alto, que o vento pode muito bem derrotar Não obstante, o conceito da queda do império português fica pouco histórico, observação com a qual começamos êste estudo [7]

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OLD PROVENÇAL *BEDERESC*

The words *bederesc* and *bederesca* occur in a poem of Raimbaut d'Aurenga (*Cars douz e feinz*, Bartsch 389, 22) As far as I can discover. they have never been explained Levy (*Supplement-Worterbuch*, I, 137 and VII, 666), who quotes the lines in question, leaves these words untranslated. So does Appel in his edition (*Raimbaut von Orange*, pp 86-94). But we are not without some indication of their meaning Here is an abridged paraphrase of the stanza in which they occur "The low song of the *bederesc* is dear and sweet to me, for it spreads out joyously and lives and grows When the crickets sing on the wall, its voice falls lighter than cork, let none rise up there but the cricket or the *bederesca*." It is clear that *bederesc* designates a "bird or other singing creature," as Appel says (p. 89); *bederesca* is the corresponding feminine form

[7] A idéia que o vento é o sôpro de Deus é inteiramente bíblica e se acha, como m'informa o meu amigo, Dr A R. Nykl, tambem no Alcorão Cito tambem da obra d'Alphonse Daudet, *Lettres de mon moulin*, p 26 [Um moleiro fala] "Moi je travaille avec le mistral et la tramontane, qui sont *la respiration du bon Dieu* . . ."

Now, there is a well-attested late Latin word *bitriscus*, which means "wren." This would suit admirably in Raimbaut's poem I suggest therefore, that the words *bederesc* and *bederesca* are Provençal derivatives of this word.

Alice Brugger (pp 36-37 of her thesis *Les noms du roitelet en France*, Zurich, 192?) gives several possible etymologies of *bitriscus*, but these, which are at best uncertain, need not detain us It is enough that the word existed. Somewhat more interesting is the list (p 36) of Latin variants of *bitriscus*, which she takes from the *Complément* to Rolland's *Faune populaire de la France* (1905). Among these is *biteriscus*, with an extra -e-, which is precisely the form we need for Provençal *bederesc*. Unfortunately, the *Complément* gives no hint of the source of these variants

Bitriscus would normally have become something like **beiresc* in Provençal, but *biteriscus* could develop into *bederesc*. True, one would expect the unstressed -e- in this position to drop out, and we must confess that the form *bederesc* has a rather learned appearance The vowel may have been retained, as Appel suggests (p. 89, though without reference to *bitriscus*), because of a fancied connection with Béziers, *Baeterrae*

Miss Brugger (pp 41 ff) cites a number of modern dialect names for the wren which suggest descent from *bederesc* Most of these have an initial *rey-* or the equivalent Among them are *radébéré* (Cantal), *rébédéré* (Ardèche), *rebédédé* (Aveyron). It will be noticed that these localities are well within the limits of the southern dialects, so the filiation could be directly through *bederesc*. Miss Brugger thinks that *radébéré* is the older form, equivalent to *reybéré* with an intercalated *de*, since one ordinarily says "king of something" Then *rébédéré* would be the result of metathesis My own feeling is that *rébédéré* goes back to **rebederesc*, and that if there was any metathesis here it worked the other way—perhaps for the reason Miss Brugger suggests: it sounded more intelligible that way. It is interesting, in this connection, to consider several Lyonese variants which Miss Brugger presents, of the type *répétéré*, which she also connects with *bitriscus*, or *pitriscus*.

If, then, we find modern names for the wren like *ré-bédéré* and *ré-pétéré*, why not an older *bederesc*? I think we may safely add these entries to our Old Provençal lexicon·

bederesc, s m, wren
bederesca, s f (female) wren [1]

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THE FRANKLIN'S TALE, LINE 942

"Withouten coppe he drank al his penaunce"

The foregoing line has been variously interpreted Citing as parallels only the occurrences of a similar idiom in the *Tale of Beryn*, W. W Skeat glossed it "in full measure" [1] Presently H B Hinckley settled upon the sense, "under difficulties." [2] J M Manly, probably influenced also by the *Beryn*-passages, believed that the best rendering was, "got a beating." [3] Professor F. N. Robinson, after admitting that "under difficulties" was a possibility, suggested as an alternative "in full draft" [4]

A good many related phrases may be found, most of them in French poetry either accessible to Chaucer or from shortly after his day [5] From these it is clear that none of the senses proposed is wholly satisfactory, for none of them covers all the cases. But from them all, one may satisfy himself as to how the phrase came to have a particular sense

[1] I am indebted to Professor Leo Spitzer for certain suggestions in connection with this note F M C

[1] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v (Oxford· Clarendon Press, 1914), 389, this interpretation was accepted by others, for instance G H Gerould, *Old English and Medieval Literature* (New York Nelson, 1929), p 229. The citations from *Beryn* are given at the end of this paper

[2] "Chauceriana," *Modern Philology* XVI (1918), 47 In his earlier *Notes on Chaucer* (1907), he described the passage as containing an "allusion not yet explained"

[3] *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (New York Holt, 1928), p 607.

[4] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston· Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 828, all my quotations from Chaucer's works are from this text

[5] Several of these were discovered or listed by G L. Kittredge in "The Authorship of the English *Romance of the Rose*," *Harvard University Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I (1892), 32

A proverbial way of saying that a person must take the consequences of his acts was that he must drink his own brew

> Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng [6]
> S'il fait folie, si la beive [7]

This he must do, no matter how distasteful the beverage—even if it were his own sorrow

> For what I drye or what I thynke,
> I wil myselven al hyt drynke,
> As ferforth as I kan myn art [8]
> [Women's] wrecche is this, oure owen wo to drynke [9]

Especially was it possible to drink the woes of love.

> [You,] Qui tant en as beu d'angoisses,
> Que touz en ies desfigurez [10]
> Teus genz beivent trop de mesaise [11]
> Tu as gouste de son [Love's] buvrage [12]

(The lover says at once that as a result, he is utterly wretched.) In Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is a lengthy passage in which the lover describes his experiences as though they had involved intoxicants the various stages and aspects of love produce in him all the symptoms of hard drinking [13]

[6] From the "Song Against the King of Almaigne (Song of Lewes)," in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, edited by Carleton Brown (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1932), p 131

[7] E. Langlois, *Le Roman de la Rose* (Paris Société des Anciens Textes Français III, 1921), 12640 Cf also the notion that something is brewed for mankind by a guardian spirit like Reason

> Dont est il bien fol qui refuse
> La liqueur de quoy elle abeuvre
> Creature (Jean Froissart, *Trésor Amoureux*, edited by Aug Scheler [Brussels Devaux, 1870-1876], III, 247)

[8] *The House of Fame*, 1879-1882

[9] *Troilus and Criseyde*, II, 784

[10] *Roman de la Rose*, 4264

[11] *Roman de la Rose*, 11535 ff

[12] Froissart, *Paradys d'Amours* (Scheler, I), 678.

[13] Edited by G. C Macaulay (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1901), III, VI, 75-400

[I] am so drunken of that sihte [of the lady]

And thanne [when away from my lady] I drinke a biter swete
With dreie lippe and yhen wete

Of love, which min herte assaileth,
So drunke I am that mi wit faileth

Now the usual term for the discomforts involved in falling in love without due encouragement was "penance" or "penitence",[14] it of course implied suffering and torment

Ennuy me fait vo souffrance,
Car penance
Avez empris et tourmente[15]
Car je [a lover] sueffre grant penitance[16]
[A lover who] A souffert grant penitance[17]
[Dorigen] Hath swich a pitee caught of his penaunce[18]
Pour ce [being in love] reçoi, par saint Nicaise,
Grief penitance.[19]

Except in Chaucer's line, I know no example of "drinking penance", yet if 'penance' had come to mean much the same thing as 'sorrow due to love,' then one may easily see how the word might come to be substituted for the phrase Furthermore, if "penance" were to be drunk at all, the process would of course be purely internal, and no cup would be needed Hence to "drink without the cup" would come to mean, 'suffer inwardly because of one's emotions'

[14] Like several terms much in the mouths of court poets, this was appropriated from the vocabulary of religion Striking examples of this practice may be found in A. de Montaiglon's edition of *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier a l'Observance d'Amours* (Paris Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1881) Guillaume de Machaut seems to have avoided the practice, but Froissart had no aversion to it. see his *Trésor Amoureux*, XIX ff. (Scheler, III, 94).

[15] Gaston Raynaud, *Les Cent Balades* (Paris. Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1895), p 137.

[16] *Paradys d'Amours*, p 568

[17] *Paradys d'Amours*, p 1268

[18] *Franklin's Tale*, p 740

[19] Froissart, *L'Espinette Amoureuse* (Scheler, I, 2037) In matters of phrasing, Froissart was the French writer whom Chaucer was most likely to follow Machaut avoided "penance" in his love-poetry, even when tempted by a long series of rhymes in *-ance*; and Deschamps, for all his fluency in describing his sorrow, seems not to have thought of drinking it.

It might have a rather cheap sense, as when used of the wretched adventurer in the *Tale of Beryn*. The Pardoner intends to secure the barmaid's company for himself, but, says the author, he would have been better off lying in the mire

For such was his fortune, he drank without the cupp [20]

Later, the host of the Canterbury tavern announces that if the Pardoner attempts to realize his plans,

He shall drynk for Kittis love withoute cup or pot [21]

But in the *Franklin's Tale*, the phrase obviously refers to the pangs of true love, and however jaunty or slangy it may seem, it is used seriously

Probably, then, Chaucer's line had a double implication that the Squire's draught of unpleasant experience was taken internally, out of sight of all men, and that it caused him great anguish Although the line may not be easily paraphrased so as at once to preserve the metaphor and to give its meaning, the sense is, "In secrecy he suffered bitter pain from love"

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FOUR CHAUCER SAINTS

A brief study of the saints by which the pilgrims swore indicates that the choice of oaths was not entirely haphazard Skeat remarks in his edition of Chaucer that the carpenter who lived at Oxford would naturally swear by St Frideswide (A 3449) since the priory of St Frideswide was at Oxford, and that John, in the Reve's Tale, being a Northumberland man would swear by a Northumberland saint, St Cuthbert (A 4127); but in neither case has he found the complete significance of the oath.[1] Saint Frideswide besides being a local saint was noted for her ability to heal the sick.[2] That she was celebrated in the time of Chaucer for profici-

[20] F. J. Furnivall and W. G Story, *The Tale of Beryn* (London. Early English Text Society, Extra Series, cv, 1909), 306

[21] Line 460

[1] F N Robinson in his text adds nothing to Skeat here

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, October 19, VIII, 533

ency in the art of healing is seen in the fact that her present shrine, which was reconstructed on the plan of that built for her in the latter half of the thirteenth century, has woven among its carvings leaves which have healing properties.

The maples, bryony, celandine, columbine, and water crow-foot, which all have healing properties and are to be found included in the old herbals allude to the nursing of the sick to which St Frideswide was devoted, for she had learnt the art of healing from her aunt, the Abbess of New Minster [3]

The situation in lines A 3442-52 is just such as to call forth an expletive of this sort The carpenter thinks that Nicholas is ill, he has been studying magic too much Therefore, he does not simply express his excitement by calling out the name "Frideswide," but he calls directly for aid "Help us, Frideswilde"

The expletive 'by seint Cutberd' (A 4127) is used just as fittingly by John in the Reeve's tale as 'Frideswide' was by the carpenter. When the two students find that they can no longer go back to the school that night they beg the miller to grant them the hospitality of his house for the night, which the miller gladly does. Though it was natural for John being a Northumberland man to swear by a Northumberland saint, there may be a second reason for the use of this expletive John in thanking the miller before suggesting that they are hungry, swears by Saint Cuthbert. St. Cuthbert on one occasion entertained angels unaware and was rewarded by having food miraculously supplied him:

> þo he cam a-ȝein with þe hote bred his gist ne fond he nouȝt,
> þare of halde þis holie man, gret wonder in is þouȝt
> þicke snouȝ was þare-oute he ne miȝte nouȝt finde is fore,
> ȝware-forth he wende a-wei in snowe ne in þe flore
> Ase he souȝte þeosne holie man a[n] wende a-boute wed wide,
> he smulde a suyþe swote smul in a chaumbri þare-bi side
> þo he into þe caumbre cam he fond a bord i sprad,
> And þreo loves þare op on al hote þo was he wel glad,
> And seide, þis was godes Aungel þat hath þis hidere i-brouȝt, [4]

[3] J Charles Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, (London, 1905), pp 67-71 See also, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City Oxford. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England (London, 1939), p 43

[4] *Legendary Lives of Saints* (*E E T S* 1887), I, 361; cf Venerabilis Bedae, Opera Quae supersunt omnia edited with English translation by J A Giles (London, 1843) IV, 228-233, 244-247

In swearing by Saint Cuthbert, John suggests to the miller the idea that hospitality is rewarded When the rewards gained by the miller are remembered, the irony of the use of the expletive here becomes apparent

Skeat's note concerning St Yve (B 1417) is glaringly inaccurate He identifies this saint with the little known St Ivia or Ivo, a Persian bishop who preached in England in the seventh century F. N Robinson in a note on this interpretation thinks that the saint referred to is Yves (or Yve), the patron saint of Brittany but names also a possibility the twelfth-century bishop of Chartres I believe that Chaucer is more likely to have had in mind the French saint, Saint Ivo of Chartres,[5] than the Breton saint The other saints sworn by in this tale, the Shipman's, are 'seint Martyn' (B 1338), 'Seint Denys of Fraunce' (B (1341), 'seint Jame' (B 1545) and 'Marie' (B 1592) Since the scene of the Shipman's Tale is St Denis of France, the first two oaths indicated are quite in character, for both Saint Martyn and Saint Denis were in turn patron saints of France Marie was not a local saint Swearing by Saint James, presumably of Compostella, would also be quite natural, for his was one of the most frequently visited shrines of Chaucer's day, but it would be peculiar for the merchant of the Shipman's Tale to pass by the famous French bishop, St. Ive, and seek out a Breton saint or a comparatively unknown English saint with which to enforce his word

Another imprecation the significance of which has been overlooked is found in the prologue to the Merchant's tale Here the Merchant swears by 'Seint Thomas of Ynde' (E 1230) to enforce the truth of his statement.

That I seye sooth, by Seint Thomas of Ynde (E 1230)

The incredulity of Thomas the Apostle, who was later a missionary to India, is well-known. That this attribute of Thomas was a popular tradition may be seen in legendary art which represents him as either 'placing his hand, with an expression of doubt and fear, on the wounds of the Savior, or, his doubts being removed, he is gazing upwards in adoration and wonder.'[6]

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[5] *Acta Sanctorum*, May 20, vol v, 78-83.

[6] Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, ed Estelle M Hurll (Boston, 1895) I, 242-244

SOME CHAUCER ALLUSIONS BY SIR EDWARD COKE

Since the publication of Miss Spurgeon's monumental collection of Chaucer allusions,[1] a number of articles have appeared offering supplemental references.[2] So far as I am aware, no one has verified Miss Spurgeon's single reference to Coke,[3] the authenticity of which she herself was unable to confirm

The purpose of this note is twofold. (A) to supply the source and quotation from Coke to which Miss Spurgeon alluded and to correct her dating of the passage, and (B) to present two additional Chaucer allusions by Coke.

A. Coke's reference to the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, of which Miss Spurgeon said she had "not been able to trace the origin," occurs in *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: Concerning High Treason, and other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminall Causes.*[4] The relevant section appears in Chapter Twenty, which is concerned with a statute enacted in 1403 (5 H. 4. ch. 4) and is titled 'Of Felony in such as use the Craft of Multiplication." It reads as follows:

CAP XX

Of Felony in such as use the craft of Multiplication

NONE from henceforth shall use to multiply gold or silver, or use the craft of multiplication and if any the same doe, he shall incur the pain of felony.

This is the shortest act of Parliament that we remember before the making whereof, divers of the Nobility, Gentry, and others did wast and consume a great part of their inheritance, and wealth, about the art of

[1] C. F E Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, Cambridge University Press, 1925.

[2] See J E Wells, *A Manual of the Writings of Middle English* (New Haven, 1916), and Supplements.

[3] Spurgeon, III, 66 "[n a 1634] Coke . [d. 1634] his good opinion of the Canon's Yeoman's Tale,' citing Emerson's statement that "Coke valued Chaucer highly because the Canon Yemen's Tale illustrates the Statute fifth Henry IV, chap 4 against alchemy"

[4] London, M Flesher for Lee and Pakeman, 1644, p 74, *The First Part of the Institutes* . (London, Printed for the Societie of Stationers, 1628), is more popularly known as Coke's Commentary on Littleton.

multiplication, by the subtile and sinister perswasion of certain imposters, and deceivers, which took upon them to be skilfull therein, and to be able to multiply gold and silver, being themselves for the most part very poor and indigent persons, of whom it was said, *Quod pollicentur alis ingentes divitias, & ipsi petunt parvas drachmas* See Chaucer our English poet, who wrote about the time of the making of this Act, in the tale of the Channons Yeoman, fo 63 (*in libro meo,*) that The end of this sliding and cursed craft (so full of imposture and deceit) is extream beggery He is worth the reading, for he discovereth the secrets of this Craft, as our Act tearms it

Both the *Second* and *Third Institutes* had been completed by Coke in 1628; but he had deferred their publication since, in his discussions of many controversial constitutional questions, he made the Parliament and the common law the supreme authorities [5] Publication, he justifiably suspected, would be tantamount to inviting imprisonment in the Tower. His home and offices were, in fact, ransacked in 1631 by order of the Privy Council, and his manuscripts and papers, even including his will, were still in Charles' possession at the time of Coke's death in 1634 [6] They were not returned to his son until a resolution of the House of Commons on 12 May 1641 provided that Coke's heirs should ' publish in print the commentary . . . according to the intention of the said Sir Edward Coke." [7]

The *Third Part of the Institutes* was accordingly published in 1644. The date then for this entry should be either 1628, by which year the *Institutes* were probably completed, or 1644, the date of publication; the date is not 1634, as chosen by Miss Spurgeon perhaps because that being the year of Coke's death it seemed a reasonable tentative *terminus ad quem*

B There is another Chaucer allusion in the *Third Institutes,* in Chapter One, page one, dealing with a statute enacted in 1352 (25 E 3. ch. 2), called *De proditionibus* The chapter, " Of High Treason," deals with various kinds of treason, among them the

[5] W S Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, Methuen & Co Ltd, 1924), v, 471

[6] C Wm Johnson, *The Life of Sir Edward Coke* (London, Henry Colburn, 1837), II, 320-329

[7] *Ibid*, II, 458 f The actual bill in furtherance of the resolution was not brought in till 7 March 1642, the journals of 3 June 1642 state that " The Comment upon Magna Charter " (*The Second Part of the Institutes*) is already printed, cf *D. N B*, XI, 243

use of counterfeit coins called "Lusheburgh." The marginal note explains

Lusheburghs, alias *Luxenburghs* were a kinde of base Coine to the likenesse of our English money, so called, because they were coined in *Lusheburgh*, which sometime was an Earledome, and after a Dukedome See *Chaucer* in the Prologue to the Monks Tale, the Host speaking to a lusty Monk, saith, *God wot, no Lusheburghes pay ye*, that is (upon the coherence of the Verse) No payment make ye that is not full and currant

The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England[8] also contains an allusion to Chaucer, this to the Serjeant at Law. The reference occurs in Coke's comment on the *Statutum de Marlebridge*, enacted in 1267 (52 H. 3 ch 11). The statute forbids fines in certain cases "for vicious pleading."

[Pro pulchre placitando] In truth it was, as hath been said, as well in respect of the vicious pleading, as of the faire pleading by way of amendment.

This extended to pleadings, and not unto Counts, and pleints, neither doth it extend to the Kings higher Courts of Justice, but to these four here named, for in the higher Courts there were faire and good pleadings; whereof the English Poet (speaking of the Serjant at Law) saith,

> Thereto he could indite and make a thing,
> There was no wight could pinch at his writing

The Second Part was published, under the circumstances described above, in 1642.

Although Coke consciously tried to ornament his style by citations from a wide variety of sources, he apparently had little respect for "poetasters," whom he stigmatizes at the end of his discussion of the statute on alchemy:

The fatall end of these five are beggery; This kind of Alchemist, the Monopolist, the Concealer, the Informer, and Poetasters.

> *Saepe pater dixit, Studium quid inutile tentas?*
> *Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes*

I could give examples (of mine own observation) of all these, if it were pertinent to our purpose[9]

[8] London, M. Flesher, and R Young, for E D. R. M. W L and D P, 1642, p 123

[9] *The Third Part of the Institutes* . . , p. 75.

His use of Chaucer, then, to explain and substantiate the legal analyses is doubly flattering to the poet For evidently with Coke, one of the great minds of English legal history, the reputation of Chaucer had not suffered that deterioration which Miss Spurgeon noted [10] was to be his fate in the seventeenth century

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CHAUCER AND *PARTONOPE OF BLOIS*

Professor R M. Smith, in *MLN,* 51 (1936), 320-322, has pointed out some striking parallels between Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and a Middle-English version of the Old French romance *Partenopeus de Blois* He has not listed all the parallels Compare, for instance, the following

Chaucer	*Partonope of Blois*
Ne in Belmarye ther nys so fel leon, That hunted is, or for his hunger wood, Ne of his praye desireth so the blood, As Palamon to sleen his foo Arcite (*KnT*, 2630-33) And kyng Emetreus, for al his strengthe, Is born out of his sadel a swerdes lengthe, So hitte him Palamoun er he were take, (*KnT*, 2645-47)	As a lyon þat wode was he ferde, That hongry was and lakked his pray, So ferde he when þat he sey He myght not rescowe gentill Gaudyns, (10577-80) [1] And hym hitte with so grete an Ire, Oute of his sadile he made hym lepe (9930-31) And fro þe stede pat he be strode Oute of þe sadill he hym caste (10853-54) and hym so hitte That in his sadill he myght not sitte (10972-73)
At many a noble armee hadde he be At mortal battailles hadde he been fiftene, And foughten for oure feith at Tramyssene In lystes thries, an ay slayn his foo (*Prol*, 60-33)	In many a mortall battaille haþe he be In listes often eke fought haþe he, And ever of his Enemeyce þe better haþ hadde (11858-60)

There are doubtless others.

[10] Spurgeon, I, Pref x

[1] Ed. A T Bodtker, *EETS, ES,* CIX (1912).

But it does not follow—as Professor Smith would have it—that Chaucer's lines were derived from *Partonope of Blois* Although this OF romance may be dated as early as the twelfth century, no manuscript of the ME version has been dated earlier than the mid-fifteenth century,[2] and although Professor Smith points to Chaucer's references to 'Parthonope" in *Anelida* (line 58) and in *Troilus* (v 1503), the Parthonope to whom Chaucer refers and Partonope of Blois are unquestionably two entirely different men Chaucer's Parthonope is one of the seven heroes who died at the famous siege of Thebes, by no means should he be confused with Partonope of Blois Until the English version of *Partonope of Blois* can be dated prior to the fifteenth century, or the Chaucerian lines in this version shown to have counterparts in some OF version,[3] lack of evidence to the contrary should force us to attribute these parallels to Chaucerian influence on the fifteenth-century English translator.

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CRESSEID'S LEPROSY AGAIN

In *MLN*, LIX, 265-69, Professor Marshall W. Stearns points out that in Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* the poet's choice of Saturn and the Moon as the planets to bestow leprosy upon Cresseid is astrologically appropriate inasmuch as leprosy is one of the diseases under the jurisdiction of Saturn. But nowhere does Professor Stearns explain Henryson's choice of Luna as Saturn's co-worker in bestowing upon Cresseid the dreadful disease. What has Luna to do with the matter? Perhaps the answer may be found in the text of an early sixteenth-century astrologer, Joannes ab Indagine, whose twenty-third "Canon" reads.

Saturne with the Moone engendreth the fallen sicknesse, blacke chollere, leprosy and fistula, . morphew, goute, and oftentimes sodaine panges[1]

[2] Cf Bodtker's "Prefatory Note"

[3] I do not find any of these Chaucerian lines in the Tours MS 939 (MLA Rotograph 95) or in the Bibliotheque Arsenal MS, ed. G A Crapelet (Paris, 1834), two volumes

[1] *Briefe introductiones . . unto the art of Chiromancie, . Physi-*

Francisco Junctinus, author of one of the most comprehensive texts on astrology in the Renaissance, who analyzes and reports his mediaeval predecessors with scholarly acumen, also writes under a chapter headed "De Elephantia [Leprosy]"

Luna in Tauro, & Saturnus in Scorpione in eius oppositione, vel Saturnus in Tauro & Luna in Scorpione, si nulla beneficia protexerit, elephantiae vitium decernunt [2]

Joannes Baptista Porta, another Renaissance writer who reports faithfully the mediaeval astrologers, records the following (from Julius Firmicus Maternus's *Astronomicon sive Matheseos*) under a chapter entitled "Morbi Lunares"

Iulius Firmicus, corpus macularum varietate signare dixit, lepra, ut malignis ulceribus, in corpus ipsum assidua contorsione deformet [3]

And Claudius Ptolemy's authoritative *Quadripartitum* substantiates the notion that Luna is definitely connected in some way with the leprous affliction

For the most part injuries come about when the moon is near the solstitial or equinoctial signs, particularly at the spring equinox, injuries by white leprosy, at the summer solstice, by lichens, at the fall equinox, by leprosy, [4]

Henryson's choice of Lune as Saturn's partner in bestowing leprosy upon Cresseid is therefore unquestionably appropriate

In his attempt "to examine the poet's background for and presentation of the leprosy of Cresseid," [5] Professor Stearns presents the probability of Henryson's first-hand observance of lepers at Dunfermline, but he neglects to consider what Henryson might have learned from the texts of the eminent mediaeval physicians. Henryson depicts Cresseid's leprosy as a "seiknes Incurabill" which "for evermair" deprives her of her "greit fairnes, . . .

ognomy, . Astrology, trans. Fabian Withers (London, 1575), Bk II, sig Kiiii verso

[2] *Speculum Astrologiae* (Lugduni, 1581), I, 290 This statement appears (almost verbatim) also in Joannis Joviani Pontani's *De Rebus Coelestibus*, Liber IX, in *Opera* (Venice, 1519), III, 262 verso

[3] *Physiognomoniae Coelestis Libri Sex* (Rothomagi, 1650), p 61 Maternus's *Matheseos* is, with Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*, one of the two most authoritative astrological texts of classical antiquity

[4] Bk III, ch 12 I cite from F E Robbins's translation, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, 1940), p. 327.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

bewtie gay, wanton blude, and . . goldin Hair" (lines 313-315), and he associates the cause of the disease with "Melancholy" (line 307) [6] He makes Luna bestow upon Cresseid the following sentence (lines 337-341)

> 'Thy Cristall Ene minglit with blude I mak,
> Thy voice sa cleir, unplesand, hoir, and hace,
> Thy lustie lyre ourspred with spottis blak,
> And lumpis haw appeirand in thy face,
> Quhair thow cummis, Ilk men sall fle the place',

Henryson remarks Cresseid's "uglye Lipper face" (line 372), and also the

> bylis blak ourspred in hir visage,
> And hir fair colour faidit and alterait (lines 359-396)

And Cresseid finally wails (lines 443-449)

> 'My cleir voice and courtlie carrolling,
> Quhair I was wont with Ladyis for to sing,
> Is rawk as Ruik, full hiddeous, hoir, and hace,
> My plesand port, all utheris precelling—
> Of lustines I was hald maist conding—
> Now is deformit the Figour of my face
> To luik on it na Leid now lyking hes'

Now a remarkably similar description of leprosy or elephantiasis may be found in almost every medical work of any importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—works which include ancient classical authorities, the Arabian authorities, and the eminent English physicians [7] All of these medical men are agreed that (at least after a certain stage) the disease is incurable, and that it is precipitated by either the melancholic humour or its equivalent, the black bile [8] Collectively they are agreed that the disease deprives

[6] All references to lines from the *Testament of Cresseid* are from *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed G Gregory Smith (Edinburgh and London, 1908), vol III

[7] Cf Chaucer's list of authoritative physicians cited by the Doctor of Physic (*C T*, A429-434) Of the doctors I cite anon, Rhases, Galen, Serapion, Avicenna, Gaddesden, Bernard Gordon, and Gilbertus Anglicus are on Chaucer's list

[8] Paulus Aegineta, Galen, Nonnus, Psellus, Avenzoar, Leo, and Bartholomaeus Anglicus associate elephantiasis or leprosy specifically with melancholy, Actuarius, Avicenna, Haly Abbas, and Rhases associate it with black bile (from which, of course, melancholy arises). See *The Seven*

one of hair, turns the color of the skin to a blackish hue, covers the body (particularly the face) with ulcerations, tubercles, or spots, alters the eyes, changes the voice, and deforms the body For example, among the ancient classical physicians who discuss the symptoms of elephantiasis, Celsus says "The upper part of the body is covered with frequent spots and tumours, ."[9] Aretaeus writes. "The face in particular is affected with callous tubercles or warts, [10] Aetius says "the cheeks and chin become thickened and of a livid colour. . eminences are formed all over the body, but especially on the forehead and chin"[11] Actuarius records "tumours on the face, an alteration of the appearance of the eyes, a change of the voice, . and cutaneous eruptions of an intractable nature"[12] Even Pliny describes elephantiasis "as affecting the face in particular with hard, rough, black maculae"[13]

Among the Arabian physicians, whose translators call the disease *lepra*, Avicenna records the symptoms as "redness of the face, inclining to lividity, falling off of the hairs, . affection of the breathing, thickening and discoloration of the lips, loss of voice"[14] Serapion writes that the face "is swelled, livid, and covered with hard pustules, the hairs of the eyebrows fall off, the whole aspect becomes hideous, the voice is changed, . . and ulceration seizes different parts of the body"[15] And Rhases says: "The colour of the eye is changed, the voice becomes rough, the face is swelled . and red with nodes, the hairs fall off, and the extremities at last become swelled and ulcerated."[16]

Among the English physicians the descriptions are likewise detailed and appalling Bernardus de Gordon says: " . . on the face there is a kind of pallor verging upon the deathly, and the appearance of the face is terrible with its fixed look . The color of the face is reddish inclining to blackness, the breathing begins to alter, and the voice becomes hoarse"[17] John of Gad-

Books of Paulus Aegineta, trans. Francis Adams (London, 1846), II, 1-23 In his commentary on each chapter of Aegineta, Adams presents detailed statements paraphrased from all the other important mediaeval physicians

[9] Adams, *op. cit*, p 6
[10] *Ibid*, p 9
[11] *Ibid*, p. 10
[12] *Ibid*, p 11.
[13] *Ibid*, p 6
[14] *Ibid*, p 12
[15] *Ibid*, p 12
[16] *Ibid*, p 14
[17] *Practica dicta Lilium medicinae* (Lyons, 1491), cap xxii Cited by W. C Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (New York, 1926), p 42

desden writes " . the color of the body tends toward black, the patient is afflicted with labored breathing and a husky voice, thinness and falling of the hair . and a greasiness of the skin " [18] Gilbertus Anglicus adds "The eyes are watery and bloodshot." [19] All of the physical details of Cresseid's leprosy, one perceives, may be found in the works of the eminent mediaeval physicians

It may be observed that the afflicted Cresseid's diet of "mowlit Breid" instead of her customary "waillit Wyne and Meitis" (lines 440-441) is also substantiated by the medical authorities In his regimen for elephantiasis Paulus Aegineta writes "The food should be barley bread . . But let him abstain from wine during the whole continuance of the complaint" [20] And Dr. Andrew Boorde maintains "He that is infectyd wyth any of the foure kyndes of lepored must refrayne from al maner of wynes, and from new drynkes, and strong ale, . . and from eating of fresshe beef, . and in no wyse eate no veneson, nor hare-flesshe, and such lyke." [21]

In view of this array of mediaeval medical authority it is apparent that Henryson did not necessarily derive his description of Cresseid the leper from first-hand observation of lepers at Dunfermline. In fact, the mediaeval conception of this dreadful disease would doubtless have made one in his right mind hasten to the medical tomes rather than venture close enough to the lepers to perceive the afflicted one's bloodshot eyes, lumpis haw, bylis blak, and raucous voice.[22]

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[18] *Rosa Anglica practica medicinae* (Pavia, 1492), car 56, rl Cited by Curry, *op cit*, p 42

[19] *Compendium medicina* (Lugduni, 1510), fol ccxl, vl. Cited by Curry, *op cit*, p 44 Cf also Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, trans Stephen Batman (London, 1582), p 64 "In those afflicted with leprosy the flesh is perceptibly corrupted, the eyes . have a certain glitter, and the voice becomes raucous"

[20] Adams, *op cit*, pp 3-4

[21] *A Dyetary of Helth*, *EETS*, *ES*, x, 293 294.

[22] The author wishes to express his thanks to the University of Alabama Research Committee for the purchase of microfilm used in the preparation of this paper

LOTE, LOTE3 IN *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

The meaning of *lote* in a particular passage of *Sir Gawain* is not always easy to determine, and in 639 particularly Its etymon, ON. *lát*, like the Engl. sb *let*, is rarely used in the sg except in compds · *út-lát*, 'outlet,' *blóð-lát*, 'blood-letting', though its ME deriv forms *lot* and the present *lote* appear not infrequently. The sg meanings of the ON. word, 'loss, death, decease,' do not seem to appear in Engl. texts,[1] only the pl meanings, 'manners,' especially 'bad manners,' hence 'howling, uproar,' being found We are somewhat in the dark about the cause of this disappearance of the ON sg meanings and transfer of pl. to sg forms in ME *NED* (*late*, sb [1]) merely records it as a fact, *EDD* does not list the word in sg or pl. as current or obsolete in Mod E, and though E Bjorkman (*Scand Loan-Words in ME*, pp 90-91) lists it, he does not explain the appearance of the pl meanings of *lat* in the ME forms *lot, lote* derived from it[2]

The word occurs with the meaning, 'manner(s), looks, demeanor, appearance,' in *St Katherine* (EETS No 80, 105), *Ancren Riwle* (Cam. Soc 1853, Vol 57), *Genesis and Exodus* (EETS. No. 7, 1162, 2328), and these meanings, with one exception in 4384, are to be found also in the allit *Wars of Alex* But in our poet while *lote* has the meaning 'manner(s), good manners,' and hence 'bearing, demeanor, appearance,' or even 'gesture' (see *Pearl* 238 where 'demeanor' is as likely to be correct as 'speech,' 896 where 'bearing' seems indicated by the context which describes the Lamb's dumbness before his shearers), it retains also the more specialized pl senses of ON. *lát*, 'boisterous manners, loud noise, din,' then more specifically, 'laughter, noisy conversation,' and is

[1] I speak under correction Others may yet be more fortunate in finding instances of their occurrence

[2] It is not difficult to see one way in which pl forms in ON or early ME. could become confused or identified with the sg The ON prepositional phrases *af latum, með látum* would become *of loten, with loten*, and when the final *n* was lost, no one could have told whether the resulting form was pl or sg. dative Thus a speaker in ME times would regard the phrases *of lote, with lote* as expressions in the sg, though in reality they are direct continuations of the ON. prepositional phrases cited above

once even used to denote the noise that accompanies the whetting of steel on a grindstone

Mrs Wright (*JEGP.* 38.8) would translate two of three occurrences of the word in *Pearl* and eight of eleven occurrences in this poem as 'word, speech,' but fails. I think, to remember that one's 'words' or 'speeches' are often to be included in the impression which his 'manners' or 'demeanor' make upon us In *Pearl* as I have shown above, *lote* may just as appropriately be translated 'bearing, demeanor' as 'word, speech,' the meanings she tries to establish, and her assertion that 'no instance occurs in *Sir Gaw* of *lote* meaning "gesture," or "appearance"' is too positive.

In 638-9

> **As tulk of tale most trwe,**
> **& gentylest knyȝt of lote**

it is admittedly difficult to ascertain whether *lote* refers solely to G.'s 'bearing' or 'carriage,' or to the sounds he utters, his 'speech' (an essential part of his 'manner(s)'). While 638 may imply the latter, the evidence plainly shows that the word includes both senses, and the author, an artist in verbal nuances, probably used it with full awareness of all its connotations.

I list below the approximate meanings of *lote, loteȝ,* wherever either one of the two forms occurs in the works of the *Gawain*-poet.

Gawain

bearing, audible utterance, speech, 639, 1116 (?)
noisy sound, din, 119, 1623, 1917, 2211.
uproar, babble (of conversation), 244.
jests (provoking laughter), 988, 1086, 1116 (?), 1399, 1954.

Pearl

bearing, demeanor, speech, 238, 896.
loud sound, din (of thunder), 876

The instance of *lote* in 1205 which Gollancz translates 'vision' and lists as der from ON *lat,* Osgood refers—more correctly I think—to OE *hlot,* 'lot, fortune'

Patience

loud noise (of the winds), 161 [*]

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[*] I gladly express my thanks to Professor Stefán Einarsson of Johns Hopkins University for advice and counsel in the preparation of this note. He is not responsible for any errors that may be found in it.

A NOTE ON ÆLFRIC'S TRANSLATION OF JOB I, 6

Ælfric in his *Catholic Homilies* translates Job, I, 6,[1] as follows

Hit gelamp on sumum dæge, ðaða Godes englas comon, and on his gesihðe stodon, ða wæs eac swylce se scucca him betwux

A comparison of this translation with the received Vulgate shows that *englas* has been used for *filii*. This departure Ælfric has explained by prefixing to this verse a unique Latin note 'Una translatio dicit "filii Dei," et altera dicit "angeli Dei"'[2] The note is evidently intended for the eyes of whatever priest might come to deliver the homily Since Ælfric translated "angeli" when "filii" was the reading of the "standard" recension, he undoubtedly felt obliged to justify the presence of "englas" in his translation.

What, then, is the "altera translatio?" The only such translation that I have been able to discover is a translation of Job by Jerome from Origen's Greek *Hexapla*[3] I give therefrom Job, I, 6

Factum est, in his diebus et ecce venerunt angeli, ut astarent coram Domino Et venit equidem diabolus cum eis[4]

Two other versions of Job, I, 6, may have been available to Ælfric

Quadem autem die, cum venissent Angeli Dei, ut assisterent coram Domino, adfuit inter eos etiam Satanas[5]

Et ecce venerunt Angeli Dei, ut starent coram Deo[6]

Neither of these two versions can be called an "altera translatio." The first is indeed a complete translation with interlinear comment Its only significant variation from the Vulgate, how-

[1] Homily no 35 of vol II in B Thorpe, *The Homilies of Ælfric*, London, 1843, p 446

[2] *Loc cit*

[3] S Eusebius Hieronymus, "Liber Job (altera versio)," in J P Migne, *Patrologia Patrum Latinorum*, XXIX, cols. 61-115

[4] *Ibid*, col. 63A-B

[5] S Eusebius Hieronymus, *Expositio Interlinearis Libri Job*, in Migne, *ed cit*, XXIII, col 1409C

[6] S. Aurelius Augustinus, *Annotationum in Job*, in Migne, *ed cit*, XXXIV, col. 825

ever, is the substitution of *angeli* for *filii* in verse 6 The second version of verse 6 is in no sense part of a translation

We must therefore conclude that when Ælfric wrote "altera translatio," he was referring to Jerome's rendering of Origen's Job Thus in his homily he translated the "standard" recension—that is, the Vulgate as he knew it—except for the word *filii*, and for this he wrote *englas*, justifying the substitution by the *angeli* in Jerome's translation of Origen

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NOT IN THE DICTIONARIES

None of the following words, as used here, is listed in *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* (1913), the *New English Dictionary* (1888-1933), *Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary* (1934), *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1943), or the *Dictionary of American English* (1938-1944)

ALL OF-A-SUDDEN, adj "The children were fond of him because he was so all-of-a sudden" James Stephens, *The Crock of Gold* (London, 1912), p 82

BANK-HOLIDAY, v "Now, it is not decent for a factory girl from Limehouse to go bank-holidaying under any but a hat of plush " Arthur Morrison, *Tales of Mean Streets* (London, 1894), p 35

CANDELABRA, v " we passed stone farmhouses with pear trees candelabraed against their south walls ." Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York, 1929), p 47.

CROCK-KNEED, adj "' You old thief, you' you lob-eared, crock-kneed fat-eye' '" James Stephens, *The Crock of Gold*, p 36 See context

DEATH-TERROR, n "He was cool with the mania of death-terror" Liam O'Flaherty, *The Informer* (London, 1925), p 268

MARKWELL, n " . I did therefore once intend, for the Ease of the Learner, to set down in all Parts of the following Dialogues certain Marks, Asterisks, or *Nota-benes* (in *English*, *Markwell's*) after most Questions, and every Reply or Answer, directing exactly the Moment when One, Two, or All the Company are to laugh " Simon Wagstaff [Jonathan Swift], *A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation* . (London, 1738), p xi

PETERPANTHEISM, n Title of section and of essay in Holbrook Jackson, *Romance and Reality* (London, 1911), pp 39, 41 Jackson says (p 43) "*Peter Pan* . is a mystery play, giving significance to the child-like spirit of the universe"

PSEUDALIST, n "... this [law] on education ... would have completed the great object of qualifying them to select the veritable aristoi, for the trusts of government, to the exclusion of the pseudalists ..." Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, October 28, 1813, in A. A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1905), XIII, 400-401

ROBOTESS, n "*Sulla ... A Robotess ... Helena ... A Robotess*" Karel Capek, *R. U. R.*, tr. Paul Selver (New York, 1923), p. v. "The Robotess Helena" *Ibid.*, p. 184

The *NED*, *Funk and Wagnalls*, and *Webster's*, which list *robot*, refer to *R. U. R.*

SPLEENICAL, adj. "You see there is nothing spleenical in all this" John Keats to George and Georgiana Keats, October, 1818, in Sidney Colvin, ed., *Letters of John Keats to His Family and Friends* (London and New York, 1891), p. 181

SUN-FORSAKEN, adj. "A child is born to them, but soon dies in this sun-forsaken valley" Havelock Ellis, *The New Spirit* (London, 1890), pp. 150-151

WINEFULLY, adv. "I had drunk much wine and afterward coffee and Strega and I explained, winefully, how we did not do the things we wanted to do, we never did such things" Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*, p. 13

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MILTON QUOTES FROM PETRARCH?

In an anti-papal passage in *Of True Religion* Milton asserts that "one of their own famous Writers found just cause to stile the Romish Church *Mother of Error, School of Heresie*" [1] The famous writer seems to be Petrarch, who calls the Pope's court

> Albergo di dolor, madre d'errori,[2]

and in Sonnet 107

> Fontano di dolore, albergo d'ira,
> Scola d errori e templo d'eresia

Presumably Milton is quoting from memory. More than thirty years earlier he translated five lines of Sonnet 107 for *Of Reformation*.[3]

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[1] Columbia ed., VI, 167

[2] Sonnet 91

[3] Columbia ed., III, 27, see also II, 43

A MISPRINT IN *THE AWKWARD AGE*

In the crucial thirtieth chapter of Henry James's *Awkward Age* (p. 324 of the London edition, p 426 of the New York edition), there appears to be a slight misprint similar to those Mr Chapman has pointed out in several of Trollope's novels. Aggie in an adjoining room is sitting on a book in order that Lord Petherton may not take it from her "But what in the world," Mrs Brookenham asks, "is the book selected for such a position? I hope it's not a very big one" "Big" is the reading of all the copies I have seen, yet the context calls for "bad" The size of the volume does not matter but its badness matters greatly, for Nanda's reading it and her not being disturbed by "anything so revolting"—her mother's phrase—is what seals her fate with Vanderbank Furthermore, Mrs Brookenham's remark is immediately answered by Mr. Cashmore's query: "Oh, aren't the books that are sat upon as a matter of course the bad ones?" To which Harold Brookenham replies "They sit, all around, nowadays . . . on some awfully good stuff", and a moment later Tishy explains "It's just because the thing's bad that Lord Petherton is trying to wrest it"

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

A NEW METEOROLOGICAL THEORY OF STRESS

The following quotation, from Oscar Cargill's "The Laggard Art of Criticism," [1] certainly deserves a place among the florilegium of Professor Leonard Bloomfield's "secondary responses": [2]

> When atmospheric conditions altered the speech of Europeans settled in America, so that immigrants of all nationalities said "*con* tents" when the dictionary then insisted on "con-*tents*," it was obvious that iambic verse, the great measure of the French and the English, did not provide a natural melodic line for the poets of this country Free verse, the emancipating invention [!] of Walt Whitman, was the inevitable product of the long revolt against the heroic couplet, but it is significant that the poet's most successful experiments all throw the accent forward, as the natural, incisive speech of his countrymen demanded

[1] *College English*, VI (1945), 245

[2] "Secondary and Tertiary Responses to Language," *Language*, XX (1944), 45-55

Professor Cargill's "secondary response" should be particularly gratifying to all students of language in the light of his vigorous attack upon linguistic study in *Intellectual America* (New York, 1941), p. 521, where he states that even the classical scholars, under the baleful leadership of Gildersleeve of Hopkins, "turned away from the teaching of concepts to the venal study of syntax and word origins" when "the wolfish pursuit of moronic vocabularies and the ghoulish unearthing of the kennings and pennings of the Northern barbarians diverted young students from the true historical fount of wisdom—the Greek and Roman classics"

Mysterious "atmospheric conditions" (mysterious to the linguist, at any rate) have been used by the amateur philologist to explain many linguistic phenomena (vigorous articulation of the Germanic languages due to cold climate, vigorous articulation of Arabic due to hot climate, English spoken with a minimum of lip-movement due to cold, damp, foggy climate, ad infinitum), but this is the first time I have ever seen the common Germanic tendency towards initial stress[3] attributed to the vagaries of the American climate,[4] and I believe the attribution is worthy of record.

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[3] Considerably reinforced as far as *contents* is concerned by Jespersen's principles of value (meaning of first syllable sufficiently important to attract accent), rhythm, and the fact that contrasting stress distinguishes *contént* (adj.) and *content* (n.) Cf. *compáct* (adj.) and *compact* (n.)

[4] Dictionaries of British English usage record the initial stress for *content(s)*, particularly when the word refers to non-material things, as "the cóntents of a book" Wyld's *Universal Dictionary* records only initial stress when the singular form means "essential elements, real meaning" (the cóntent of a proposition, statement, etc.) The influence of the American climate, if Professor Cargill's explanation be accepted, has been indeed far reaching. Perhaps an indignant "leader" in the *Times* is called for.

REVIEWS

Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist. By GEORGE M KAHRL. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp xxiv + 165. $2.75

Mr Kahrl's study is based on the naturalistic view of Smollett's works, as represented by Thackeray's well-known pronouncement on Smollett's art, with which Mr Kahrl begins and ends his book "He did not invent much, as I fancy, but had the keenest perceptive faculty, and described what he saw with wonderful relish and delightful broad humour" Accepting the full implications of this view, Mr Kahrl sets the theme of his book by continuing: "No one has perceived that Thackeray's criticism can be applied more aptly to a traveler than to a novelist" Smollett's works, Mr. Kahrl says, may be compared with such travel-books as those of Captain Dampier, for Dampier, "like Smollett, was a sturdy adventurer who invented little but described what he saw with . . . accuracy and relish"

This judgment may be fairly applied to Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy*, but can one validly say that Smollett wrote "much of his best prose fiction" with "the spirit and purpose of a traveler"? The spirit of a traveler such as Dampier lies in his zealous observation of facts; his purpose is to see and to report accurately. *Humphry Clinker*, in part, meets this definition, especially in the Scottish scenes. But, as Mr Kahrl says later, "The excellence of *Humphry Clinker* lies . . in the diversity in reactions of a group of travelers." That is, in the fictive ingredient, which, especially in the English sections of the book, results in outrageously laughable satire. In the novel as a whole, the literal descriptions of Scotland play a counterpoint to the caricature of English society—which arises primarily from that caricature of a traveler, Matthew Bramble. Smollett's art of fiction is caricature; one compares his fiction with travel-literature only to feel that the novels exist in a different realm. Mr. Kahrl is aware of this difficulty in his position, for in regard to *Roderick Random* he notes that "Smollett turned his travels into fiction with so much sharpness of satiric intent that he was moved to omit all the factual earmarks of a travel book"; and he concludes that "Smollett obviously realized that the novelist may learn from the voyager, or historian, or scientist but that ultimately he must universalize his interpretation" This is a sound point of view, but it is not that expressed in Thackeray's statement, and it is not applicable to a travel-book. Mr. Kahrl never resolves this contradiction; one may

do so by understanding that for the most part Smollett does not really write in the mode of the travel-book, but that he sometimes adopts the guise of a traveler as a vehicle for satire and comedy. It is also legitimate to point out, as Mr Kahrl does, that travel is an important ingredient in picaresque fiction, and that it thus plays an important part in Smollett's novels

If one keeps these qualifications in mind, Mr Kahrl's concentration on Smollett as traveler will be seen to emphasize a number of significant points. In an illuminating survey of Smollett's life in London, Mr Kahrl shows how Smollett's Scottish origin isolated him from English society, made him essentially an alien, with something of a foreign traveler's detachment in observing the English And, uprooted from his homeland, he could also view Scotland with relative objectivity. In this general and almost metaphorical sense it may fairly be said that Smollett "permanently retained the point of view of a traveler."

In his search for historical and biographical material, Mr. Kahrl has produced some new and interesting facts Through careful examination of manuscript records he adds to our knowledge of Smollett's activities during the Carthagena expedition. Similar careful research has turned up new material about the originals of Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes. The most extended piece of historical research deals with Captain Robert Stobo, traditionally regarded as the original of Lismahago. It is good to have all the facts about Stobo thus assembled, although it appears that most of Lismahago's adventures and most of his characteristics have other origins, as Mr Kahrl concedes. One very amusing and significant discovery is not related to travel: Smollett's use of an eighteenth-century edition of a Latin cook-book attributed to Apicius, in composing the "Entertainment in the Manner of the Ancients" in *Peregrine Pickle*. This is a superb example of Smollett's ability to work up a hilarious scene from the most unpromising materials; his culling of details from "Apicius" is remarkably similar to his culling of learned details from various secondary sources in his *Travels*. Again one is impressed, not with the learning, but with the selectivity, energy, and humor of the result. In view of this similarity, it is difficult to see why Mr. Kahrl repeats the traditional praises of Smollett's classical "learning" in the *Travels*.

All in all, Mr. Kahrl has written a useful and informative book, although his conclusions in general and in detail must sometimes be considerably modified. With his own discoveries he has combined much material from previous articles and books on Smollett, thus bringing together scattered information in such a way as to make his study a very convenient handbook for future students of Smollett and the eighteenth century.

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The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope Edited by JOHN BUTT. Vol. v. *The Dunciad*, edited by JAMES SUTHERLAND. London. Mathuen, 1943 Pp. lvi + 476.

Alexander Pope A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1944. By JAMES EDWARD TOBIN. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co, 1945. Pp. 30.

Mr. Sutherland's edition of *The Dunciad* continues the high standard already set by the editors of the earlier volumes of the set *The Dunciad* presents peculiar and almost insuperable difficulties in the way of a complete critical edition. The complicated history of the work and the innumerable variants of both text and commentary must be reduced to some orderly plan which the reader will find practicable. Mr Sutherland has decided to present the text in two states, the first based on the 1728-29 versions, and the second on *The New Dunciad* of 1742 and its variations with a complete reprinting of the earlier books. In order to save space he has omitted from the later version some of the prose commentary, giving merely references to the first. He has also frankly used his judgment as to whether all the variant readings of the commentary should be recorded and has omitted what he considered unimportant changes. Such exercise of editorial discretion will limit the usefulness of the volume for certain scholarly purposes, but most readers can only be grateful to the editor for keeping the size of the book within compass The specialist who needs to compare the minuter variations of the commentary will have to consult a set of the original editions.

The annotation of this volume is so thorough and includes so much new matter that it far surpasses any previous edition of *The Dunciad.* Particularly valuable are the abundant illustrations and *pièces justificatives* from contemporary books, pamphlets, and journals. A cursory comparison of almost any page with the Elwin-Courthope edition reveals the greater richness and pertinence of the illustrative passages and the far more thorough and rigorous standards of the modern editor

The careful student will encounter some obscurities in the annotation, perhaps because the editor had to be grudging of space. "Ricardus Aristarchus of the Hero of the Poem" is printed on pages 254-265, but without any note that it is by Warburton, although his authorship is duly noted on page xxxvii of the "Introduction", one might have expected on page 254 a note on Warburton's authorship with a reference to Pope's letter of December 28, 1742, which establishes the fact. The note on the letter of Dr. Tripe (page 45) is not full enough to be entirely satisfactory, as may be seen by comparing it with Professor Hooker's note in his edition of Dennis (II, 459). A reference by Pope to Cibber's

Letter (p. 260) is interestingly illustrated by a quotation from Voltaire, but the reader would have been better served by the sentence from Cibber. On page 61 a note quotes "an earlier version" than the printed one, without any explanation. It is, of course, one of the marginal readings copied into a volume of *The Dunciad* by Jonathan Richardson the Younger. These readings were copied out by Elwin and are printed, presumably accurately and completely, in the Elwin-Courthope edition Mr. Sutherland quotes them from the Elwin-Courthope edition when he thinks they are important, and refers to them somewhat inappropriately as from the "EC manuscript" He nowhere notes that the volume containing these marginalia is preserved in the Huntington Library (see Griffith's *Bibliography*, p. 149).

But it is easier to discover shortcomings in the printed volume than to prepare the copy for such an extremely complicated work No one can work long over this volume without admiration for its sound scholarship and for the dexterity and lucidity achieved in presenting so intricate a subject

Professor Tobin's list of critical studies of Pope since 1895 is a very useful compilation, it is inclusive, and its topical arrangement facilitates its use by students It covers a period during which there has been something like a revolution in the study and criticism of Pope.

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BRIEF MENTION

Juridical Folklore in England By JOHN W SPARGO Durham, N C Duke University Press, 1944. Pp viii + 163 $2 50 This book is not a treatise on juridical folklore in general, but on this type of folklore as "illustrated by the cucking-stool." The author's professional equipment as linguist, folklorist, and legal historian made him the man to trace the history of "sousing scolding women in the water" by judicial process, with the cucking-stool or some other piece of machinery as tool The traces led him to many places, and brought much curious matter to light In particular, the punishment seems at first to have been given, not to scolds but to bakers and others. In the author's words, "probably the punishment of publicly ducking in a pair of balances an offender against the customary statutes of weights and measures is the earliest ascertainable origin of the cucking-stool. Extension . . to persons who offend by their tongues . . . is due to the scriptural warning that the tongue is a fire" (p. 148). I note that OE *þēaw* is consistently misspelt *þeáw*

Modern Language Notes

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ANGLO-FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES

(Second Series, cf *MLN* LIX 223-250)

1. BALDERDASH. For this word the NED distinguishes the following meanings 1 froth or frothy liquid, *obs* (attested with Nashe 1596), 2 a jumbled mixture of liquors, *obs* (attested 1611), 3 a senseless jumble of words (attested 1674) As to the etymology, this dictionary remarks

> From the evidence at present, the inference is that the current sense was transferred from 1) or 2), either with the notion of 'frothy talk' or of a 'senseless farrage' or 'jumble of words' Most etymologists have, however, assumed 3) to be the original sense

If, as seems most logical, we should accept 1) and 2) as the original concrete meanings of the word, we may appeal to certain Provençal forms which offer themselves (FEW s. v *brod* 'broth,' I, 3)·

> Prov *bouldro* 'eau sale, mare', *boudi as* 'bourbier', Peyreleau *bouldras* Aveyron *bouldra* 'eau sale, mare', *bouldouyro* 'eau sale, bruit; confusion', *bouldouyras* 'grosse femme sale', *bouldouyra* 'troubler un liquide'

The etymology of these words is far from clear, the more so since we find the stem **boldr-* also in Catalan *bóldro* 'a gush of liquid that spurts out suddenly,' in Spanish *a bolondrones* 'suddenly gushing forth,' and in Astorga *boldre* 'the mud deposited on the bottom of a stream' a Latin **bullire* 'to boil' + Germ. *brod* 'broth' could well be at the base of this **boldr-* stem. Now the same Mediterranean **boldr-* stem appears also in Poitou, according to the FEW (this dialect often offers lexicological parallels with the language of the South of France): *boudreille* 'boue,' *boudr-(eill)oux* 'couvert de boue,' *boudreiller* 'éclabousser.' It would be possible to assume a Poitou **boudreillas* (or *-asse*) 'mud, jumble,' which would be in line with similar *-as* (< *-aceu*) formations such

as OF. *brouillas* 'mist' (13th c., the predecessor of the mod. Fr *brouillard*), Fr *frimas* 'rime,' mid Fr *brumas* (15th c.) 'petite brume' (also *brumasse, brouillasse,* and the corresponding verbs in *-asser* are attested)—and, indeed, the Prov *bould(ouy)ras* formations quoted above This Poitou **boudreillas(se)* could have given **balderlash* (with *-ss* > *-sh* as in *lavace* > *lavish*), then *balderdash* (with assimilation or dissimilation)

2. CATERWAUL 'to cry, said of a cat at rutting time.' This word, which is first attested in Chaucer ([a cat] *goon a caterw(r)awet,* var. *-ed*) is commented as follows by the NED:

> This [verb] occurs in the various forms *caterwrawe, -wawe, -wraul(e, waule, waul* The second element appears separately in the vb *wrawen* used (of a cat) by Caxton, *wrawlen, wraule* of cats, squalling children, etc, frequent in Googe, Tusser, Holland and others from *c* 1570 to 1615 or later, *waul* is of doubtful occurrence before 1600 The precise relation between these is not clear, all are prob imitative of the sound, but whether the forms in *-l* are formed on the others (cf *mew, mewl,* Germ *miauen, miaulen,* and F *miauler*) is doubtful Forms akin to *wrawe, wrawl* in other langs are Du *vraale,* to roar Norw dial *râla,* in the north of Norway 'to cry as a cat,' L G *wralen* said of a stallion in heat cf also Bav *rauen, rauelen* 'to howl, whine,' said esp of the cry of the cat when in heat The sense of the Ger words also comes near the Eng, since both in Chaucer and in the transf use of the 16-17th c, the word was spec applied to the cry and behaviour of the cat when 'after kind' As to the *-waul* form, an exact LG counterpart *katterwaulen* '(von Kindern) schreien und heulen wie streitende Katzen' is given by Schambach 1858, but its history is uncertain *Cater* is, of course, connected with *cat,* but the form is not certainly explained some would see in it a parallel to Du and Ger *kater,* male cat, but the word appears too late to prove this Others would take *-er* as some kind of suffix or connective merely

I am convinced that the original meaning of the word, contrary to the first attestations, was 'hideous, discordant howling noise' (as attested only as late as Shakespeare), without intervention of the cat, and that the phonetic influence of *cat* and of *wraw(l)* 'to cry like a cat' is also secondary. This English word family, I believe, is patterned upon a French one, and the explanations of the NED, phonetically as well as semantically, are on the level of 'popular etymologies'—those popular etymologies, that is, which were introduced secondarily, in an interpretative manner, into an otherwise incomprehensible English word family of French origin.

The etymon, in my opinion, is the O. Fr. *chalivali* (attested since

1395), variant *chalibari* etc., in the meaning of mod Fr. *charivari* (itself attested since 1370), or of Germ *Katzenmusik*, an ironic serenade of crude music made with kettles, pans, tea-trays etc., which, in France, was resorted to in order to show public derision of incongruous marriages Since music of this type is easily compared to the cry of cats (cf. Eng *cat-calling*, Germ. *Katzenmusik*, *Katzen- und Hundemesse* etc, Kluge-Goetze, s. v. *Katzenmusik*; Fr *musique de chats*, attested since 1694, Bourgogne *faire le chat* 'le charivari,' FEW s. v. *cattus*), and since probably the comparison of a lecherous person with a cat on the prowl offered itself easily, the 'cat' and the 'wauling' came in secondarily.[1] It may even be that, in the Chaucerian form *caterwrawet -ed*, we have an echo of French dialectal forms such as Saintonge *charivariter* 'donner un charivari' (metathesis), cf. the Latinized forms *charavarium*, *chalivarium* in Du Cange s. v *chalvarium*. As for the *-w-* replacing Fr *-v-* cf. *carry-witchet* < Fr *écrevisse* + *-et*, but the English dialectal forms listed by Wright *cattie-bargie* (*-bargle*) 'a noisy, angry quarrel among children,' *argie-bargie* (*argle-bargle*) 'to dis-

[1] The para-etymological introduction of the *cat* in *caterwaul* may be compared with the etymological restitution of the *cat* in *caterpillar*, which is itself of a French dialectal origin It may be said that *caterpillar* is not to be explained after the fashion of the NED (OF *chate pelouse*, ONorm *cate pelose* < **catepelos* with *-s* taken as a formative element, and the remaining **catepelo* assimilated to *pillar*), but simply as a derivative from the attested Normandian forms (cf REW 1779) *katplöz*, *ka(r)pluz -ploz* (*r-* is an already French insertion due perhaps to a popular etymology i e the immixtion of *char* 'chair' on the map *chenille* of the *Atlas lingu*, the forms *karplus* etc are frequently contrasted with *chenille*, in so far as the first refers to a fatter, furrier ['grosse, velue'] variety of caterpillar) Moreover, we must reckon with the rhotacism well known in Middle French (*cousin* > *courin je vous raime, deroseilles* = 'des oreilles,' in Cl Marot's *Epistre du biau fys de Pasy*) as a reaction against the more wide spread shift *r* > *s* exemplified by *chaise*, *besicles*, cf Nyrop, *Gramm hist* I, 343, on the map *chenille* we find still today, in points 247, 249, 356, forms with *r-* in the second part of the word *karplor* etc, and FEW s. v. *cattus* lists also forms with *r-* from Aurigny and Guernesey. Thus Norm *carepelouse* became (with a secondary restitution of *cat*) **catrepeloure* > *caterpillar* — The parallelism of *caterwaul* < Fr *carnali* and *caterpillar* < Norm *carplur* has been recognized by Sainéan in his earlier book, *Le chat* (*Beiheft 1 zur ZRPh*, p 81), though Sainean was wrong in identifying outright *charivari* with the cry of the cat. But there is no denying that the initial syllable of *c(h)arivari* lent itself to the para-etymological influence of *chat, cat.*

pute,' show the *-b-* which is also to be found often in French dialects[2] — along with the *-ie-* which fits in well with the French forms in *-i* (cf also the form *cattie-wurrie* 'a noisy, angry quarrel among children') The original English forms, then, must have been something like **carriew(v)aul(ie)*[3] And the *-r-* is the remnant of the *-r-* in *charivali* The survival of Fr *charivari* on British soil is established beyond doubt by Scotch *kerriwery, carriwary* which the re-edition of Jamieson's dictionary rightly connects with the Fr word The *ca-* form points to Normandy or Picardy, and, in fact, the forms *carivari* etc are attested in the dialects of these provinces, cf FEW s v *caribaría* Svennung has proved that the etymon of this French word family is the Gr medical term *καρηβαρία* 'headache,' litt 'heavy feeling in the head,' which occurs in late Latin with Oribasius von Wartburg, basing himself precisely on the *ca-* forms in Normandy and Picardy, infers that we have to do with a very old term, early popularized in France and with a long history — existing at least before the 14th century attestations. "Die bed [eutung] erklart sich von der wirkung her, die eine ohrenbetaubende katzenmusik auf den kopf des menschen ausubt Vgl. fr. *casse-tête*"

3. CURLICUE The definition given of this word by Webster is 'something fancifully curled or spiral, as a flourish in writing' The DAE gives information of the existence of the word in America its early spellings are *curlicue, curly cue, curly Q, curlecue, curlikew*, it is attested since 1843 as a noun meaning 'an ornamental or fanciful flourish, curve, twist etc, in writing' and as a verb meaning 'to curve or bend fantastically' (e g 'her arms went curlecuing over her head,' 'a kind of picket fence made out of iron, all curlecued over on the sides'). The etymological explanation of the NED *curly* + *cue* (with the latter representing either Fr.

[2] It is present in Fr *charabia* 'jargon of the Auvergnats,' 'jargon' — if Sainéan, *Le lang parisien* 80, is right in connecting it with *charivari*

[3] The OF *charivali* survives also in German *crawallen* 'to make noise' is attested in 1557 in the Suevian dialect Whether the German *Krawall* 'noise, upheaval' is identical with the loanword from French is still a moot question The form *schrabauen* 'to make noise' in the *Missingsch* of J G Muller (1779 "dass man den Leuten die Ohren caput *schrawauet*," cf *Zeitschr f deutsche Wortforschung* VII, 13), definitely points to a Fr. *chari-* form (with *š-*) Whether the Low Germ. *katterwaulen* is an alteration similar to the one I assume for Eng *caterwaul* still remains to be seen

queue or the letter Q in its form Q) cannot stand — not so much because of the coalescence of adjective and noun (cf *whirly gig* > *whirligig*), but because of the lack of spontaneity and flavor which the adjective *curly* would have in such a phrase Evidently the spelling *curly Q* is only secondary, due to popular etymology.

It seems clear that *curlicue* should be considered in connection with the word *purlicue*, although the NED, in line with its system of rigid partitions, makes not the slightest mention of this possibility *Purlicue* is attested in Scotland, first with Jamieson. in 1808 he listed the two meanings 'a dash or flourish at the end of a word in writing a school-term' and 'whims particularities of conduct, trifling oddities' Later he added (in the Supplement of 1828) the meanings 'the peroration or conclusion of a discourse,' 'the recapitulation made by a pastor of a congregation, of the heads of the discourses, which have been delivered by his assistants, on the Saturday preceding the dispensation of the sacrament of the Supper . Also, the exhortations which were wont to be given by him on Monday, on what was called 'the close of the works.' These ecclesiastical meanings, which at first were not listed by the Scottish clergymen, must have been colloquial expressions evidently derived from the meaning 'final flourish' and they were obviously facetious in tone—as was also the phrase mentioned by Jamieson · 'the close of the works' The NED gives vague indications of etymological connections between *purlicue* and Fr *queue* and *parler* or *par la, pour la.* Wright, who in his *Eng Dial Dict.* attests also for *purlicue* the meaning 'the space enclosed by the forefinger and thumb' (1825), thinks of the French expression [*prendre le roman*] *par la queue.* But this phrase, found in the *Précieuses*, sc. 4, is a humorous expression meaning 'to live like husband and wife before marriage' and implying the reversal of normal procedure, the Scotch *purlicue,* on the contrary, designates an orderly ecclesiastical procedure.

Although the form *purlicue* takes our word family back to the year 1825, it must be considered as a variant of the later attested *curlicue, curlecue*—which, in turn, I would identify with the OFr. **croule-queue* 'wagtail' · a hapax found and identified in an Anglo-Norman text by Paul Meyer, cf. Oulmont, *Les débats du clerc et du chevalier, glossary* s v. *croulecowe*, Tobler-Lommatzsch s v. *crolecoe*, FEW s. v *cauda* (this is to be found in the section devoted to the names of the 'wagtail,' contributed by R Hallig who,

in his dissertation 'Die Benennungen der Bachstelze,' Leipzig 1913, did not know of the OFr form, but mentioned a parallel Venetian *skorla-koa* = '[s]crollare' + 'coda'.) The OFr. word *croule-coe* is formed on the popular pattern imperative + nominal object, similarly, the name of the bird *motacilla* appears in academic French as *hochequeue* and in dialects as *bat-queue, branle-queue, bale-queue* etc.

While the equation 'Eng *curlecue* = OFr *crole-coue*' is impeccable from the phonetic point of view, for the semantic development we can only point to parallel cases. This, however, should not invalidate our equation, since so much of the OFr. word material has been lost forever (only by accident was the hapax in question brought to light) The name of the wagtail has, in all languages, been applied to the fanciful, flaunting, coquettish gait of women or youngsters, and such must have been the original implication of Eng. *curlicue* and *purlicue* in their figurative use. The idea of curves or spirals must have been secondary, and the ultimate specialization to curves and spirals in writing and to (final) flourishes, tertiary[4] The names given to the wagtail, such as Valais *cova-reva* (< OFr. *rever* 'aller çà et là pour son plaisir, rôder, faire la débauche, faire une promenade joyeuse'), Central Fr. *balle-queue* (literally 'dance, oh tail!'), Ital. *ballerina*, Western Fr. *marionnette* indicate that the up-and-down movement of the bird's movement was freely interpreted the to-and-fro rhythm could be expanded into zigzagging, dancing, pirouetting etc The closest parallel to *crolecoe* 'wagtail' > *curlicue* 'spiral' seems to me to be Poitevin *biscouette* (*bascouette*), Prov. *biscouó* 'wagtail' (forms, in both cases, which have been altered from **bat-couette* under the influence of *bas, baisser, bis-*) which dveeloped into: Saintonge *faire en biscouets* 'marcher en zigzag,' Prov *biscouado* 'crochet que fait une monture en courant,' 'équipée, sottise, maladresse, en Guienne et Limousin.' Perhaps the Eng. verb *to curlicue* preceded

[4] This shift is the reverse of the one seen in *to flourish* 'to adorn [with florid designs] in writing' > 'to swing about flauntingly, to brandish' — The dialectal meaning attested by Wright for *purlicue* 'the space enclosed by the extended forefinger and thumb' must be derived from 'the space enclosed by the up-and-down movement of the wagtail' — As for parallels of words for fanciful writing drawn from the animal realm, cf It. *ghiribizzo* (< Germ *krebs* 'crawfish'), *sgorbio* (< Lt *scorpio*), Fr *pattes d'araignée* etc.

the noun it would correspond to a Fr. **croule-queuer* As for the English form *purlicue*, I would admit the influence (on *curlicue*) either of Eng. *to purl* (*pirl*) 'to whirl, to spin around' or of the French word-family *pirouetter* Poitevin *in[c]ouetter* pirouetter,' Anjou *pirli* 'pirouette' etc —which I shall treat below in connection with Eng. *pillywinks*. The word *curlicue* which expresses a rather capricious manner of writing is likely to change 'capriciously,' it can not be anchored as firmly in the language as other less 'fanciful' words. Melville in his *Moby Dick* (ch 99) has a mate use the form *curlicue* (= *curlicue* + *curve*).

4. Dudgeon In the NED we find the following information under the words *dudgeon sb* 1, *dudgeon sb* 2 and *a.*, *endugine sb.*, *dudgen sb.* and *a*

Dudgeon sb 1 "a kind of wood used by turners, esp for handles of knives, daggers, etc, the hilt of a dagger made of this wood" First attested in Anglo French texts 1380 'Que nulles manches darbre forsque *digeon* soyent colurez,' 1439 'de j dagger, cum manubrio de *doggon*,' from 1440 as *dojoun, dogeon, dogen, dugion* in English texts One has supposed that the wood in question is that of the boxtree "The form of the word suggests a French origin; but no corresp word has been found in continental French"

Dudgeon sb 2 and *a* "a feeling of anger, resentment, or offence, ill humour Almost always in phr *in dudgeon*, and esp with qualifying adj, as 'high, great, deep'" (1573 Harvey 'Who seem'd to take it in marvelous great *duggon*'), "resentful, spiteful, ill-humored" (1589 'If such a one doo but nod, it is right *dudgin* and deepe discretion,' 1599 'in such *dudgeon* scorn') "Origin unknown, identical in form with prec, so far as is known, no connexion of sense Cf *endugine*" (1638 'taking in great *endugine*')

Dudgin sb. and *a* "poor stuff, trash" (1592 'the stalest *dudgen* or absurd balductum that they . can invent'), "mean, poor, contemptible" (1589 'a *dudgen* destinction'), "ordinary, homely" (1613 'plain and *dudgeon*') "Perhaps the same as *dudgeon sb* 1, a dagger with a handle of this material being cheap and often regarded as an inferior and unreliable weapon, cf quots 1581 ['your *doodgean* daggar eloquence'] and 1590 ['loose in the haft like a *dudgin* dagger'] in *Dudgeon sb* 1"

As etymon of this word (for all the forms listed above represent, in my opinion, only one word) I propose a Fr. *digeon* which is attested in 1828 as the name of the 'whew,' the 'canard siffleur' (*avis penelope*) in Anjou, by Paul Barbier fils,[5] *Rev. de lingu. rom.*

[5] P. Barbier had made his inquiry at the behest of Prof. Onions, who

I, 325 (cf also *dijon dijeon* in Verrier-Onillon's dictionary of Anjou s v *canard*) Since the main characteristic of this bird is its whistle (cf the German name *Pfeifente*, as well as the Eng *whew*), and since its parallel denominations clearly show French etyma of an onomatopeic origin (Eng *widgeon, wigeon*, probably based upon a French word, Fr *vi(u)geon*, Antilles Fr *gingeon*), Barbier reconstructs a **diu-io(-onis)*, i e an onomatopeic stem **diu-* parallel to the Romance **piu-* **wiu-* **miu-* stems + the suffix *-io* of Lat *plumbio* > *plongeon*, Lat *pipio* etc. Barbier was able to base himself, for his **diu-io*, **viu-io* only on the modern Anjou form "Mon explication des noms de canards *iigeon, dijeon* etc, présuppose evidemment l'ancienneté de ces noms Elle présuppose, en d'autres termes, que ces noms remontent jusqu'à l'époque latine . . Ce qui constitue la grosse difficulté pour l'étymologiste qui s'occupe de ces mots, c'est l'absence presque totale de textes anciens" But perhaps our Eng words can bridge, to a certain extent, the historical gap If we suppose that a **dijeonner* verb, derived from *dijeon*, meant 'to whistle,' we could explain the *dudgeon dagger* or *knife* (attested in the 14th c) as a tool making a rattling sound (because the hilt is not firmly attached to the blade), hence the meaning 'made of cheap material,' 'cheap, poor' The phrases *to take something in* [*high*] *dudgeon* (attested in the 16th c.) could again mean '. . with a high-pitched whistle' = 'in a strident ill humor,' cf the parallel Eng *whew* (= onomat **viu*) 'exclamation of the nature of a whistle uttered by a person as a sign of astonishment, disgust, dismay etc. (e g the passage quoted in the NED from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*)—*whewer* 'the female of the widgeon.' Finally, dialectal Eng (Wright) *humdudgeon* 'needless noise or fuss, a complaint without reason,' also 'a big, stupid person of evil disposition' (cf. the similar meaning of *widgeon*), testifies for *-dudgeon* as orignally denoting a sound.

5. PILLIWINKS 'an instrument of torture for squeezing the fingers, supposed to resemble the thumbkins or thumbscrew.' On the etymology of this word the NED states

In English use, *c* 1400, *pyrwikes, pyrewinkes* In Scottish use, *c* 1600, *pilliwinkes* and *pinniwinkis*, corrupted by later historical or antiquarian

inserted his finds in the article *widgeon* of the NED — The word *widget* which I have seen in print coupled with *gremlin* must be a derivative of *widgeon*.

writers, to *pinnewinks, pinnywinkles, pirlewinkles,* etc Origin unknown the 15th c Eng *pyrewinkes* coincides with a contemporary spelling of *perwinkle* (the flower), but there is no obvious connexion of sense The early forms do not agree with those of *perwinkle* the shellfish, the forms in *-winkle* being merely later corruptions after the word had become obsolete soon after 1600

It is evident that this 1400 Anglo-French word (cf. the text of 1397 cited by the NED) is the same as mod. Prov. (Provence, Quercy) *pelinqueto, pirlinqueto* 'spinning top' listed by Mistral, *perinkle*[6] 'spinning top' in point 645 (Guyenne) of the map 'toupie' of the *Atlas linguistique*—and that this, in turn, must be related to the French word family of *pirouette.* In regard to this word family, three scholars have expressed their opinion Horning, *ZRPh* XXII, 561, Haust, *Etymologies wallonnes et françaises,* p 295 and Sainéan, *Sources indigènes de l'étym. fr.* I, 83.

Horning sees in *pirouette* a variant of that O Norm. *wirewitte* (*wirewire, werwite, virevite*) which is at the basis of mod. Fr. *girouette* 'weather-vane,' and in which Thomas, *Essais de phil. fr* had recognized on O Norse *wedhrviti* 'indication of weather' 'weather-vane' (REW 9516). In order to prove the identity of *virevite* with *pirouette,* Horning lists the following dialectal words·

Ille-et-Vilaine *pirvire* 'bouton de bois traversé par une cheville qu'on fait tourner avec le pouce'

Lorrain *pirwl* 'Knopfe aus Holz, die, mit Tuch bedeckt, in drehende Bewegung gebracht und als Kinderspielzeug benutzt werden'

St. Hubert, Wallonie *pèrwy* 'toupie, sabot'

Meuse *piroile* 'gros sou avec lequel on joue au patard au jeu du bouchon'

Norm *perrouette* 'fille évaporée'

and compares to Fr. *pirout* 'petit disque que traverse un pivot, sur lequel on le fait tourner en lui donnant une impulsion, toton' (attested in Gréban, 15th cent.· *Dict. gén.*) and to OF. *pirouette* 'sorte de moulin, joyau en forme de petit moulin à vent' (attested in the 16th cent.), the use of *virevire* in the phrase *ce moulinet qui sert de virevire* (*Mystere de l'Incarnation,* 1474) Horning thinks

[6] For a possible connection between this word and Fr. *péringle* 'wagtail' (Buffon. *peringles*), cf R. Hallig, *Die Benennungen der Bachstelze,* diss Leipzig 1923, p. 36· 'the bird that rotates.'

of a dissimilation *virevire* > **pirevire* (> *pirouette*), comparable to *pirevollet* in Rabelais 'spinning top' from *virevoler* 'tourner en rond,' Meuse *virolet* 'feu follet'

Haust compares *pirouette* with St Hubert *pèrwèy* etc, Walloon forms of the type *pirwitche* 'totum' 'pirouette' and, in the patois of Burdinne, *spèrwitche* the latter reveals to him the (Germanic) origin of the whole family Aachen *spirewippche* 'totum' (*spire* 'a pointed thing' + *wipp* 'a quick movement') [7]

Finally, Sainéan compares to *pirouette* the Haute-Bretagne *piroton* 'young goose' and *pirotonner* 'to whirl around', he explains the names (listed below) of games with whirling objects (totum, spinning top, a little stick which is made to whirl by being hit by a larger one) from the rotary movement, the 'pirouetting,' characteristic of young geese—*pirou* being the word for the cry of the goose, which also serves as the name of the fowl itself, according to Cotgrave and Nicot The names of games given by Sainéan are Norm *piroue* 'spinning top,' Guernsey 'rouelle, petit jouet d'enfant qu'on fait tourner sur un pied ou pivot', Yonne *pirouelle* 'totum,' Clairvaux 'spinning top' We may also remember the *pirouet* 'totum' in the *Passion* of Gréban, and the *pirouette* 'joyau en forme de moulinet' mentioned by Horning, Sainéan also mentions a *pirouette* used by Rabelais in reference to the games of young Gargantua, he interprets this as a 'bâton qu'on fait pirouetter en l'air en le frappant avec un bâton' The *pirevollet* of the Rabelaisian list is also mentioned here *pirvoller* 'être projeté très loin, passer en volant, en tournoyant, en parlant d'un objet lancé' is given for Anjou by Verrier-Onillon, Sainéan mentions in this connection Morvan *pirevole* 'coccinelle,' literally 'little flying hen or goose' Finally, there is a reference to *pirouy* (16th cent.), the name of a lively dance.

Of these three theories that of Haust seems to me the least defensible how would it have been possible for a local Rhenanian term to have penetrated, as early as the 15th or 16th century, as far into Central France as would appear to be the case according to our attestations? We may rather assume that Germ. *spirewippche* was able to influence the local Walloon forms of the (more widespread) *pirouette* type. It is probable that the *vèrwire* 'somer-

[7] On page 303 he mentions separately a Montbéliard (Doubs) *pilegatier, pirgatier* 'somersault' which should also, I believe, be referred to *pirouette* (**pirouatte*).

sault' mentioned by Haust on p 299 as independent from the *pirouet* family is equivalent to Horning's *pirvi e* 'bouton de bois.' Sainéan's theory, while it fails to solve the whole question (Horning's contributions are not taken into consideration), does, nevertheless, offer a clue, in my opinion, to the 'why' of the 'dissimilation' assumed by Horning a *pirouette* from **virouette* (*virevire*), and a *pirvoler* from *virvoler* (< **vire-voler*) came into existence as a result of an influence of *pirou* 'goose,' *pirotonner* 'to pirouette like a young goose.'

Horning's theory seems to me to be basically sound: *pirouette*, in its reference both to different games involving 'whirling' and to 'pirouetting,' must be derived from **virouette* (*virevire*) 'weathervane' Probably the French felt **virouette* to be in a relationship (historically impossible) with the verb *virer* (attested since the 12th cent., of unknown origin), as is shown by the 15-16th cent. form *virevouste* (18th cent. *virevousse*) which, under the influence of It *giravolta*, or by contamination with Fr. **vire-voler*, became *virevo(u)lte* in the 16th century, compare also Poitevin *vireoutter*, *virevouster*, *vircouetter* 'pirouetter, virer, aller en tournant' (Favre) Thus, under the influence of the *pire* '(whirling) goose' family, a parallelism of *vir-* and *pir-* forms was established, of which I see traces in the Anjou *pirvoler* mentioned above ~ *pirevoler*, and in Anjou *pirli* 'branche de 0m 10 aiguisée aux deux bouts, qu'on fait pirouetter avec une branche de 0m 50' (Verrier-Onillon) ~ OF. *vireli* (13th cent.), *virelai* (14th cent) 'danse, refrain' (from *virer*, Dauzat).

None of the three scholars speaks of the Prov. *pirlinqueto perinkle* forms—and, of course, the same is true of the English forms *pyrewikes*, *pyrewinkes*, both of which series must go back to a **pirouique* with the suffix *-ic-* (as in Fr. *tourn-iqu-et*) appended to the stem *pirou-*. The English word must have first meant 'whirligig, wheel,' from which we may infer that the instrument of torture by which the thumbs of delinquents were squeezed, must have been a wheel. *Worter* sometimes cast a light on *Sachen*. As so often happens, our English words are the earliest attestations (14th century) of the Fr. *pirouette* group which appears in French literature about 50 years later (in Gréban's *Passion*, concluded *c* 1452).

In view of the French names of children's games which are derived from the *pirouette* word-family, as we have listed them above, it may not appear too bold to assume a connection between the Eng.

tiddlywinks 'a game in which one tries to throw small disks into a small cup' with the medieval *pillwinks* The NED s v *tiddlywink* lists the following meanings

1 'an unlicensed public house or pawnshop, a small beershop' (also *kiddlywink*), attested since 1844,

2a 'a game played with dominoes,' b *pl* 'a game in which small counters are caused to spring from the table into a bell-like or cylindrical receptacle, by pressing upon their edges with larger counters,' attested since 1870,

3 *pl* 'knick-knacks of victuals,' attested since 1893

And we find the meanings s. v *tiddlywinking* 'trifling, puttering' (1869), *tiddlywinky* 'tiny, insignificant' (1901), *tiddlywinker* 'a cheat, a trifler', in his *Dict of Slang* Partridge adds *tiddlywing* 'a sickly, very thin child' [1823], *to tiddlywink* 'to spend imprudently or with unsanctioned excess' [Australian, 1888] As for the etymology, the NED seems to consider a compound of *wink* with the slang expression *tiddly* 'a drink, drunk' (meaning 1), and with *tiddy*, dialectal or baby-talk for 'little.' I would rather propose the *influence* of the last two words on *pillywinks* in its original meaning of a child's game, analogous to the French *pirouette* words: from the meaning 'a child's game' there developed the meaning 'trifles,' hence 'knick-knacks,' 'a place where cheap food is offered or cheap wares are pawned' etc.

6. Prowl On the etymology of this word the NED remarks as follows "ME *proll-en*, origin unknown, there is app no related word outside of English The change to *proul, prowl* was at first merely one of spelling (cf. *Bowl* sb [1]), but has since *c* 1760 perverted the pronunciation from (prol pro^{u}l) to (praul)" Along with the form *proll-en* (attested 1388 with Chaucer 'Though ye *prolle* aye, ye shul it neuere fynde') we find a form *pralle* (1460 in J. Russell *to pralle for a flesche mought* 'to search, seek for'). Skeat sought the etymon in an iterative **progle* from *prog*, Weekley in an hypothetic OF. **por-rouler*

There is an entry in Palsgrave (1530) 'I prolle, I go here and there to seke a thyng, *Je tracasse*' which shows that the original meaning was 'to move about,' without the modern implications 'in search of plunder, prey etc, or with predatory intent,' said chiefly of wild beasts, or of men acting like them. On the contrary,

I believe our verb was first used of domesticated animals—if I am right in connecting it with the word family listed in REW svv. *protelum* 'Deichsel' = 'beam pole' and **protelaria* 'Kette, mit der die Ochsen an die Deichsel gebunden werden' ('chain by which the oxen are tied to the beam'), ". . it *trapelo* 'Vorspannpferd,' lim *prodial* (< afr *prodeau*), anj *proueil*, . . afr. *proix* 'Verlangerund der Deichsel'", "Piem *pruvei* 'Pflugkette,' afrz *prolhere*, heute bourn *prolir*"

According to this we would have an OF **proeil*, **pro(i)l* (< *protelum*, **protel-*) 'lengthening piece, cord, chain or pole which serves to harness additional animals to those pulling a plough, a cart etc for reinforcement when a particularly difficult job has to be done', this word is attested in the form *proix* as late as 1455 (Gode), but the derivative *prolhere* 'corde, trait' (1352), *prolet* 'licol' (1340) etc, as well as the parallel offered by It *trapelo -are* and the Provençal forms, help to establish a genuine OF word family **pro(i)l* Now, anyone who has seen oxen or horses hitched on loosely to a team, will have observed that they 'move around' and do not simply go straight ahead in the direction intended by the teamster, they are animals 'on the prowl' in the original meaning, i.e. roving around. The secondary development 'in search of something' is quite independent from the first image, and offers a parallel to that which took place with 'search' itself OF *cerchier* < *circare* 'to go around, to move around.' Although the OF verb is unattested (in contrast to It. *trapelare*), we must assume, because of the tonic vowel (*-o-*, not *-oi-*), that an OF. **proler* (< **protelare*, cf *protelaria* < *prol-iere*) was in existence. The form *pralle* may be explained from a Fr **pral*, with the reduction of the diphthong *oi* to *a* as in Fr *carcasse* < OF. *carcois*, *gravat* < OF. *gravoi*

7. Tantrum(s) and Doldrums a Tantrums. This word, in the modern meaning 'an outburst of petulance or ill-temper, a fit of passion. Mostly in *pl'*, is attested since 1748, according to the NED, which declares the etymology unknown, but adds the remark. "In Wallis's *Room For The Cobbler of Gloucester* (1668) 4, *tantrum* appears as a Welshman's mispronunciation of *anthem*, but apparently has no connexion with this word" On the contrary, I believe this fact to be highly significant, why, indeed, should not *tantrum(s)* be a general (not only a Welsh) popular alteration of

anthem? If we think of cases such as OF. *ante* (> Eng *aunt*) > mod Fr *tante* (and the parallel *oncle* > dial Fr *konk*), or ME *affodil* (< *afrodille* < Lat *osphodelos*) > mod Eng *daffodil*, Eng *undern* > dial *dowdrinsch*, then *t)antrum* from an '*antrum* becomes plausible This ×*antrum* is confirmed by the dial. Eng. forms *antrims, antrums, antherums* 'airs, whims, caprices, with an implication of temper,' 'doubts, hesitations,' listed by Wright (with the remark "Etym unknown. See *Tantrums*"), and must correspond to the *antym* forms of *anthem* in Chaucer (variant *antheme*) and in *Prompt Parv* the *antherums* of dial. English already reflects the *th-* pronunciation of *anthem*, which is secondary (cf. *Anthony, author* etc) The insertion of the *-r-* in a word borrowed from French, as is *anthem* (< *antienne* 'antiphon'), is, in itself, no more astounding than is the same insertion in OF. *contek-* > Eng. *cantankerous* (*MLN.* LIX, 223), OF. *boisd-ie* > Eng. *boisterous* (*Rom.* XXXII, 148); in our word, the *-r-* may also be due to the influence of *doldrum(s)* where, as I shall show, the *-r-* is probably genuine

It has not hitherto been observed that the **antrum* = *antim* 'anthem,' a form based on the dialectal *antrim antrum* and on *tantrum*, may also be at the bottom of the word *humdrum*, attested first in 1533 in the modern meaning 'lacking variety, of a routine character, commonplace, monotonous, dull,' and the etymology of which, according to the NED, is "app a reduplicating form from *Hum v* , it is doubtful whether the second element had any distinct connexion with *Drum* sb." — the NED is fond of assuming compounds when, in reality, there is one French simplex at the bottom of a word If we observe that the first attestation of *humdrum* shows the form *humtrum* (*pe old accustumed humtrum distinccion*), we are led away from *drum* toward our *antrum*, which must have later acquired the *h-* of vulgar parlance,[8] and in which the first part of the word must have been assimilated to the second. **h)antrum* > *humtrum* (cf. the same procedure in the case of the first *t-* of *t)antrum*, and the first *-r-* of *caterpillar* = **chatte peleure* > **chatre peleure*). As for *-tr-* > *-dr-* in *humtrum* > *humdrum*, cf. *-rt-* > *-rd-* in such examples as *carte* > *card, jeu parti* > *jeopardy*. In regard to the semantic aspect, both meanings 'old,

[8] An early example of this adventitious *h-* is ME *haberdine* 'codfish' (attested in 1370 as *haburdenne*) < Fr **l)abourdan*, from the name *Le Labourd*

monotonous' and 'outbursts of ill-temper' can be justified. on the one hand we find such expressions as pop Fr *chanter toujours la même antienne* 'répéter toujours la même chose,' Saintonge *antienne* 'longue attente temps perdu avec ennui' (cf. Prov *antifòni* 'antienne, vieillerie, vieux meuble'); 16th cent Fr.· 'Vous nous cornés sempiternellement vostre succession, institution et substitution et ne nous chantez jamais autres letanies, sequences ny *antiphones*,' Huguet, Ital. *ripetere la stessa antifona* (for an explanation of the impression of repetitiousness in the antiphons, cf Rheinfelder, *Kultsprache und Profansprache*, p. 370) On the other hand, we may compare Fr *chanter une antienne à quelqu'un* 'pour lui annoncer quelque mauvaise nouvelle, lui faire de vifs reproches, le gronder, le vespériser,' D'Hautel, *Dict. du bas-langage*, 1808)—this *vespériser* 'to taunt' is a good parallel to *chanter une antienne à qqn* 'to lecture, to preach at someone,' as is also the It. *cantare il matutino ad alc.* (cf Germ. *jem die Leviten lesen* etc.). From 'to taunt sb angrily' it is not far to 'to have an outburst of ill-temper', one may note the plural *tantrums*, *antrims*, as a continuation of the plural in (*chanter*) *antiennes*.

The form of the English suffix *-em* (*anthem*) *-im -um* (*antrim -um*) corresponds to *-ene*· we must start, as the NED says, from OF. *antoine* (< Greco-Latin *antiphona*),[9] in which *oi* became *ai* (pronounced *e*): this latter form is reflected in Old French by an *antesne* (evidently with muted *-s-*) in G de Coincy (13th cent.), and in a 15th cent. *antaine* (cf. the English spelling of a 13-14th cent. text. *antayn*). Parallels to Fr *-ene, -aine* > Eng. *-um -im* are *calembredaine* > *conundrum, migraine* > *megrim*. These 'wrong' *m*'s (instead of the correct *-n-* as in *mitten -on* < Fr. *mitaine*)[9a] seem to me to go back to a time when French intervocalic *-n-* still produced the nasalization of the preceding vowel, i. e. when *-aine* was still pronounced *-ãine* (as it is still pronounced today in many French patois where the ulterior standard French denasalization has not yet taken place) at that time (after the final vowel had been dropped in Anglo Norman, and *-aine* was on the same level with *-(a)in*, cf *sexton* < *sacristain*, *venom* < *venin*) it was possible for an *-ain'* cluster, which could come either from an *a* + *n*

[9] This *antiphona* is more faithful to Greek, while OF *antie(f)ne* goes back to a semi-Latinized *antephona* (FEW).

[9a] An influence from *sophom-um* 'sophism' (< Fr *sophisme* with muted *-s-*) is not excluded

or from an *a* + *m*, (*plain* < *planus*, *pelain* < **pellamen*), to be misinterpreted, 'mis-etymologized,' as containing an *-m* instead of the correct *-n* Thus the false English reconstruction *-m* in our *-um -im -em* words is a reminder of the nasalized form of an OF. *ant*(*i*)*ẽn*(*e* which preceded the denasalized mod Fr form *antienne*.

b. DOLDRUM(S). The NED says of this word "app in its origin a slang term, prob. a deriv of prec. [*dold* 'dull, stupid, foolish'] or of *dol*, Dull. For the form cf. *tantrum*." In slang the word is first attested 1812 in the meaning 'a dullard, a dull, drowsy, or sluggish fellow', *the doldrums* is attested in 1811 (evidently not in slang) in the meaning 'a condition of dullness or drowsiness, dumps, low spirits, depression,' in 1824 in the meaning 'the condition of a ship in which, either from calms, or from baffling winds, she makes no headway,' and, finally, in 1855, apparently as a result of a misunderstanding of the phrase 'in the doldrums' whereby the state was taken as a locality, in the meaning 'the regions of the *Equatorial doldrums*'

The suffix *-rum*, however, is not cleared up by the reference to *tantrum*(*s*) 'an outburst of petulance or ill-temper, a fit of passion,' since the etymology of *tantrum* is unknown to the NED (see above) Wright's *Eng Dialect Dict* shows a wider semantic range for *doldrum*(*s*) than is indicated in the dictionaries of standard English:

1 'mental disturbance, an excited condition' [variant *dildrams*]
2 'low spirits combined with ill-humour'
3 'giddiness in the head'
4 'the death pang'
5 'anything of a large size' (*a doldrum o' a steen*), probably originally 'an incredible story.'
6 in the phrase *to tell doldrums* 'to tell improbable stories' [variant *dildrams*]
7 adj 'confused, stupid,' hence *doldrumish* 'of an old house rambling'

In addition to the variant *dildrams*, already mentioned, we find also *dildam* 'a loud noise made at a wedding or merry-making,' *dandrum* 'a whim, a freak, ill-temper,' *dulderdum* 'confused, in a state of stupor; silenced by argument.' Given the obvious etymological identity existing between dial. Eng. *dandril* 'a knock, a blow; a curved stick with which hockey is played' (Wright) and a French *dandrille* attested by Cotgrave 'the rag or clout wherewith a leak-

ing tub is stopped, also a man's privies, or that which hangs dangling between his legs,' which in turn must be connected with the onomatopeic Fr root *dand- dond-* 'to dangle, to give a blow' — and given also the reductibility of the Eng ending *-um* to Fr. *-aine -in* (cf Fr *calembredaine* > *conundrum*, Fr *venin* > Eng. *venom* etc.), we are led from our Eng *doldrum dild(r)am dandrum dulderdum* to a dialectal Fr. **dond(r)ain(e) dand(r)-ain(e)* We must not, of course, expect to find all the meanings of the English dialectal words represented in any one attested French dialectal word, rather must we compare the Eng *word family* to the Fr. *word family* Evidently, the *dond- dand-* family, used of dangling bells, of raining blows etc came to refer to mental instability, hesitation, giddiness, wavering, confusion, stupidity, caprice, whimsicality, ill-humour, insincerity let us consider, out of the wealth of words listed by the FEW s vv *dand- dond-*, just the following, which are semantically parallel to the English words

Blois	*dondrille* 'vibration de l'air chaud qui monte'[10]
Bléré	*dondaine* 'colère'
Giv	*dondinne* 'qui n'a pas son bon sens, plur caprices'
St Etienne	*danderliner* 'agir nonchalamment'
Clairvaux	*dandainnes* 'racontars de peu de valeur, grivoiseries, mensonges' [variant *tantainnes*]
Ht-Maine	*dandilleux* 'incertain, présentant quelque danger'
Bas-Maine	" 'chatouilleux, difficile, scabreux'
Poit	*être donde* 'épuise' (this is taken from Favre)

The *-l-* of *dild(r)ams doldrums* may be due to a dissimilation of *dandrum* (< **dandraine*) *n-n* > *l-n*, it may, however, also be explained from *dandril* > *dandrille* with metathesis. Moreover, there is undeniably the influence of *tantrum(s)* at work here — a word, as we have tried to show, of a quite different origin.[11]

[10] Could *dandruff-iff* (attested since 1545, etymologically not yet classified) be a derivative from **dondr-* in the meaning 'things of no value,' 'refuse' (with an ending like in mod Fr *dandefle* 'sling,' *dandifler* 'to *know*' (which FEW s v *fundibalus* considers as *fundebalus* + **dond-*) or like in Eng *rifraff*?

[11] In the case of *tantrum(s)* I would not attach any importance to the Fr. dial variant *tantainnes* that we found along with *dandainnes* We may, however, see in the plural of *doldrums* an influence of *tantrums* (< *antiennes*)

8. VAGARY This word, which originally meant 'an excursion, ramble, stroll,' is first attested in 1577, in the 17th century the phrases *to fetch, make, take a vagary* were frequent, *to play his vagary* was said in 1580 of a horse that refused to follow the desired course Skeat and the NED connect it with the Lat *vagari*, the first comparing the use of (French) infinitives as nouns, as illustrated by *remainder, attainder, leisure, pleasure*. But how should we justify the preservation of a *Latin* infinitive? There is nothing to indicate, for example, that *vagari* was used in students' slang (as we find e g *grassatum ire* in the slang of German students) It seems clear to me that we must abandon such an ostensibly simple explanation for one more complicated, if we take into account the article *fegary* in the NED, this word which, with its variants *fagarie, figary, fleegerie, f(l)eegary*, is attested from 1600 on in the meaning 'a vagary, prank, freak, a whim, excentricity,' is considered by the NED as an alteration of *vagary* But it is more probable that it is the complicated forms which are closest to the etymon—at any rate, we are given no indication of the influences by which a *vagary* (< Lat *vagari*) could become *f(l)ag-ary*

The most complicated variants, however, appear not in standard English but in the dialects. Wright lists such forms as *fligmag(e)ary, flegm-, flegmaleeries* It is no chance that the longest forms show meanings which are closer to the primitive status of the word in addition to 'whim, fancy' we find such meanings as 'a gaudy, useless article of dress, frippery' and 'a tawdrily-dressed woman' (cf also *fligary* 'finely dressed, a gaudily-dressed girl,' Wright).

Thus I propose to start from the type *fligmagary*, where it is possible to recognize something resembling Fr *flamenguerie* 'the attitude, doings, character of a Fleming,' from *Flamand, flamingant*, OF. *(drap)flamenc* 'sorte d'étoffe de Flandre' = Germ. *flaming* 'Flemish' (FEW) As appears from the other ethnic designation *flandrin* 'sobriquet pour dire niais, sot, ignorant, stupide, fainéant, rôdeur, paresseux' (FEW s v. *Flandern*), the French have seen in the Flemish their slovenly attitude. Now, it so happened that the name of the 'flamingo' (derived from *flamma* because of the red feathers of this bird) came to be confused with the word designating the Flemish. Anjou *flamand* 'flandrin, hallebreda, individu grand, fluet et dégingandé' is explained by Verrier-Onillon from *flamand* 'Flemish,' and by von Wartburg from

flamant 'flamingo' Sainéan (*Les sources indigènes de l'étym fr.* II, 369) gives the following description of the bird in question "Son petit corps repose sur des jambes longues de près d'un mètre et sa démarche est lente, irrégulière et quelque peu vacillante," and he believes that the ethnicon is only secondary in the semantic expansion—an opinion opposed by von Wartburg But, whether we start from *flaming* 'flemish' or from **flamm-ing* 'flamingo,' it is possible to explain the meanings 'tawdriness,' 'eccentricity' of the English words, from the meanings of the existing French words. The preservation of the *-g-* of the suffix (instead of a change to *-ant* as in standard French), would suggest a dialectal origin (Picardian, Normandian, Provençal). Mistral lists Prov. *flamen* 'indolent, lendore,' *long flamen* 'gran flandrin,' *uno flamenco* 'une femme paresseuse et molle, à Béziers,' and an abstract noun *flamencarié* 'indolence, paresse, lenteur, long récit, langage affecté, mignardise,' which would correspond to our assumed Fr. **flamenguerie*. If the spelling *flygmageary* be taken as indicating a *ž*-pronunciation, we may assume a **flamengerie* and have recourse to OF. *flamange, flamenge,* feminine forms of *flamenc,* or to other *ž*-forms listed by Godefroy and the FEW; indeed, our constructed word *Flamengerie* actually occurs in Froissard as the name of Flanders. Even without admitting a *ž*-pronunciation with the English dialectal word, we could assume a substitution of sounds such as *Flamengerie* > *fle(g)magary*—cf. **escoulourgerie* > *sculduggery* [and *sculduddery*].

If *flygmagary* is really a **flamengu-erie,* the first *g* must be the result of an assimilation to the second As is always the case with such fanciful words borrowed from French (cf. *calembredaine* > *conundrum*), the phonetic instability would be due not only to the fact of the borrowing itself, but also to a kind of popular symbolism the whimsicality of the semantic content entails whimsicality of phonetic form A *flygmagary* could thus be reduced to *flygary,* then to *fegary,* and finally, under the influence of *vagabond, vagrant,* it could become *vagary* The suffix *-ary* is evidently of a secondary nature in English, cf. *quandáry* from *quorundum* (< *calembredaine,* cf. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* XLII, 405). A form such as *fleegerie* gives a more faithful reflection of the suffix form of **flameng(u)-erie.*

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OLD FRENCH *RAQUEER, RECOIER, RECOI*

W Meyer-Lubke in the first edition of the REW (1911), no. 7234, explains the Old French noun *recoi* 'verborgener Ort' which appears so often in the texts, as a popular development of VL **requētus* (CL *requiētus*) and this etymology was for a number of years considered to be entirely satisfactory[1] The third edition of the REW (1935) has, however, dropped out no 7234 (**requētus*) and we now find *recoi* listed under no. 6958 (*quiētus, quētus*) Meyer-Lubke was probably prompted to make the change because he found *requiētus* represented nowhere else in Romance. He has followed the suggestion of Moritz Regula who had proposed a revision of article 7234 of the first edition of the REW[2] Regula says with regard to *recoi* Afrz *recoi* ist wohl eher Neubildung nach den gleichbedeutenden Verbalsubstantiven *refui, repaire, repos, reculet* (~ *anglet*), *retrait* (= **retractus*, vgl *recessus* > valenc *races*), *receptus* > prov *recet*. The history of OF *recoi* is somewhat complicated but it will appear, as we trace it in detail, that Meyer-Lubke was nearer the truth when he connected it with VL **requētus* in the first edition of the REW.

An examination of an OF verb *raqueer, recoier*, listed as two separate words by Godefroy, will be of help in explaining *recoi* No one has ever, as far as I can learn, proposed an etymology of OF *raqueer, recoier* Godefroy (VI, 603c) gives two examples of *raqueer* both from *Doon de Maience* (13th c)

1) 5417 Quant ot tant dolousé, si s'ala *raqueant*
2) 5062 Et quant il ot cheu dit, es les vous *raqueés*

It is evident from the context in each case[3] that Godefroy's translations are exact· 1) *raqueer* (*se*) v. réfl, s'apaiser, se calmer 2) *raquée*, part passé, apaisé, calmé OF *raqueer* represents a VL **requētare* formed on the past participle of CL *requiescere*. As is well known VL possessed such forms as *quetus, quescere* for CL *quietus, quiescere*. The formation of a verb on the past participle

[1] Cf *Dictionnaire général* du lat populaire **rĕquētum* (class *rĕquiētum*), E Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Worterbuch der Franzosischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1928, 747a *recoi* aus lat. *requiētus* 'ausgeruht,' referring to REW 7234

[2] *Zeits f rom. phil*, XLIII (1923), 130

[3] Cf M. A Pey, *Doon de Maience*, Paris, 1859, 153, 163

is a normal phenomenon in both Classic and Vulgar Latin. VL **requētare* evolved regularly into *raqueer* (**requeer*) with alternate prefix *ra-* for *re-*. CL *requiescere* signified 'to rest oneself, to rest, repose' and was of very common usage, CL *requiētus* (past participle) meant 'rested, refreshed.' It seems certain that *raqueer* is not a VL compound of *ra-* (*re-*) and *qu*[*i*]*etare* because this verb has left no descendents in Gallo-Romance[4] The simple verb of frequent occurrence in Old French was formed on *quētus* with suffix *-are* > *coisier* 'calmer, apaiser' (REW 6957)

Godefroy has one example of *recoier*, verbe, réfl, 'se reposer' from *La Passion Nostre Seigneur* (15th c) It is evident, I believe, that *recoier* is a variant of *raqueer* with the stem-stressed vowel *ē* > *oi* carried over into the infinitive and forms where the *ē* was unstressed, the form in our text is *vous recoiez* The second of the two examples of *recoier* cited by Godefroy, is from a poem of Eustache Deschamps It is here used transitively 'garder, réserver' Latin of the post-Augustan era employed *requiētus* in "economic language" with the sense 'that has lain or been kept for a long time' and it is evidently that shade of meaning that is reflected in *recoier* 'garder, réserver' This is further evidence that VL **requētare* is the etymon of *recoier* as it is of *raqueer*. We have an echo of a wider extension of VL **requētare* in Italian dialectal (Bolognese) *agudars* 'sich beruhigen' (REW 7233) which has been traced by Salvioni to L *requiētare* (= VL **requētare*).[5]

Godefroy lists *recoi* (2) as an adjective 'qui est en repos, tranquille, calme,' en parlant de personnes The earliest example cited is from *Trubert* of Douin de l'Avesne (13th c) · Cil qui fu sages et *recoiz* (*voiz*) *Recoi* adj , also applies to things in the same sense. The earliest example here is from a manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* (13th c.) · Quant je suy en 1 lieu *requoy* Godefroy also lists feminine forms *requoie, requoyes*. The etymon is here the past participial adjective **requētus* — *a* (CL *requiētus*). The formation of *re* + an adjective in Old French is practically unknown[6]

[4] Cf REW[3] *quiētare*, **quētare* > It *chetare*, Sp Pg *quedar*

[5] *ZRP* XXII (1898), 470 bol *agudars* 'acquietarsi' Deve aversi avuto prima un **arqudars* = 'requietare' che forse ancora si scorge nell *arg-* di *argutus* 'rannichiarsi'

[6] K Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, III (1908), p 224, § 490 "*rebours* et *recoi* ne sont pas des créations nouvelles, ils

Under *recoi*, the noun (s m), Godefroy notes a sense 'calme, repos, tranquillité' It is evidently a verbal noun formed on the verb *recoier* (< **requētare*) 'se reposer' The earliest example is from the *Chroniques* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet (15th c). The first meaning of *recoi* the noun, in Godefroy is 'endroit retiré, cachette, abri, refuge, lieu de retraite pour les hommes et pour les animaux,' and here the earliest example is from the 12th century *Voyage de Charlemagne à Constantinople requeit.*[7] This spelling (cf also *rekeiz, recot*) seems to indicate that the noun *recoi* 'endroit retiré' has grown out of its use as an adjective (**requētus*), even although the latter is actually attested later (13th c) The uses of the adjective in the following texts cited by Godefroy give a clue to the semantic development of the noun.

1) Quant je suy en l lieu *requoy*
(ms of the *Roman de la Rose*)
2) Venus aime les nuits sombres,
Les lieux *recois* et les ombres
Des taillis et des forests
(Rémy Belleau, *Bergerie*)

The transformation of the adjective *recoi* into the substantive *recoi* was probably the result of an ellipsis and took place early· (*locus*) *requ[i]ētus*. French has a number of words of this type where the substantival use of the adjective goes back to Latin. *aube* < (*dies*) *alba*, *chaussée* < (*via*) *calciata*, fromage < (*caseum*) *formaticum*, *hiver* (OF *ivern*) < (*tempus*) *hibernum*, etc , and the process has continued active through the history of the French language and is today a very common phenomenon of popular speech In the early texts *recoi* is used almost invariably in a set expression *en un recoi* Godefroy cites one example of a noun *recoite* s f., 'lieu retiré' from *Berte aus grans piés* (13th c) and from the same text *en recoite* 'secrètement,' in which we can see the Picard feminine adjective *recoite*, constructed by analogy on masculine *recoit*[8] Here the ellipsis may have been understood to be some feminine noun such as *place*

reproduisent probablement des combinaisons latins" Nyrop does not explain further *recoi*.

[7] Cf the edition of Koschwitz, verses 382, 487, 728.

[8] Final Latin unsupported *t* was maintained and pronounced in parts of northeastern France long after it had become silent elsewhere. From the same text *Berte aus grans piés* 1341, cf *laidte* (*laidir*), cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, p 150, § 274 R

It appears, therefore, that article no 7234 of the first edition of the REW (*requ[i]ētus*) should be restored to its place It is interesting to note that **requētus* (*requiescere*) had in the Vulgar Latin of northern France a continuous existence apart from *quētus* (*quiētus*) and that its descendents in Romance are found only there, although there is a trace of the derived verb form **requētare*, the etymon of OF *raqueer, recoier*, in modern Italian patois *Recoi* the adjective lived on in French into the 16th century *Recoi* the noun was admitted to the dictionary of the French Academy in 1698 but was dropped from the edition of 1718 We may still have it in the word *recoin* which first appears in the 16th century (Robert Estienne 1549) and which may represent a modification of *recoi* due to analogy with *coin* [9]

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STENDHAL, JOINVILLE ET UN CONTE ARABE

Paul Arbelet a rempli tout un volume des plagiats que Stendhal s'est permis dans l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie* [1] Mais le sujet semble inépuisable

Il y a, au tome premier de l'ouvrage, un court chapitre de quelques lignes seulement, "qui paraît ne se relier ni à ce qui précède ni à ce qui suit," dit Paul Arbelet dans son commentaire, "Beyle s'est plu à mystifier son lecteur." [2] Voici le chapitre tout entier:

[9] Such is the opinion of Gamillscheg, *op cit* "*recoin* 'verborgener Schlupfwinkel' 16 Jhdt, ist Kreuzung von afrz *recoi* dass mit *coin* Winkel" Some of the early examples of *recoin* cited by Littré have the sense of *recoi* 'lieu retiré' Littré believes *recoin* to be a compound of *re* + *coin* and such is also the opinion of Nyrop (*op cit*, III, 223 § 489), the *Dictionnaire général*, Bloch-Wartburg, and Dauzat *Coin* signified in the Middle Ages 'point, wedge' The sense 'corner' is first attested in the 16th century, at a time, therefore, when *recoi* was still in current usage The sense *recoin* 'lieu retiré' may then be the early meaning instead of representing a derived sense as Littré believes The idea that *recoin* is a combination (Gamillscheg 'Kreuzung') of *recoi* and *coin* seems entirely plausible

[1] Paul Arbelet *L'Histoire de la peinture en Italie et les plagiats de Stendhal* Paris, Calmann Lévy

[2] Stendhal· *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*. Texte etabli et annoté avec Préface et Avant-propos par Paul Arbelet Tome premier Paris, Champion, 1924, I, 344-345

Chapitre XXXIII
Épreuve sous la statue d'Isis

Une femme se promenait dans les rues d'Alexandrie d'Egypte, les pieds nus, la tête echevelee, une torche dans une main, une aiguière dans l'autre Elle disait "Je veux brûler le ciel avec cette torche, et eteindre l'enfer avec cette eau, afin que l'homme n'aime son Dieu que pour lui même" [3]

Quant aux sources du passage, Arbelet n'en dit rien Or, voici un passage de l'*Histoire de Saint Louis* de Joinville

Tandis qu'ils allaient de leur hôtel à l'hôtel du soudan, frere Yves vit une vieille femme qui traversait la rue, et portait à la main droite une écuelle pleine de feu, et à la gauche une fiole pleine d'eau Frere Yves lui demanda "Que veux tu faire de cela?" Elle lui repondit qu'elle voulait avec le feu brûler le paradis, afin qu'il n'y en eût plus jamais, et avec l'eau éteindre l'enfer, afin qu'il n'y en eût plus jamais Et il lui demanda "Pourquoi veux tu faire cela? — Parce que je ne veux pas que nul fasse jamais le bien pour avoir la recompense du paradis, ni par peur de l'enfer; mais simplement pour avoir l'amour de Dieu, qui vaut tant, et qui nous peut faire tout le bien possible" [4]

Comme on voit, Stendhal abrège le passage considérablement, tout en déchaussant et décoiffant la vieille femme à la romantique (Joinville ne nous la présente ni "échevelée" ni "les pieds nus"). Mais pour le reste, il ne retient que l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire ce qui peut servir à diminuer le prestige de la religion (Personne n'ignore l'anticléricalisme de Stendhal.)

Monsieur Robert Vigneron, à qui j'ai fait part de ma petite découverte, dit qu'il doit y avoir une source intermédiaire entre Joinville et Stendhal, et c'est un fait que Stendhal ne mentionne avoir lu Joinville ni dans son journal, ni dans sa correspondance Quelle est cette source intermédiaire? Monsieur Vigneron dit qu'il faudrait chercher du côté des idéologues

Quant à Joinville lui-même, il ne semble avoir fait, à ce que m'informe M H C Lancaster, que rapporter un petit conte arabe dont M. Gustave von Grunebaum, professeur de langue arabe à l'Université de Chicago, a eu l'obligeance de m'indiquer la source (ou une source)

Dans ses *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle*

[3] *Ibid*, p 168

[4] Jean sire de Joinville *Histoire de Saint Louis—Credo—Lettre à Louis X* Texte original, accompagné d'une traduction par M Natalis de Wailly Paris, Firmin Didot, 1874, pp 243-5.

East,[5] Mme Margaret Smith rapporte par rapport à la mystique Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya qui vécut de 717 à 801 à peu près

There is a story told of how a number of the Sūfīs saw that Rābi'a had taken a torch in one hand and water in the other and was hastening on her way with them They asked her the meaning of her action, and she said, "I am going to light a fire in Paradise and to pour water on the Hell, so that both veils (*i e* hindrances to the vision of God Himself) may vanish altogether from before the pilgrims and their purpose may be sure, and the servants of God may see Him, without any object of hope or any motive of fear What if the Hell did not exist? Not one would worship the Lord or obey Him" *

Et Mme Smith ajoute à sa note le passage de Joinville s'y référant comme à "a similar incident related in de Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis*," c'est-à-dire sans dire si elle considère le conte arabe comme la source de Joinville

Il est à remarquer qu'en résumant le conte arabe, Mme Smith emploie "torche" comme Stendhal, tandis que Joinville parle d'une "écuelle pleine de feu," ce qui pourrait indiquer qu'entre le conte arabe et Stendhal il y ait eu un auteur autre que Joinville ou, peut-être, un manuscrit de Joinville autre que celui dont se servit Natalis de Wailly.

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DU BELLAY'S *OLIVE* CXII AND THE *RIME DIVERSE*

In 1900 Joseph Vianey published a study of Joachim du Bellay's *Olive*[1] which considerably modified current impressions of that poet's originality in subject and tone. From the poems of some twenty-six named authors and of some unknown, Joachim had "imitated" (critics had a harsher word for it) a considerable total of material, which he had found in the first and second volumes of the series now known generally as the *Rime diverse*, and which he elaborated in the first and the second edition of his sonnet-sequence.

[5] *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East*, by Margaret Smith, M A., Ph. D London, The Sheldon Press, 1931 Pp 187-188.

* Afīākī, "Manāquib al-'Ārifīn," fol 114 *a*.

[1] Joseph Vianey, "Les Sources italiennes de 'l'Olive'," *Annales internationales d'Histoire Congrès de Paris 1900* (Paris Colin, 1901), p 71.

In the following year Hugues Vaganay [2] noticed what Vianey had not mentioned that there are two editions of each volume (differing appreciably in contents), and indeed a third of Volume I [3] Vaganay had, it seemed, compared I^1 with I^2 and II^1 with II^2, and found that the poems which Vianey had cited from the second edition of each volume appeared also in the first, his conclusion was that it could not be determined whether Du Bellay had before him the first or the second edition of either volume. However, Vaganay had clearly made no detailed comparison of the contents to supplement Vianey's, and the matter has rested there Chamard incorporated Vianey's results into the notes to his critical edition of Du Bellay's poetical works, where they are generally accessible [4]

There might be profit in a more complete study of the several editions and volumes of the *Rime* than has so far been made (for instance, the index of II^2 is very corrupt, and seems to be merely a

[2] Hugues Vaganay, "Joachim du Bellay et les 'Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori'," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France,* VIII (1901), 687

[3] The following data come directly from the title-pages of the first four books published

1 *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss auttori nuovamente raccolte Libro primo In Vinetia appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii MDXLV* This work may be designated I^1 A copy is in the University of Chicago library

2 *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss auttori nuovamente raccolte Libro primo, con nuova additione ristampato In Vinetia appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii MDXLVI* This may be designated I^2; a copy is at Chicago Vianey's references are to this edition, but he suppresses "Con nuova additione ristampato"

3 *Rime di diversi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana Libro secondo In Vinetia appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii MDXLVII* This may be designated II^1, a copy is at Chicago, but bound and labeled as "Vol II, Giolito 1546"

4 *Delle rime di diversi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana Nuovamente ristapate* [sic] *Libro secondo In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari MDXLVIII* This work may be designated II^2 A copy is the property of Professor Fucilla of Northwestern University, who kindly made it available It was this edition which Vianey used for his study of the *Rime*, but as in the case of I^2 his bibliographical reference surprisingly omits the words "nuovamente ristampate," which mark the edition as not a first.

[4] *Joachim du Bellay Œuvres poétiques. I. Recueils de sonnets* (part 1) Paris: Cornély, 1908, p. 1 Chamard recognized the fact that Vianey had worked from second editions.

careless reproduction of the index to II[1], so that the presence of a first line in the later index is no guarantee that the poem in question actually appears in the volume). Meanwhile it may be pointed out that Du Bellay's sonnet CXII of the *Olive* is an adaptation in his customary style of a sonnet by Veronica Gambara which appears both in the first and in the second edition of *Rime II* Vianey overlooked the fact, and Chamard might have referred some of the terminology to the Italian poetess' final source in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans VIII, v. 28 sqq

And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called according to his purpose For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called and whom he called, them he also justified and whom he justified, them he also glorified. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or perse cution, or famine, or nakedness, or the sword?

Veronica Gambara's sonnet develops the Pauline doctrine as follows (the text is from the first edition of 1547, with the variants of the second in parentheses):

Scelse da tutta la futura gente
Gli eletti suoi l'alta bontà infinita
Predestinando (Predestinati) a la futura vita
Per voler sol (Sol per voler) de la divina mente
Questi tali poi chiama, e dolcemente
Seco gli unisce, e a ben far gl'invita,
Non per opra di lor saggia e (o) gradita,
Ma per voler di lui troppo clemente,
Chiamando li (gli) fa giusti, e giusti poi
Gli essalta si ch'al unico suo figlio
Gli (li) fa conformi, e poco men ch'eguali
Qual potrà dunque mai danno, o periglio
Ne l'ultimo de gl'altri estremi mali
Da Christo separar gli eletti suoi?

Du Bellay in his turn follows Petrarchian tradition in giving sonnet form to religious matter the 12th sonnet of the *Olive* recalls Veronica Gambara's with an accuracy which but slightly limits the smoothness of his craftsmanship:

Dedans le clos des occultes Idées,
Au grand troupeau des ames immortelles
Le Prevoyant a choisi les plus belles,

Pour estre à luy par luymesme guidées
Lors peu à peu devers le ciel guidees
Dessus l'engin de leurs divines aeles
Vollent au seing des beautez eternelles,
Ou elle' sont de tout vice emondees
Le Juste seul ses eleuz justifie,
Les reanime en leur premiere vie,
Et à son Filz les faict quasi egaulx
Si donq' le ciel est leur propre heritage,
Qui les poura frauder de leur partage
Au poinct qui est l'extreme de tous maulx?

The reminiscences of Plato's *Phaedrus* (249-50 particularly) in the first and the seventh lines of the sonnet somewhat mitigate the stark doctrine of Saint Paul and the Italian poetess, but there is little reason to suppose that Du Bellay was consciously recalling the Platonic-Christian current which is associated with the name of Saint Augustine and in which (under the brooding shadow of Jansen of Ypres and John Calvin) the French poet was for a moment naively dabbling

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MAUPASSANT BORROWS FROM HIMSELF

Identical elements found in Guy de Maupassant's short stories and in his longer fiction have been noted from time to time by critics Thus Sherard calls attention to the fact that *Un Lâche*, a tale in the volume *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, and the novel *Bel-Ami* both describe a *veillée d'armes* preceding a duel.[1] Boyd considers *le Vengeur*, volume *Boule de suif*, the first draught of the theme of Duroy's jealous hatred of his wife's former husband, also in *Bel-Ami*.[2] He likewise emphasizes the role of *Yvelne Samoris*, in le *Père Milon*, as a preliminary rough sketch for the novelette *Yvette*.[3]

[1] Sherard, R H, *The Life, Work, and Evil Fate of Guy de Maupassant*, New York, Brentano's, pp 317, 318

[2] Boyd, Ernest, *Guy de Maupassant, a Biographical Study*, New York and London, Knopf, 1926, p 131.

[3] *Ibid*, pp 184, 185 To the above should be added. the well-known parallelism of *Clair de lune*, volume of the same title, with the episode of

What has apparently not been known is that Maupassant, in two of these cases, transposed the text of one work bodily into the other.[4]

For example, *Un Lâche* thus describes the mental distress of a man challenged to a duel

Quand le vicomte fut rentré chez lui, il marcha pendant quelques minutes à grands pas vifs à travers sa chambre Il était trop agité pour réfléchir à rien Une seule idée planait sur son esprit "un duel," sans que cette idee éveillât encore en lui une émotion quelconque Il avait fait ce qu'il devait faire, il s'était montré ce qu'il devait être On en parlerait, on l'approuverait, on le féliciterait Il répétait à haute voix, parlant comme on parle dans les grands troubles de pensée —Quelle brute que cet homme! [5]

Bel-Ami shows its principal character, Georges Duroy, one day in the early stages of his journalistic career, also deeply perturbed because he must fight a duel

Dès qu'il fut seul, il marcha pendant quelques minutes à grands pas vifs, à travers sa chambre Il était trop troublé pour refléchir à rien Une seule idée emplissait son esprit —un duel demain,—sans que cette idée éveillât en lui autre chose qu'une émotion confuse et puissante Il avait été soldat, il avait tiré sur des Arabes, sans grand danger pour lui, d'ailleurs, un peu comme on tire sur un sanglier à la chasse

En somme, il avait fait ce qu'il devait faire Il s'était montré ce qu'il devait être On en parlerait, on l'approuverait, on le féliciterait Puis il prononça à haute voix, comme on parle dans les grandes secousses de pensée "Quelle brute que cet homme!" After examining his opponent's card he again exclaims, "Quelle brute!" [6]

The similarity of language continues throughout the reveries of

the "anti-physical" priest of *Une Vie*, pp 242-256, 311, 312 in the Albin Michel edition of the *Œuvres de Guy de Maupassant*, here used for all references to Maupassant's writings; the case of Paul and Henriette of the short story *Imprudence*, volume *Monsieur Parent*, and the visit of Duroy and his mistress, Madame Marelle, to various shady night-joints in Paris, *Bel-Ami*, pp 118-122, the general theme of the stories *Fini*, volume *Toine*, and *Mlle Jocaste*, volume *Mistı*, the love of a man for both a woman and her daughter, and that of *Fort comme la Mort*

[4] We are here leaving out of consideration the case of *Par un soir de printemps*, *le Saut du berger*, and *la Veillée*, all in *le Pere Milon*, prototypes of various incidents in *Une Vie*, which are mentioned by Boyd, as well as *M. Mongilet*, in *Toine*, and the chapter "Chez un ami" of *les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris* Footnotes, probably by the editor of the volumes of *inédits* published after Maupassant's death, point to the relationship and practical identity of the elements in question.

[5] *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, p 53

[6] Pp. 185, 186.

the two characters. As *Un Lâche* and *Bel-Ami* were both published in 1885, it would be difficult to say which of these two pieces represents the original

In *Yveline Samoris* a man describes his visit to the home of the comtesse Samoris

J'y allai Pourquoi? direz-vous Je n'en sais trop rien J'y allai comme nous y allons tous, parce qu'on y joue, parce que les femmes sont faciles et les hommes malhonnêtes Vous connaissez ce monde de flibustiers à décorations variees, tous nobles, tous titrés, tous inconnus aux ambassades, à l'exception des espions Tous parlent de l'honneur à propos de bottes, citent leurs ancêtres, racontent leur vie, hâbleurs, menteurs, filous, dangereux comme leurs cartes, trompeurs comme leurs noms, l'aristocratie du bagne enfin

J'adore ces gens-la Ils sont intéressants à pénétrer, intéressants à connaître, amusants à entendre, souvent spirituels, jamais banals comme des fonctionnaires publics Leurs femmes sont toujours jolies, avec une petite saveur de coquinerie étrangère, avec le mystère de leur existence passée peut être à moitié dans une maison de correction Elles ont en général des yeux superbes et des cheveux invraisemblables Je les adore aussi

Mme Samoris est le type de ces aventurières, élégante, mûre et belle encore, charmeuse et féline, on la sent vicieuse jusque dans les moelles On s'amusait beaucoup chez elle, on y jouait, on y dansait, on y soupait— enfin on y faisait tout ce qui constitue les plaisirs de la vie mondaine [7]

In *Yvette* the comtesse Samoris has become the marquise Obardi, but otherwise the text remains practically unchanged. Note as a sample the following

J'allai chez elle! Comment? Je ne le sais plus. J'y allai comme nous y allons tous la dedans, parce qu'on y joue, parce que les femmes sont faciles et les hommes malhonnêtes J'aime ce monde de flibustiers à décorations variées, tous etrangers, tous nobles, tous titrés, tous inconnus à leurs ambassades, à l'exception des espions

The description continues paralleling that given in *Yveline Samoris*, except in respect to the women involved, where there are a few new elements.

Elles ont en général des yeux superbes et des cheveux incomparables, le vrai physique de l'emploi, une grâce qui grise, une séduction qui pousse aux folies, un charme malsain, irresistible! Ce sont des conquérantes à la façon des routiers d'autrefois, des rapaces, de vraies femelles d'oiseaux de proie Je les adore aussi [8]

[7] *Le Père Milon*, pp 210-212

[8] Pp 13, 14

In *Yvelıne Samorıs* the young heroıne ıs saıd to be "une fille grande, magnıfique, toujours joyeuse, toujours prête pour les fêtes, toujours rıant à pleıne bouche et dansant à corps perdu" [9] In *Yvette* the maıquıse Obardı has a daughter who ıs "grande, magnıfique, mûre à poınt, dıx-huıt ans, aussı blonde que sa mèıe est brune, toujours joyeuse, toujours prête pour les fêtes, toujours rıant à pleıne bouche et dansant à corps perdu." [10]

However, despıte the close lınguıstıc sımılaıity between the selectıons quoted,[11] ıt must be remembered that these functıon as parts of quıte dıssımılar wholes That ın *Un Lâche* records the reflectıons of a man who, overwhelmed by the possıbılity of future death, chooses the certaınty of present self-destructıon, the correspondıng pıece ın *Bel-Amı* describes the agony of antıcıpatıon suffered by an ındıvıdual destıned, on the contrary, to be "quıtte pour la peur" so far as ınjury ın duelıng ıs concerned. *Yvelıne Samorıs* pıctures a degenerate mother and a pure vırgın daughter, soon to be separated by the tragedy of the latter's suıcıde, *Yvette* presents the mother as wınnıng the daughter to her own evıl ways after the gırl's faılure to end her lıfe by takıng chloroform.

It ıs thus plaın that Maupassant, ın transplantıng materıal from one of hıs works to another, dıd not practıce self-plagıarısm Instead, he was usıng an economy of means entirely consonant wıth orıgınalıty

G. M. Fess

Unıversıty of Mıssourı

[9] *Le Père Mılon*, p 212.

[10] P 14

[11] *Le Vengeur*, whose substance closely resembles that of the correspondıng episode ın *Bel-Amı*, shows ıdentıcal language only ın Leuıllet's remarks, *Boule de suıf*, p. 257, "ce pauvre Souris, ah, oui, ıl en avaıt la tête (tête de cocu)" and "allons, avoue-le, avoue-le" of the same page, paralleling the "Sacrıstı, sı quelqu'un en avaıt la tête, c'est bıen lui, par exemple" of p 277, and "Voyons—voyons—avoue-le" of p 278, *Bel-Amı. Clair de lune, Imprudence, Fınn*, and *M Jocaste*, whıle revealıng much lıkeness in content to theır companıon elements in the longer fictıon, dıffer from the latter completely ın language.

A SUGGESTION AS TO THE ORIGIN OF *SUNDAE*

The origin of the word *sundae* has so baffled lexicographers that a tentative suggestion may not be out of place The Oxford *English Dictionary* hesitantly puts forth the guess that it is possibly a re-spelling of *Sunday*, but the first form quoted by it, from the New York Evening Post of May 21, 1904, is *sundi*, and this has struck me rather forcibly, as it hits pretty closely an idea about the word that came to me several years ago

Namely the word *sandhi*, well known to linguists, from Sanskrit *samdhi*, "putting together," which was applied by the Sanskrit grammarians to the phonetic *combination of two* successive words, would in Anglo-Indian be pronounced 'sundi,' exactly as spelled in the Evening Post quotation,[1] and it would thus form a perfect pair with *punch*, the sweet mixed drink, which is simply the modern pronunciation of Sanskrit *pañca*, "five," minus the final vowel—and therefore, to the ear, Hindustani *panch* the beverage being originally composed of five ingredients. A further parallel would also be found in *shrub*, sweetened fruit juice intended for making cooling drinks by the addition, originally and in England, of rum or other spirits, and of water in the United States the word is from Arabic *sharāb*, "drink," but evidently came into English through Hindustani, from which we have the variant form *shrab*

An examination of Anglo-Indian printed or manuscript matter from around the beginning of the present century might furnish corroborative evidence of the value of this hypothesis

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[1] It is of course common knowledge that the short-*a* of Sanskrit is in Hindustani (Urdu), and therefore in Anglo-Indian, pronounced *uh* cf. 'pundit' for *pandit*, 'suttee' for *satī*, etc.

SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1941–1944[1]

Two important American undertakings in the linguistic field have been completed since the publication of my last survey[2] All six half-volumes of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* are now out.[3] They include 734 maps, and make possible the comparative study of dialectal differences in the English of the area covered. It is greatly to be hoped that the other parts of the United States and Canada already studied by Professor Kurath and his helpers will be duly mapped in their turn, and that the survey of the rest of the country will be completed in good time The speed of survey and of publication depends chiefly, of course, on the amount of money to be had for the purpose. So far the undertaking has had the needful financial backing, thanks to the interest shown by the A C L S. and the authorities of Brown University. The four volumes of *A Dictionary of American English* are also now available.[4] The defects of this work, though serious, do not keep it from being our fullest and most convenient book of reference in the field to which it is devoted.

Another useful tool for the study of dialectal English in this country is Professor Harold Wentworth's *American Dialect Dictionary*[5] The editor has gathered much unpublished material, besides drawing upon published sources (listed on pp. 737-747). In his preface, after many acknowledgments of indebtedness, he tells us that he is himself "the chief individual contributor of unpublished linguistic evidence to the Dictionary" (p ix). The individual entries are made up chiefly of quotations, these may explain the pronunciation or the meaning of the word, or they may be passages in which the word occurs The origin of many of the quotations is clearly marked, but in many other cases only date and locality are given. Thus, under *Hairy* the quotation reads "Old Hairy = the devil." It is preceded by "1938 s. w. Ind" We may

[1] Because of war conditions, few European books can be included in this survey

[2] *MLN* LVII (1942) 123-148

[3] Published by Brown University (Providence, R. I), 1939-1943, with *Handbook*, 1939, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, and edited by Hans Kurath and staff

[4] Edited by W. A Craigie and J. R Hulbert, Chicago, 1938-1944.

[5] Crowell New York, 1944 Pp. xvi, 747 $6.

presume that in the year 1938 some student of the English of southwest Indiana heard or read the expression quoted It is not made clear whether this student was the editor or somebody else Moreover, one does not know whether the investigator (whoever he was) merely heard or read the expression *Old Hairy* and inferred its meaning, or whether the meaning too was supplied by the investigator's informant. The entry-word itself sometimes appears in its standard form (as here), the dialectal variant being given in the body of the entry Sometimes, however, the opposite procedure is followed Thus, the dialectal variant *cramberry* serves as entry-word, and the standard form is given by way of definition The quotations are distinguished from editorial explanations and comments by being printed in smaller type, and by the fact that each quotation is dated and localized The frequent quotations from the 1934 edition of the big Merriam Webster are dated but not localized. The same applies to a few other quotations Little use seems to have been made of other dictionaries, though *DAE* and *OED* appear in the list of abbreviations. The size of the work may be gathered from the statement in the preface that it "contains more than 15,000 terms, . . and 60,000 quotations."

The editor rightly devotes much of his space to dialectal pronunciations These appear in dated and usually localized quotations. From the consistency of the phonetic transcriptions one would infer that the various systems used by the investigators quoted have as a rule been translated into the editor's own system, which is essentially that of Kenyon,[6] but in the absence of any statement of the editor's method of procedure we cannot be sure of what he did in this matter Naive respellings in the quotations often (perhaps always) appear without change. Sometimes we get both naive respelling and scientific transcription in the same quotation· thus, "keow [kjæʊ]" in the quotation of 1907 under *cow*. Here it is not clear whether "[kjæʊ]" was added by the editor to explain *keow* or stood in the editor's source

The key to pronunciation (p. xi) is misleading in at least one respect All the examples of [ə] there given occur in unstrest syllables, and after the last example comes the notation "in unaccented syllables only," but in fact, of course, [ə] is freely used in

[6] For weaknesses of the system, particularly when it comes to unstrest syllables, see my discussion in *MLQ* III (1942) 5-8

strest syllables too. Thus, *poor* is transcribed [poə], and we have no right to think that the editor made the mistake of reckoning this Mississippi pronunciation disyllabic. The key also prescribes the use of pointed [n] both for syllabic [n], as in *written*, and for syllabic [ŋ], as in *bacon*, but perhaps the editor simply ignores the existence of the latter articulation. Even the point is left off (presumably by misprint) in the transcription [ekn] under *acorn*. The [e] of the transcriptions [dɛemp, dæiens, sæev] for *damp, dance, salve* is wrong unless meant to mark the palatal timbre of [m, n, v] respectively in the dialectal pronunciations cited Here as elsewhere it is not clear whether the transcription with [e] is the editor's or whether it goes back to his source of information. In the latter case some editorial comment on the faultiness of the transcriptions would have been in order. The same holds of the inexact use of [æ] for New England [a] in the transcriptions of *Dartmouth, Harvard,* and *park*. The transcription [pæk] in particular looks like a mechanical reproduction of the naive identification exemplified in the quotation from *New Yorker*: "[They] pronounced 'park' as though it were 'pack'"

Some of the entries are not words but categories. Thus, we find a useful entry called "Eye Dialect" To this entry the reader is referred under each individual word-entry which exemplifies the category At any rate, such was the author's intent, but in practice the reference is not always given It should be added to the entry *britches,* and to such spellings as *and* for *in, a-tall* for *at all,* and *of* for *have* The spelling *spitten image* for *spit and image* is also a case in point The editor might to advantage have had more entries of this kind Thus, an entry devoted to unvoicing would take care of such cases as *ahint, holt, islant,* for *behind, hold, island.* On the other hand, such an entry may be made too inclusive. Thus, the entry "Excrescent Sounds" takes up, under "N," several types which do not properly go together: (1) liaison *n,* as in *nagent* < *an agent*; (2) suffixal *n,* as in *hisn* etc., where the *n* has the grammatical function of distinguishing pronoun from adjective; (3) the blend *clearn,* made by blending *clear* and *clean,* (4) malformations like *shampoon,* where the rare final *oo* has been replaced by the more familiar *oon* (as in *harpoon, spittoon*); and (5) infixal *n,* as in *Unminted States.*[7] This would not be so bad if the types

[7] Under *minneted,* an aphetic form of *benighted* with *n*-infix, I miss a cross-reference to "Excresc N" Indeed, this word is left wholly unexplained.

specified were distinguished in the entry, but they are not, the distinctions just made are mine, not Mr Wentworth's The editor contents himself with saying that excrescent sounds "are usually occasioned by preceding or following sounds, but sometimes by analogical processes" Other subheads under "excrescent sounds" are open to like criticism Thus, the formation *shantsy* exemplifies the familiar suffix *sy*, which here has replaced *y*, similarly *teensy* for *teeny* In such cases we are dealing with morphemic units, suffixes, not with an excrescent sound On the other hand, *colyum* for *column* seems to be a mere matter of pronunciation (to make the word rime with *volume*) and one would therefore expect to find *colyum* listed under "Excresc Y," though it is not so listed

The editor or his source sometimes offers an etymology for a dialect word, sometimes lets it go without explanation Examples of dubious or wrong historical observations

comparable "Accent on *com*, orig on *par*" [But note ME *cómparáble*]
cramberry "Folk ety" [Actually exemplifies assimilation]
glob "perh from *gob*" [Actually blend of *gob* and *lob* 'lump']
Henery "Perh by confusion with *hennery*" [Old svarabhakti vowel]
shades 'smithereens' "Perh from *shard*" [*Gone to shades* might also be explained as meaning 'gone to the shades, i e to Hades']
spit and image "must have orig been *spirit and image*" [Compare French *portrait tout craché*, and see *NED* under the noun *spit*]

Sometimes the editor inserts a bracketed exclamation point after a "howler" in a quotation, he might have done this oftener. Unexplained words include *Gee* (short for *Jesus*), *Jerusalem crickets* (euphemism for *Jesus Christ*), *Geemmy* (from Latin *Gemini*, i e Castor and Pollux), and other ejaculations The OE words *bearm* 'emotion,' *goldtorht* 'bright as gold,' and *treddan* 'investigate' are given in their original form and meaning, but are presented as Tennessee dialect words on the strength of a novel of 1928, without mention of Old English In general, the editor is not critical enough of his quotations These vary greatly in accuracy, completeness of presentation, and authority, but he seldom brings this variation out. Professional students of the English language can often make the proper allowances, it is true, particularly when the source of a quotation is given. Thus, a newspaper item to the effect that *horrible* becomes *harble* in Baltimore will not deceive some of us because out of our own knowledge we can add the important detail that [r] here is syllabic. Again, when the *New Yorker* states that in

California *subway* means 'underpass,' some of us add a mental note to the effect that this is standard British use, and exemplifies the influence of British English on California speech At a higher level of authority "*chare* standard use, *chore* U S" does not disturb us overmuch, since, in spite of this quotation from Webster's dictionary, we know that *chare* is standard British, *chore* standard American use But most users of the work under review will not be able to make these corrections and additions, and it is unfortunate that Mr Wentworth has not chosen to criticize and supplement his quotations more systematically.

Certain of the entries might with profit be revised in various ways "Redundant" *already* in Lancaster Co, Pennsylvania, should be considered anew in the light of the German strain in the population. *Collash* is better called a blend, the expression "combination word" is clumsy and needlessly amateurish in tone. The standard Southern pronunciation of some words (e g. *coarse* and *course*) is not clearly brought out. The pronunciation of *Newfoundland* is treated too stingily More quotations ought to be given. In spite of Webster, "he looks badly" is not dialectal, though most people probably apprehend the *badly* as an adverb The entries *eat* and *et* are badly arranged There should be two entries, but not as now The first entry should be *eat, et* pret., the second, *eat, et* ptc. In the first entry, attention should be called to the fact that [ɛt], spelled *eat*, is still standard British usage The spelling *et* for the preterit is an example of eye dialect In the past participle, standard usage everywhere prescribes *eaten*, and both *eat* and *et* are strictly dialectal forms. The third heading under *Episcopal* should be made a separate entry· *Episcopalian* or *Episco(po)lopian* The pronunciation given for *goober* is unfamiliar to me In my dialect it is always [gʊbə]. The postulated variant form *sheer* which *here* takes after *t* (p. 289) is to be rejected. The sandhi-affricate formed in the sequence *right here* is a single though composite phoneme, and differs, both phonetically and phonemically, from a sequence made up of [t] and [ʃ]. The pronunciation of *syringe* with ultima stress occurs in the south (Va.) as well as in New York.

One would expect omissions in a dictionary of this kind (indeed, in any dictionary). The phrase *in back of* 'behind' might have been included; certainly it would be interesting to know something

of its geographical range (it is not native to me) How widespread is *counsel* in the sense 'consul'? Where are the teeth said to be washed, where brushed? The author gives us an entry for *give goodbye* but none for *tell goodbye* The good old Maryland words *bugeye* 'kind of boat' and *espantoon* 'policeman's stick (billy)' are wanting On the other hand, it is hard to see why words like *citified* and *moonrise* are in this dictionary Such words can hardly be called dialectal from any point of view. Many other words, included for the sake of their pronunciation, might be left out with little damage to the book Thus, *moral* and *horrid*, in spite of the difference in spelling, illustrate the same point of dialectal variation and one or the other might be dispensed with Yet though such words are not strictly needed in such numbers, they are worth having nevertheless, if only for the reader's convenience. Of misprints, apart from the one already noted, I have found only two *pealing* (p 549) and *stkif* (p. 652) The [m]-form of *contrary* quoted is queer enough for a misprint but may not be one. The mute *e* kept contrary to rule in *bideable* and *toteable* stands out against the regular forms *abidable* and *totable* given in the corresponding quotations and therefore presumably is no misprint, but a deliberate editorial spelling, compare the editor's "unlikeable" in his definition of *skite* Devotees of such spellings are respectfully referred to the article "Mute E" in H. W Fowler's *Modern English Usage*

Mr Wentworth uses the term *dialect* for standard as well as substandard regional variations, a use familiar in historical linguistic study but not familiar to the general public In Mr Wentworth's sense the Kenyon-Knott work on American pronunciation also comes under the head of dialectology [8] Since however only standard pronunciations are included, and since the distinctions made (between northern, eastern, and southern forms) are put in the broadest possible terms, the emphasis in this work is clearly not dialectal. The editors try to record the local pronunciation of proper names, where this does not agree with regional or national practice, but I note that the pronunciation of *Georgia* prevalent in that state is not given: [dʒɔɪdʒə]. Unrecorded, too, is [ʃɜ(r)bət], the usual pronunciation of *sherbet*, and [dɛpo] for *depot* is given

[8] J. S Kenyon and T. A Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*. Merriam Springfield, Mass., 1944. Pp liii, 484.

simply as a British form, though it is American enough as a military term Danish *krone* is distinguished from German *krone*, oddly enough, by a final [ɛ], though both these words actually have [ə]. Such mistakes, however, are few In general, this dictionary is a trustworthy guide, and stands without a rival as an authoritative record of standard American usage in the field which it covers pronunciation. The fifth edition of Daniel Jones's *Dictionary*[9] is equally authoritative, of course, as a record of "received pronunciation" in Great Britain This edition is "in the main a reprint of the fourth" (p vi), but 102 words have been added and 243 other entries have been changed, the 345 entries affected are duly specified (though not reproduced) in Appendix II The misprint [-d] for [-id] under *spit* still stands The note under *Galsworthy* which, in the fourth edition, read "he himself is said to have pronounced gæl-" now reads, with greater positiveness and precision, "his family pronounces gæl-" One's pronunciation of one's own name is usually reckoned authoritative, but both Jones and Kenyon-Knott put [gæl-] in second place The latter dictionary takes a stronger line in putting first the traditional pronunciation [kælis] for the French town *Calais*, a form which Jones relegates to a bracketed position as "less frequent" I agree with Kenyon-Knott against Jones that the traditional pronunciation should keep first place so long as it has any currency, even though it becomes less frequent But the editors of the American work do not follow this principle with any consistency, so far as I can make out. They certainly follow it for *Calais* but not for *Sinai* and a number of other words Both dictionaries go to needless trouble in recording variant spellings. Thus, Jones gives a bracketed [-ise] alongside every word ending in the suffix *-ize*. On the other hand, he does not record certain monstrosities of spelling (e g *likeable, moveable*) piously set down by Kenyon-Knott The greatest weakness of both dictionaries lies in the treatment of unstrest syllables,[10] but their system of marking stress also gets them into trouble at times. Jones usually ignores secondary stress, and one cannot tell from such a transcription as [hɔspitl] whether the middle syllable has secondary stress or not In Kenyon-Knott I find no instance of this difficulty,

[9] *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* Dutton New York, 1943 Pp. xxx, 496 $2 50

[10] See note 6 above

but cases like *adrenalin* [æd'rɛnlɪn] occur in which the stress-mark is misplaced (it ought to go before [d], of course) Here the trouble comes from uncertainty about the syllabic boundary Mr Wentworth wisely avoids this difficulty by putting the stress-mark over the sonant of the strest syllable

Three other pronouncing dictionaries of English need consideration here[11] Professor Greet's *World Words* is a "revised and enlarged edition" of his *War Words* In both books he seeks to give broadcasters a rough practical idea of how to pronounce words which for one reason or another make trouble in up-to-the-minute speech Most of these words are foreign proper names now very much in the news, but a number of English words, proper and common, are also included. The pronunciation is indicated by two systems of transcription, both of them rough and ready, one such system would surely have been enough Variant pronunciations are given, if they exist, and not infrequently we get a discussion of these variants, and the author's reason for marking one of them preferable. Thus, the entries *penicillin* and *ration* take up about two-thirds of a page each The discussions are written in a lively, popular style (sometimes a bit too snappy for conservative taste). Many besides broadcasters will find *World Words* a good buy, it meets a real need. The *Handbook* of Professor Bender will be found less useful This book includes no discussion of variant pronunciations, it is a mere list of some 12,000 words, each provided with a single pronunciation, given in two transcriptions The words chosen for inclusion, according to the author, are "words about which there is contention," and variant pronunciations are not given because "the plan of this book called for one pronunciation for each word" The author also includes "some proper names much in the news" Actually, many of the 12,000 words included make little trouble for anybody Thus, few have any doubts as to how to pronounce *acid* or *Finn* or *jaw* (to take three at random) It is hard to understand why such words were included in such numbers, unless perhaps as an easy way of filling up space. Moreover, comparison with Kenyon-Knott (where standard variant pro-

[11] W C Greet, *War Words*, New York Columbia Univ Press, 1943, pp 137, $1 50, W C Greet, *World Words*, New York. Columbia Univ Press, 1944, pp viii, 402, $3, J F Bender, *NBC Handbook of Pronunciation*, New York Crowell, 1943, pp xiv, 289, $2 75

nunciations are systematically given) reveals that Mr Bender often chooses a pronunciation either not recognized at all or not given first place by these authorities A good college or even high-school dictionary will be found far more informative, even about pronunciation, than is Mr Bender's word-list, not to mention the other information that such a dictionary gives It would be interesting to know how this book came to be published at all in these days of paper shortage James Rowland Angell, in his foreword, tells us that "the National Broadcasting Company, in putting out this volume, does so with the hope that it may be found of genuine value, not only to broadcasters but to many persons interested in accurate and cultivated speech." This hope unluckily has little basis in the quality of the product

Three other lexical works have come to hand in the years covered by this survey.[12] In Col Colby's book of army terms most of the entries read like essays in miniature The author is a veteran popularizer and knows how to give accurate information in attractive form. I will comment on a few details. There should be an entry *division*, even though limited to cross-references to the entries *square division* and *triangular division* The word *barrage* properly means, not curtain but a system (or series) of bars or obstacles The English spelling of *battalion* stands closer to Ital *battaglione* than to F *bataillon*. How is *blouse* pronounced in the army? *Caisson* has the same meanings in French and English. The spelling of *canteen* is interesting in that it tries to represent in English the pronunciation of French *cantine*. Contrast *machine*. The various pronunciations of *cantonment* might have been mentioned. *Captain* is from F. *capitaine*, not from L *caput*, and *chaplain* is not directly from L *capellanus* The Latin *capreoli* 'props' gave rise to Spanish *cabriol*, but hardly to *chevron*, which represents a derivative of L *caper* made with the French suffix *-on* The r-form of *colonel* originated (by dissimilation) in French, not in English, it is not properly described as a corruption. The form *corporal* seems to have been a French modification of *caporal*; if so, it is to be connected with L *caput*, not *corpus*. The word *deploy* is not from

[12] E Colby, *Army Talk*, Princeton Univ Press, 1942, pp xiv, 232, $2; C K. Ogden, *The General Basic English Dictionary*, New York· Norton, 1942, pp. x, 441, $2 50, *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1941, vol. xx, pp 744

Old French (the OF form was *despleier*, giving our *display*) but from later French, it does not occur in English before Caxton, whose speech is early Modern, not Middle English, and as a military term it does not antedate the eighteenth century. For *dragoon* see *PMLA* LVII (1942) 421-434 and LVIII (1943) 580 f The etymology given for *gun* is a bit confused, ME *gunne* is derivable, not from classical Icelandic *Gunnhildr* but from *Gunna*, a pet form of that name. A Latinized *domina gunilda* occurs as the name of a fourteenth century ballista *Khaki* came into English from Urdu (i e. Hindustani), though Urdu got it from Persian For *Hindu* (p 164) read *Hindi*. The author's comment on *ration* is worth quoting "to pronounce it to rhyme with 'nation' is the mark of a civilian and a raw recruit Old soldiers always pronounce it to rhyme with the first two syllables of 'national'" *Taptoe*, the old form of *tattoo*, is a Dutch word I have noted misprints on pp 81 and 171.

Mr Ogden's book is a dictionary of ordinary English, the words are defined in Basic, and the introductory matter is written in Basic. More than 20,000 entries are provided, and users of this dictionary will be able to put into the Basic form of English all the words entered The pronunciation is indicated much as in D Jones's *Pronouncing Dictionary* The skill and accuracy with which the words are defined is noteworthy, obviously the Basic vocabulary suffices for work of this kind. I have noted a couple of serious misprints on p. x.

Vol XX of the great Danish dictionary came out on time, it is to be hoped that the work on this dictionary has not been too seriously interfered with by war conditions, and that with the restoration of peace the remaining volumes can be issued as planned. The present volume begins with the word *Skær* and ends with *Sorrig*

Six more Tracts have been added to the long series of the *Society for Pure English*,[18] no less than three of them by Sir William Craigie His subject in Tract LVIII is "Completing the Record of English"; in LIX, "Some Anomalies of Spelling"; in LXIII, "Problems of Spelling Reform." The first of these is of considerable interest and importance; the other two have less value

[18] S. P E. Tracts LVIII-LXIII, Oxford At the Clarendon Press, 1941-1944. Pp. 265-304, 305-332, 333-364 (completing Vol. VI); pp. 1-28, 29-44, 45-76 (beginning Vol VII).

for the student, though interesting enough to read Tract LX is an index of Vols V and VI, compiled by E. M Ruhm Tract LXI consists of two studies by C T Onions, one on "The Fate of French -é in English," the other on "The Plural of Nouns ending in -th" Both studies are of the first quality, as one would expect Tract LXII, by G. M Young, is a critique of Basic English The verdict is highly unfavorable No doubt some proponent of Basic will have a chance to reply in a future Tract

Two volumes on English place-names are included in this survey[14] The volume on Middlesex is Vol XVIII of the English Place-Name Society The names are given, as usual, by hundreds, and the first five hundreds (Spelthorne, Isleworth, Elthorne, Gore, and Edmonton) are presented much as hundreds appear in earlier volumes of the Society. The fully urban Ossulstone Hundred, however, is taken up by boroughs, to which are added the half-borough of Chiswick (put between Chelsea and Ealing) and the City of Westminster. The Temple is also included, since, though within the City of London, it is extra-parochial. Field-names the history of which is more or less traceable are given together (pp. 207-217), arranged by hundreds and parishes. The following comments deal with various details. *Shepperton* might be from OE *sceapheord* 'flock of sheep' plus *tun*, if so, the name meant 'farm where there was a flock of sheep' Under *Ridsworth* the form *Rudda* is wrongly called strong The *l* of *Charlton* can hardly have arisen by "interchange of *d* and *l*." The *d* became *l*, it would seem, by dissimilation. *rd* . . *t* > *rl* . . . *t* So also in *Harlington*. The pronunciation [hesən] given for *Heston* perhaps ought to be [hesn], but the authors in general seem not to distinguish syllabic consonants from consonants preceded by [ə] The "long *i*" of *Isleworth* is historically correct and cannot properly be called curious. The *au* spellings of *Cranford* show that this diphthong developed before nasals in native as well as French words, see *MP* XX 189 ff. The first element of *Hillingdon* need not be hypocoristic, it may be merely a weak form of the familiar woman's name *Hild*. The first el. of *Yiewsley* may be the familiar man's name *Wifel*, with loss of *l*

[14] J. E. B. Gover, Allen Mawer, and F M Stenton, *The Place-Names of Middlesex apart from the City of London*; Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, the Macmillan Co; 1942; pp. xxxiv, 237, $5 Helge Kökeritz, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight* (Nomina Germanica 6), Uppsala, 1940, pp cxii, 307 (with two maps)

by dissimilation Compare *Wesley* from earlier *Wellesley* "The later phonological development" from *Wewesley* to *Yewsley* is not "difficult of explanation." The initial *w* was lost by dissimilation, the resultant *Ewesley* fully accounts for the later *Yewsley* or *Yiewsley*, where the initial *y* is a mere spelling Compare *ewe* and *yew* The *Roe-*, earlier *Rowe*, of *Roegreen* is derivable from ME *wrowe*, OE *wrogen* 'hidden, protected' Derivation from ON *vrá* would indeed "be surprising in Middlesex" In *Wrolandes* the second *w* seems to have been lost by dissimilation. *Danfords* is a good example of dissimilatory loss of *r*. Similarly, *Bethnal* exemplifies dissimilatory loss of *l*. In *Gunnersbury* however assimilation of *l* to the *r* of the second el. took place *Walham* from earlier *Wanham* illustrates a dissimilation by which nasal plus nasal became liquid plus nasal Under *Padderswick* (now Ravenscourt Park) the authors say: "The forms with *n* show common confusion of *l* and *n*, those with *d* are due to confusion between the point-consonants *l* and *d*" Such unsatisfactory explanations of phonetic peculiarities are, I regret to say, too frequent in the volumes of the Society. The change from *l* to *n* is a case of assimilation *Palyngewyk* became *Panyngewyk* by anticipation of the nasal articulation which was to follow The much later change from *Panyngwick* to *Padyngwick* is a case of dissimilation the first nasal lost its nasality and became a simple stop The derivation of *Wormwood* from *Wormholt* leaves much to be desired The spellings indicate that the latter tended to lose its *t*, not its *l*, though the *l* might become *r* by assimilation. *Wormwood* is better explained as a syncopated form of *Wormolle wood*, with vocalization of the *l* and eventual loss of the weak syllable The *l* of *Kilburn* is simply an example of dissimilation, to explain it, one need not "take the first element to be the personal name *Cylla*" The loss of *r* in *Mary(le)bone*, earlier *Maryborne*, is a case of dissimilation *Battlebridge* is derivable from the earlier *Batford Bridge* by folk etymology, but *Batford* comes from the old name *Bradford* by phonetic processes: the *f* unvoiced the *d* to *t*, and the first *r* was lost by dissimilation. The authors do not make this distinction clear when they say that "the later name seems to be a mere corruption of the old one through folk etymology." The derivation given for *Tottenham Court* is unsatisfactory; the authors themselves admit that the early forms "with initial *þ* and *th* are a little disturbing."

It is obvious that the forms in *t-* can be derived from those in *þ* (which would become *t-* in the construction with *æt*), whereas it is impossible to derive the forms in *þ-* from those in *t-*. Sound method, therefore, forces us to presume a first element *potta*, even though "no name *potta* is known" This would not be the only *hapax* in the field of place-names I take it that *potta* was a nickname, meaning 'the howler,' from the nil-grade *pot* of the base *þeot* 'howl, roar' The *tt* exemplifies hypocoristic gemination. The first element of *Neasden* seems to be OE *neosu* 'nose' One need not postulate "confusion between OE *næss* and *nōs(e)*"

Professor Kokeritz's book on Isle of Wight place-names is a superior piece of work I have only a few comments on matters of detail The forms in *Bule-*, *Bole-* of *Budbridge* should have been brought together in one group, with them probably goes the form *Bouebrugge*, where the first *u* may represent a vocalized *l*. The el. *Bule-*, *Bole-* is perhaps to be connected with *bole* 'trunk of a tree.' If so, it is synonymous with the *butt* 'trunk of a tree' which the author takes to be the first element of the alternative form *Butbridge*, *Budbridge*, and the variation between *bole* and *butt* strengthens the author's interpretation of *butt*, and supports his rejection of Ekwall's etymology The author's statement that OE *buttuc* (modern *buttock*) is "a diminutive of an OE * *butt* with much the same meaning" is self-contradictory and should be corrected to the purely descriptive "k-derivative" So also *puttock* (p 36). Compare *pussock* (p 156), certainly no diminutive of *puss*, though just as certainly derived from *puss* by adding the k-suffix. The author presumes (p. 14) that in forms like *Honingeford* the *n* "must be an error for *u*" In consequence, he assigns these forms to the entry *Huffingford* rather than to *Horringford*. But *Honingeford* may perfectly well go back to an earlier *Horningeford* by dissimilatory loss of *r*. In his discussion of *Luccombe* the author fails to consider the OE noun *lufu* 'love,' which, according to J Hoops (*Beowulfstudien* 111), may also have had the pregnant sense 'Wohnung.' The transcription of *Rowborough* includes a phonetic symbol not explained on p. cxi. The variant name *Schaldewelle* for *Colwell* is hardly a "case of the exchange of synonymous prefixes," as the el. *Schalde-* presumably represents OE *sceald* 'shallow.' The form *Sharpenode* under *Sconce Point* is a good example of the loss of *r* by dissimilation. Part of the entry *Dow's Place* seems to be missing. I have noted misprints on pp. 13, 19, 193.

Professor Kokeritz has also published an important book on the pronunciation of English taught by Mather Flint, a Jacobite who took refuge in Paris *circa* 1720 [15] The heart of the volume is the reprint of Flint's *Prononciation de la Langue Angloise* The text reproduced is that of 1740, but additions made in the ed of 1754 are incorporated as bracketed insertions, and other readings of the second ed are given in footnotes A long introduction discusses, among other things, the career of Flint and his competence as an orthoepist Pp 79 ff. give us an analytical study of Flint's pronunciation, a short monograph (pp. 136-152) on "The Reduction of Initial KN and GN," a word index and a bibliography. In this book Kokeritz demonstrates his mastery of the material He has made available to scholars a long neglected but important witness, from whom we can learn much Through this witness he has dealt another body-blow to Luick's heterodox theories about the vocalism of early Modern English [16] He grows heterodox himself, however, when he comes to treat the development of short *a* before *-r* and *-r-* plus consonant There can be no doubt that Flint likened the *a* here to French *a*, that is, to [a], a sound somewhat advanced but not palatal In other words, Flint's *a* in this position marks the stage of development which immediately preceded the current [ɑ] But there are clear indications that Flint's [a] came from an earlier long or half-long [æ] In his discussion of the "diphthongs" *ua, ue, ui,* Flint observes·

quand un *g* précède la diphtongue, *gu* se prononce comme dans le mot *guérir* On sent seulement après le son du *g*, comme un *i* qui le rend moins sec, plus plat [Exemples] guard, guardian, guess, guest, guilt

This palatalization of [g] of course was brought about by the palatal vowel that followed That is to say, Flint's pronunciation of *guard* and *guardian* shows that the *a* of these words was once [æ] in quality, although by Flint's time this [æ] seems to have been retracted to [a], leaving the palatal [g] as a relic of the former pronunciation We conclude that the orthodox view is correct in deriving [a > ɑ] before *r* from an earlier long or half-long [æ], a view which Kokeritz wrongly rejects (p. 87). I add a few other comments. The distinction in length which Flint makes between

[15] H Kökeritz, *Mather Flint on Early Eighteenth-Century English Pronunciation*, Uppsala, 1944, pp. xlviii, 189.

[16] See *MLN* XLIII 507-508 and XLVI 11-13

the *a* of *detach, attach* and that of *catch, match, patch,* etc (p. 83) seems to be based on the spelling, such a distinction makes one suspicious of the accuracy of his ear Flint's "short *o*" in *revolt* (p 118) is still current in America With the variant pronunciation *perce* which Flint records for *pierce* (p 29, cf p 123) compare Falstaff's quibble in *1 Henry IV,* v 3 58 The name *Pierce* is still pronounced *Perce* in New England The "unstressed [i] .. in *flagon* 22" (p. 129) is only a misprint, duly corrected to *e* in the ed of 1754 The "early NE" pronunciation of *servile* (p 130) is recorded as current in Kenyon-Knott It is unfortunate that Kokeritz did not include in his index all the words given in Flint's *Prosodie* (pp 54-75) Thus, if one looks up *stomach* in the index, one is referred to p 37, where one finds nothing of interest This word also occurs, however, on p 55, where the vowel of its termination *ach* is marked for pronunciation as short *i*, if I interpret Flint's rubric correctly I have noted misprints on pp xxxvi (dittography), 9, and 132.

Another study of early Modern English pronunciation is that of Professor William Matthews[17] This study gives us a welcome supplement to the earlier work of the author and of Kokeritz on early shorthand manuals and documents The author wisely arranges his material in such a way as "to facilitate comparison with" that given by Kokeritz (p 145) His work has been well done In particular, he shows commendable caution in coming to positive conclusions about the phonological meaning to be deduced from a shorthand spelling I have noted a few details which require comment. The spellings *tord* and *tords* almost certainly "turn on the first vowel" of *toward(s),* and this material should be transferred from p 149 to p 200 The pronunciation of *toward(s)* as a disyllable with ultima stress is a late spelling-pronunciation, in my childhood it was reckoned a vulgarism, and this is still my reaction to it. I cannot agree that "the evidence clearly points to the use of both diphthongic and monophthongic pronunciations" of *aa* (p 152) The evidence for the monophthong is clear, of course, but that for the diphthong is exceedingly dubious. Thus, when Nicholas says that the *i* of *faith* is "scarcely sounded" (p. 151), his statement points toward monophthong, not diphthong,

[17] *English Pronunciation and Shorthand in the Early Modern Period* (Univ of Calif. Pub. in English, IX, 3, 135-214), 75c.

Was Tiffin's *eat* (p 157) the present or the preterit form? I can find in the examples given no evidence that ME [o] was pronounced [ɔ] before *r* (p 162). The spelling *dore* clearly means [dor], not [dɔr], and in the light of spellings like *kot, klok* for *coat, cloak* (p 163) and *or, dot* for *hour, doubt* (p 171), such forms as *dor* for *door* are without evidential value The orthodox view is that early Modern [ur] of whatever origin underwent lowering to [or], and that the further lowering to [ɔr] is a late peculiarity of Southern British speech (it is not recognized in the *NED*). Matthews has brought forward nothing to overthrow this view. I cannot make out how such spellings as *vos* for *voice* reflect a diphthong (p. 164). The spelling *donmore* for *Dunmow* may indicate the development of a hiatus-filling *r* in sandhi but it does not support a diphthongal [ɔu] but rather a monophthongal [o] as the phonetic value of *ow* (p 167) The spelling *Morbray* for *Mowbray* is probably a mere mistake for *Mobray* and also gives evidence for the monophthongal [o], the extra *r* is an example of a familiar kind of error, by anticipation, the *r* which was to be written after *b* was written before *b* as well. The word *boot,* alongside [u], may have had [ʊ] or even [ʌ], compare *foot* and *blood* (p 168) The term *plosive* (p 177) is obviously a misnomer when applied to "unexploded *t*" (p 181), the author would have done better to call these sounds stops throughout, as he does on p 187. *Moli* for *mollify* hardly exemplifies loss of *f* between vowels (p 186), we have here rather an abbreviation of some kind, whether spoken or written. With the spelling *notng* for *nothing* (p 187) compare Don Pedro's quibble in *Much Ado* II 3 59 The [t] may have come in by contamination with the synonymous *nought* The spellings *six, twelf* exemplify loss of final *t* and should be transferred from pp. 187 f to p. 181 The loss of *w* in *who* does not mean that *wh* has been "delabialized" (p 201), the *h* is still pronounced with lip-rounding The reference to Mark 6 9 on p 207 should be to Mark 4 6.

Professor John Whyte has given us a book on American speech which is of more than linguistic interest.[18] It is designed in particular for German migrants to this country, and deals primarily with mistakes in pronunciation, syntax, and diction which such would-be

[18] *American Words and Ways,* New York, The Viking Press, 1943, pp xvi, 184, $2 50.

users of American English might be expected to make, but in addition it gives to the migrants valuable information about American ways and attitudes The author writes well and gives excellent advice One could wish that he might use *linguist* and the like instead of *philologist* etc (pp 4, 37, 81), in accordance with the terminology usual among American specialists in this field. His generalization about southern speech (p 5) is unwarranted, many southerners speak with a quick tempo and without drawl. Good idiom requires deletion of *with* on p 71, line 5 from bottom The British "leftenant" is an army pronunciation, no *f* is heard in the form used by the British navy (p 82) It is inaccurate to say that we "have adopted the British *our* spelling only in the word the Saviour" (p 83) We actually inherited the *our*-spellings just as did the British, but have kept the *u* (to some extent) in the word mentioned, while discarding it in *honor, harbor, neighbor,* etc. The last two words show that the suffix *our* is no automatic mark of French origin.

Dr J M Clark's pamphlet on the English language [19] is pleasantly written but in the nature of the case adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject Indeed, the author echoes once again some of the hoary falsities about language in general and English in particular, falsities repeated so often that their truth is taken for granted. I quote a characteristic passage (p. 21)

> The tremendous vigour and vitality of Anglo-Saxon speech, mellowed somewhat by soft Celtic rhythms, reinforced by rugged Norse, merged in harmonious French, and completed by the subtle distinctions of Latin and Greek, have made English unique in its range of expression and its verbal resources

We have here a series of misleading characterizations which lead up to a misleading conclusion. Elsewhere, speaking of language in general, Dr Clark tells us that "in a cultured state . schools maintain the correctness of the language and resist the tendency to disintegration," and this state of things he contrasts with "the crude dialect of primitive times" (p. 9) In fact, of course, the languages spoken in primitive societies are anything but crude, and the schools in cultured states have done harm rather than good in their efforts to "maintain the correctness of the language," while the tendency to disintegration (by which the author presumably

[19] *Our Language,* Glasgow, Craig & Wilson, 1943, pp 63, 1 shilling

means the tendency to break up into dialects) prevails or not in accordance with the amount of intercommunication in the given linguistic society, schools or no schools In his sketch of the history of English the author misses the most important event the change from a democratic to an aristocratic tongue, from a language of and for the people to a language which only a few (the highly educated) can ever hope to master Much of the pamphlet is taken up with a discussion of the need for an international language and the prospects of English as such a language. In this connection spelling reform is considered, and as an alternative it is proposed to "change our pronunciation to make it correspond to the spelling," a suggestion first made (according to the author) by Sir Robert Bridges (p 48) The pamphlet as a whole cannot be commended

Professor Kennedy's book on English usage has for subtitle "A Study in Policy and Procedure." [20] The author tells us that his study is "one of prescriptive tendency, in contradistinction to the descriptive writing of the scientific grammarian" (p 4). He points out that "there are two approaches to the study of language, one the scientific, the other the artistic" (p 3) His own approach was scientific in his earlier volume, *Current English*, it is artistic in the present work As such it suffers chiefly from an inadequate treatment of style. Thus the distinction between the formal and the informal styles is confused with that between written and spoken English (pp 52 ff), despite certain qualifications which reveal that the author knows better The term "colloquial" in particular is unhappy as a name for the informal style, even though "good" be prefixed Most of what the author says, however, is well enough. I add a few comments on various matters It is startling to find a would-be writer of formal English urged to make "his grammatical constructions . . . less idiomatic" (p. 53), but this goes with the author's prejudice against idioms, brought out later on (p. 95). He thinks of idioms as "highly individualistic" (in fact, they are nearly always communal and conventional), and as "ungrammatical expressions" in origin, though he wisely qualifies the latter generalization with "often" (p 109). It is interesting to note that he classifies *it is me* among "idiomatic phrases" which "intrude gradually into" good colloquial speech (p. 55; cf. p

[20] A G Kennedy, *English Usage*, New York, D Appleton-Century, 1942, pp xiv, 166

110), but apparently does not think of *it is I* as an idiom at all, although surely the one is no more idiomatic than the other There is no "voiced *z*-sound" in *reversion* (p 78) In the note on hyphenation (p 87), the best book, Miss A. M Ball's *Compounding in the English Language* (New York, 1939), is not mentioned Kennedy objects to the expression *That will be all right* on the ground that "*all* is used ambiguously inasmuch as it may be an adjective pointing back to the subject, or an adverb modifying that which follows" (p 95) He objects strongly to the use of *most* 'nearly' (p 95), and fails to mention the antiquity of this use (it goes back to OE times) In the same way, his condemnation of the conjunction *like* is not accompanied by any historical explanation (p. 99). The comment on Basic English (p 108) overlooks one of the chief characteristics of that form of speech the fewness of its verbs In the list of English dictionaries (p 149), I miss the *Shorter Oxford*, a work which should be given first place for those unable to buy the *NED* itself.

Dr Hart and Mr Lejeune have made a book useful in helping those not at home in Latin to get a better feeling for the Latin part of the English vocabulary[21] The introductory note by G. M. A, however, reflects little credit on classical scholarship Thus, the word *plum* is from OE *plume* (not *pluma*), and its Latin etymon is *prunum* (not *pruna*) We are also told that Latin was the language of the Church [of England] "from the ninth century to the sixteenth" Apparently G M A is unaware that the Anglican Church goes back to A. D 597, when the Roman mission sent out by Pope Gregory the Great landed in Kent. This important date ought to be better known

Next we take up four doctoral dissertations in English linguistics.[22] Mr Meroney investigated the position of the so-called separable prefix *upp* in Old English, and came to the following conclusion.

[21] A Hart and F A Lejeune, *The Latin Key to Better English*, New York, Dutton, 1942, pp 226 $2

[22] H M Meroney, *Old English* upp, uppe, uppan, *and* upon, Chicago, 1943, pp iv, 95, M McD. Long, *The English Strong Verb from Chaucer to Caxton*, Menasha, Wis, 1944, pp xvi, 314, E R Williams, *The Conflict of Homonyms in English* (Yale Studies in English, 100), New Haven, 1944, pp xii, 130, B M Charleston, *Studies on the Syntax of the English Verb* (Swiss Studies in English, 11), Bern, 1941, pp x, 209

If a prepositional phrase follows a verb form other than a participle, *upp* most often precedes the phrase, otherwise, *upp* precedes participles regularly, infinitives and verbs in minor clauses usually, and with a good deal of irregularity verbs in main clauses having subject verb ordering, but it follows imperative verbs and verbs in main clauses with verb subject ordering [p 38]

This conclusion is thoroughly documented and can hardly be challenged by future investigators It has long been clear that the term "prefix" is a misnomer for *upp* and its fellows, these are separate words, and should be printed as such, even when they come before the verb-form The present study makes the old terminology so preposterous that one may hope it will be widely if not generally given up The author also investigates the position of *uppe* (pp 59-61), and clarifies the use of *uppan, on uppan, upp on,* and *upon* (pp. 62-86). He rightly rejects the usual etymology of *upon,* and explains OE *up(p)on* "without the assumption that *upp* plus *on* underwent a coalescence of parts" (p 84). His most important contribution, however, lies in the demonstration that a prepositional phrase influences the position of the adverbial particle This dissertation is a first-rate piece of work The author will presumably make like studies of the other adverbial particles hitherto called "separable prefixes" I have noted misprints on pp 37 and 54

Miss Long has collected enough examples of strong verb-forms in fifteenth-century English writings to make clear the changes that took place in the strong conjugation between Chaucer and Caxton She lists all the strong verbs by classes, and gives under each verb as full an exhibit of variant forms as is needed to establish the development. For the convenience of the reader a summary of the changes in the mutation patterns is added (p 263) and a more general summary of "characteristics and trends" (pp. 264-270) ends the text proper. She gives us three appendices (1) statistical tables, (2) paradigms of preterit-present and anomalous verbs, and (3) a list of prefixes, together with the verbs made with each. The volume is concluded with an index of verbs. Miss Long has done her work with care, and her book fills a gap in our knowledge of the subject treated. Certain details might be better, as usually in dissertations and other books too numerous to mention. The long *e* of forms like *redin* 'ridden' is hardly a case of lowering (p. 3). For the word *dissyllabic* see the *NED* The use of *ae* instead of *æ* in OE forms (pp. 112 ff.) is needless and objectionable.

Miss Long uses *ae* regularly in italics, but *æ* in roman if the vowel is long, otherwise, *ae* Banta could have done better by her than that. The *came* cited from Jordan (p. 129) is plural, not singular. The explanation given for the *a* applies only to the quantity, but it is the quality which needs explaining. The past part. *wedyn* (p 133) seems to be a weak preterit plural form, not a past participle at all In the pret forms of OE *sceafan* p 197) the *o*, not the *e*, should be marked long The verbs treated in Chap. VII (pp 215 ff.) are not properly called reduplicating, for the most part, it would be better to call them simply Class VII. See E. Prokosch, *Comp Gmc Grammar*, pp 176 ff.

Miss Williams, after a longish introduction (pp 3-44) on homonymic conflict as a scientific hypothesis (theory, history, and methods), applies the theory in six studies. (1) *ear* and *near*, (2) *gate* 'gateway' and *gate* 'road,' (3) ME close and open long *e*, (4) *queen* and *quean*, (5) ME *ai*, and (6) *churn* and *chirm*. Throughout she proceeds with commendable caution, care, and thoroughness All the possibilities are considered, and the evidence in most cases points clearly to homonymy as the primary factor in the loss of the word under discussion. It is not clear why the case of *queen* and *quean* was taken up apart from the other cases of ME close and open long *e*. In two passages (pp 9 and 18) the author takes for granted a "strong influx" of French words into English in the eleventh century In fact, this influx did not become really strong until the middle of the thirteenth century. The discussion of *axle* (p. 10) includes no mention of OE *eaxl*, a word which usually means 'shoulder' but clearly means 'cross-beam' in the compound *eaxlgespann* 'cross-beam attachment-place' (*Rood* 9). It is but a short step from cross-beam to axle-tree ON *oxl* means both 'shoulder' and 'axle' and I believe OE *eaxl* likewise had both these meanings, even though the latter does not happen to be recorded. The tabu on the use of *ass* is far less strong today than it used to be (p 21). It is hardly right to say that "the phonetic changes in German since OHG times have been comparatively few" (p 22) OE *læn* 'loan' and OE *lean* 'reward' became homophones in the tenth century, not in the twelfth (p 72). The *Beowulf* scribe in line 1809 mispells *læn* as *lean*, and there are other indications that *ǣ* and *ea* had been leveled under *ǣ* by the year 1000. Miss Williams once uses the word *homophone* (p. 52), and her investigation has to do

with mere homophony in most cases, though some of her cases exemplify homography as well, and thereby attain full homonymy Systematic distinction of the terms *homophone, homograph,* and *homonym* is desirable in scientific writing

Miss Charleston's investigation, in spite of its title, is limited to "the use of the finite verb in the early 18th century" (p 1) It falls into three sections (1) six chapters on "the time-spheres and the tenses," (2) three chapters on "the verbal aspects," and (3) three chapters on "the moods" There follow six pages of "conclusion," and in an appendix (pp 173-202) the views of ten grammarians of the period "between 1685 and 1765" are summarized, the material being presented in three sections parallel to the sections of the author's study This study is based primarily on essay periodicals like *The Spectator* and The *Rambler,* but the passages gathered from these sources were supplemented by passages from *Robinson Crusoe, Pamela, Clarissa Harlowe,* and *Tom Jones* The dissertation was directed by Otto Funke, perhaps our leading authority on the language of the period, and on the linguistic theories then current in England Under his capable supervision, Miss Charleston has done a sound piece of work A study so broad, however, must rely on sampling rather than on exhaustive study of the evidence In other words, the author has given us a survey of the field, not the detailed examination of a single point Despite the author's competence, then, much more work needs to be done on the syntax of the verb before her results can be accepted without reserve Any modifications which later research may make needful, however, will hardly affect the main lines of development as she has laid them out, they will sharpen or correct certain details. Thus, most of the examples of the perfect tense listed in Sec 3 28 are explicable as denoting an action or state thought of as typical, and some of the participles of Sec 3 17 seem to be adjectival.

The studies of Mr Andrew and Mr Anderson deal with Old English[28] Mr Andrew's book seems to be an expansion of his papers on the same subject in *Medium Ævum* III and *Language* XII The expansion, however, has not gone far enough The

[28] S O Andrew, *Syntax and Style in Old English,* Cambridge at the University Press, New York The Macmillan Co, 1940, pp viii, 112, $2 50, O S Anderson, *Old English Material in the Leningrad MS of Bede's Ecclesiastical History,* Lund, 1941, pp viii, 166, 3 plates

author makes his points, gives a few illustrations, and passes on to other topics, without the thorough analysis and full discussion needed to settle the issues he raises Until he can bring himself to make a really detailed investigation he should not expect his results to be accepted, or even to be taken seriously. Mr Anderson in his monograph has printed all the OE words in MS *L*, with the immediate Latin context The only connected piece of OE is Cædmon's *Hymn*, which he prints along with the Latin paraphrase For good measure he adds the version of the *Hymn* in the Moore MS. Comparison with Dobbie's text indicates that Anderson has left out a point in the MS at the end of line 4 He prints the *M* version with A H Smith's pointing, which obscures the meaning, as Anderson himself recognizes (p 79) Though Dobbie's monograph on *Hymn* and *Death Song* came out in 1937, Anderson does not include it in his bibliography (p 14) After the text (pp. 19-59) comes the discussion of the material, divided into etymological notes (pp 63-79), orthography (pp 80-88), phonology (89-123), notes on inflexion, date, and dialect (pp 124-140), and conclusion "on the linguistic value of" *L* (pp 141-145) He appends a glossary and an index of proper names The author's discussion of *Streunæshalch* (p 77) would have been better if he had read Menner's paper in *MLN* LIX 106-111 In his preface the author points out that "this is the first complete linguistic analysis of the Old English material in Bede" As such, it is the more valuable because of the care and accuracy with which it has been done One looks forward to the "edition of the entire text" of *L* which the author hopes to make (p. vi).

Mr Clough's textbook on English grammar [24] is an attempt to use the inductive method of getting at the facts, and for sentence analysis it employs a handy set of symbols (as S, V, O for subject, verb, object) not unlike those of Jespersen. The author expresses himself well, and would have made a good book if he had stuck to induction throughout and had been more careful about his facts. As it stands, however, this textbook does not differ greatly from its competitors in the field. The author has not succeeded in getting away from traditional grammar, and he has made a number of mistakes, some of them serious. He slips up most noticeably when he leaves description for history He thinks of the history of literary

[24] W. O. Clough, *The Science of Grammar*, Laramie, 1942, pp viii, 155.

style in English as an evolution from "an almost primitive simplicity" (p 139) to a state of things in which "every man may find a style to his own taste" (p 142) In fact, of course, Old English, like modern English, had a variety of styles, and it would be hard to prove that the language has improved any, stylistically speaking, since the days of the *Beowulf* poet and Ælfric "A simple, almost childlike style, held together with many *ands*" (p. 139), may be found in any period of English, and characterizes writers rather than periods The author is mistaken in thinking that "a change of vowel within the word to show inflection is a characteristic of Germanic languages, but not of Latin and Romance languages" (p 18, cf. p 39) Compare French *pouvoir, puis, peux*, Latin *plebs, plēbis* and *ago, egi*. There is no OE adv *slowe*; the modern *slow* adv seems to have arisen on the analogy of *fast* (p. 21). The term *agglutinative* (p. 7) seems to be confused with *incorporating* Of the six ME forms on p 39, only two are correct. The *-s* which now marks the third sing of the present tense marked the second sing in OE (p 39), some scholars, indeed, deny any connection with the OE ending. The explanation given (p. 46) for the use of auxiliary or periphrastic forms in verbal inflection is right enough in a way Old English had but two tenses, a present and a preterit But the further point that "Old English seemed inadequate for full translation of Latin or for other demands upon it" implies that auxiliaries and the like were unknown in the earliest forms of English In fact they go back to prehistoric times We still have but two tenses, and these we eke out by using auxiliaries, much (though not wholly) as of old. The inadequacy which the author speaks of was felt (and remedied) in Old English times, but it was a matter of vocabulary, not of morphology or syntax. Prepositional phrases are common, not only "in English and other modern European languages" (p 53), but in the languages of antiquity (e. g Latin, Greek, and Germanic) as well. They are much used in Old English, which, for the noun at least, has a very meager system of case inflection. The author seems to think that the "omission" of the relative particle is a development of modern times (p. 63). Compare Curme, *Syntax*, p 233, where it is called "the most primitive type of relative construction." The author's insistence upon *whom* (pp 63, 87) goes counter to his inductive approach, contrast the dictum (based on induction) of the

NED. "the objective case of *who*. no longer current in natural colloquial speech." The form *she* is from OE *heo*, not *seo* (p 84). The *-s* of *hers* etc. comes from *his*, not from "the common genitive form of the noun" (p. 85). The bibliography wrongly states that Jespersen's *Essentials of English Grammar* is "based on the great *Philosophy of Grammar*" (p. 149) It is actually based on *A Modern English Grammar*, Jespersen's chief work in the English field.

Professor Thorndike's study, in spite of its modest title, is a valuable piece of research.[25] The author says in his introduction "For some years I have been working on a teacher's reference book on suffixes . . It now seems unlikely that I shall have either the time or the facilities to complete this work, and I therefore report here certain of the facts which are ready, and certain conclusions which the completed work would almost certainly substantiate." It is to be hoped that the work may after all be completed, for the sample here given shows how badly it is needed. We all know, vaguely enough, that the treatment of suffixes in dictionaries and other works of reference is unsatisfactory, but it takes an investigation like Thorndike's to show in detail how poorly we are served. No student of word-formation in English can afford to neglect this unpretentious volume, aimed at school-teachers but full of meat for professional linguists too.

During the period under review the Linguistic Society of America has published one monograph and seven dissertations.[26] It has also brought out some special publications, as part of the work on foreign language study prompted by the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, work done primarily for the United States Armed Forces Institute.[27] Bloomfield's *Guide* is an

[25] E L. Thorndike, *The Teaching of English Suffixes*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ, New York, 1941, pp viii, 81, $1 60

[26] R A Hall, Jr, *Hungarian Grammar*, 1944, pp 91, P Scherer, *Germanic-Balto-Slavic Etyma*, 1941, pp 63, J H D Allen, Jr, *Portuguese Word-Formation with Suffixes*, 1941, pp 143, W G Moulton, *Swiss German Dialect and Romance Patois*, 1941, pp 75, J L. Rose, *The Durative and Aoristic Tenses in Thucydides*, 1942, pp 49, A G. Vaughan, *Latin Adjectives with Partitive Meaning in Republican Literature*, 1942, pp. 70; J J. Gavigan, *The Syntax of the Gesta Francorum*, 1943, pp. 102; W Cornyn, *Outline of Burmese Grammar*, 1944, pp. 34

[27] L. Bloomfield, *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*, 1942, pp. 16; B Bloch and G. L Trager, *Outline of Linguistic*

admirable set of elementary instructions for the would-be learner of a language If such a learner follows Bloomfield's guidance, he will get on much faster and learn more and better than is possible by using the ordinary school-room technic. Yet there is nothing startling about the instructions, they are the fruit of common sense applied to this particular matter If they seem novel, it is only because common sense plays so small a part in traditional linguistic instruction The Bloch-Trager *Outline* has like virtues it gives plain, lucid explanations of many things familiar to the expert but not so well known to the neophyte Now and again, however, the authors get into controversial territory, where in the nature of the case (their space being severely limited) they cannot deal adequately with the points at issue, and must present their own views dogmatically, or at any rate with little attention to contrary views. The booklet falls into five chapters language and linguistics (5 pp), phonetics (28 pp), phonemics (15 pp), morphology (18 pp.), and syntax (9 pp) The authors wisely treat derivation as well as inflection under morphology The section on the suffix *-ous,* and nearly all the chapter on syntax, "were written in first draft by Professor Leonard Bloomfield" (p. 4). The phonetic chapter is notable for a new system of vowel transcription, it provides for seven degrees of openness instead of the three degrees (high, mid, and low) of the Bell-Sweet system Otherwise the Bell-Sweet scheme is kept, with the substitution of the term "central" for "mixed" Many of the 42 vowel symbols are new, or, if old, have new values. The researches of the instrumental phoneticians seem to have had little influence on the authors, whose phonetics strike one as distinctly old-fashioned, despite the innovations in transcription symbols A curious detail is the refusal to recognize consonantal [ə] as a semivowel because it has "a lower tongue position than the contiguous syllabic" (p 23). Even though this consonant is "not usually called" a semivowel it deserves recognition as such, since it, like the other semivowels, is a speech-sound made like a vowel but consonantal in function. And in their phonemic chapter the authors reverse themselves and classify the consonantal [ə] of English as a semivowel, although

Analysis, 1942, pp 82, R A Hall, Jr, *Melanesian Pidgin English*, 1943 Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, pp. 159, Phrase-Book and Vocabulary, pp 28 Other books of this kind exist, but have not come to *MLN*.

they do so by a strange route they identify it with [h] Such juggling shows how little respect the authors have for phonetic realities

The phonemic chapter, after a good exposition along the usual lines, ends with a phonemic analysis of English which has at any rate the virtue of novelty the authors go D Jones one better by reducing to six the number of "vowel-letters"[28] needed for scientific transcription. They accomplish this feat by interpreting the glides and long vowels of English as diphthongs combinations of short vowel and semivowel Most of these analyses are old, it is true, however unsound phonetically Thus, transcriptions like /aj, aw, ij, uw, ej, ow/ for the more usual [ai, au, ɪ , u , ei *or* e , ou *or* o] are not unfamiliar But the classification of [h] as a semivowel is certainly new, as is its identification with the latter half of the long vowels [a , ɔ , ə] and with consonantal [ə] The following transcriptions show how the system works *calm, caught, burr* /kahm, koht, bəhr/, *beer, bear, bore, boor* /bihr, behr, bohr, buhr/, *dearer, Mary, story, Jewry* /dihrər, mehrij, stohrij, džuhrij/. In the Bloch-Trager system of English phonemes, /h/ does triple duty it covers (1) the aspirate, (2) the "lengthening element" of the long vowels, and (3) consonantal [ə]. But the authors seem to interpret consonantal [ə] as /h/ in one position only that before /r/ At any rate, they do not give *real* /rihl/ as an example in their table (p. 52, /Vh/ column) But perhaps they would transcribe it /rijl/

In this system the sonantal liquids, nasals, and semivowels[29] are treated variously The symbol /ə/ serves, not only to represent the sonantal semivowel [ə], but also to mark as sonantal a following liquid or nasal, thus, *beaten* is transcribed /bijtən/, a form in which the /ə/ is really silent, serving only to mark the following /n/ as sonantal rather than consonantal The sonantal semivowel [w] is transcribed in three ways· with /u/, as in *educate*, with /ow/, as in *window*, and with /uw/, as in *value* (p 50). Similarly, the sonantal semivowel [y][30] is transcribed in three ways with /ij/, as in *carry, candied*, with /i/, as in *candid,*

[28] *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, p xi (Sec 16)

[29] For these, see my paper in *MLQ* III 5-8

[30] For [y] rather than [j] see my paper just cited. I agree with Bloch and Trager (*Outline*, p 22) in preferring [ú] for the vowel.

handed, roses, and with /e/, as in *handed, roses* (variant pronunciation) These variants of [w] and [y] seem to me to be phonetic rather than phonemic, in spite of occasional oppositions like *candied, candid* in some dialects (not in mine) But the difficulties under which the authors labor must be recognized They are in the grip of *systemzwang*. The system which they have set up compels them to interpret every unstrest sonant as an allophone of some strest sonant. The outcome is no more variegated than one would expect In my paper in *Studies for W A. Read* (1940) I tried to do the same thing, and I did little better at it than Bloch and Trager have done here In my paper of 1942 (*MLQ* III) I took another tack, with eminently satisfactory results. The unstrest sonants, so troublesome when tied to strest sonants, fall beautifully into place when interpreted as allophones of the liquids, nasals, and semivowels.

The interpretation of the glides and long vowels as diphthongs goes counter to sound phonetic analysis and cannot be accepted. There is a fundamental difference between a true diphthong like *oi*, actually made up of the two phonemes [ɔ] and [y], and a glide like [ai], itself a phoneme[31] The authors also go astray on the affricates, which they wrongly take to be "clusters," even going so far as to say that "medially and finally, the sounds in question behave exactly like such unmistakable clusters as /ts, dz/ and /tr, dr/, compare *Patsy* and *hatchet*, . ." (p 49). Yet if we do as the authors ask and compare *Patsy* and *hatchet* we see at once that here /ts/ and /tš/ behave differently: in *Patsy* the *t* belongs to the first syllable, the *s* to the second, but even Bloch and Trager would hardly claim that *hatchet* falls into *hat* and *shet*. Again, when affrication takes place in sandhi, as *right here* [rai-tšiər], the division into syllables is so made that the affricate remains intact, regardless of the morphemic boundary. But the syllable does not loom large in the Bloch-Trager *Outline*. I have left myself no space to discuss the last two chapters. I have noted misprints on pp. 21, 69, 75.

Professor Hall's two books on Melanesian Pidgin differ markedly. The short book is done in a highly elementary, popular way. It begins with a "grammar" of four pages; then come nine pages of useful phrases, listed and translated; then a six-page Pidgin-to-

[31] See my discussion in *English Studies* XVIII (1936) 160, note 4

English vocabulary, and finally an eight-page English-to-Pidgin vocabulary The longer book (dedicated to Bloomfield) is a strictly scientific piece of work The outline of grammar takes pp 12-44 Then come the texts, with translations (pp 45-87), followed by the Pidgin-to-English (pp 88-125) and the English-to-Pidgin (126-157) vocabularies. The volume ends with a one-page bibliography and a one-page appendix (suggestions for practical use) The author in his introduction insists that his work "must not be considered as more than a preliminary sketch." He prepared and wrote the book in this country, with the aid of English-speaking (not Melanesian) informants So far as I can judge, he has done an admirable job within the limits set by the circumstances Our soldiers have been well served

Professor Schlauch's "popular introduction to the science of language" (blurb) [82] reads well, and in many ways meets the need for a work of vulgarization in this field The author herself has the gift of tongues; she is at home in many languages, ancient and modern. One would have thought her exceptionally well qualified to write such a book. Unluckily the work as it stands cannot be commended without serious reservations, because of the many mistakes to be found in it. Limitations of space keep me from mentioning more than a few of these mistakes Stops are said to be so called "because they are stopped quickly and cannot be prolonged" (p. 22, cf p. 10), and 12 other sounds "made in approximately the same positions" are called continuants "because they do lend themselves to prolongation." Yet on p. 173 the author mentions Italian *notte* etc and explains that "the doubled consonant is actually prolonged in speech" (cf. p 185). The stops [p, b] are said to be "made by blowing the lips apart" (p 20). In fact, of course, they are made by closing the lips, the blowing apart marks the transition to the next sound The sounds [s, z] are said to be "made on the hard palate" (p. 23). The discussion of alphabets (pp. 39 f.) does not bring out the fact that the Semitic and Hindu "alphabets" were really syllabaries, see H Pedersen, *Ling Science*, pp. 180, 191. It was not the Romans but the Ionians who "used *H* for a new purpose" (p. 40). The runic alphabet on p 42 is the older, Germanic form, not the later, Scandinavian form. The word

[82] Margaret Schlauch, *The Gift of Tongues*, New York, Modern Age, 1942, pp. x, 342, $3 50.

for "I" in modern Icelandic is *jeg*, not *ek* (p 50) It is strange to read that "when Middle English emerged as the accepted national speech," presumably in the fourteenth century, its vocabulary was marked by "an overwhelming numerical majority of French loans" (pp 95 f)

The author continues with a misleading passage about linguistic and literary conditions in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

> The overlord could not be expected to learn the barbarous dialect (as it would appear to him) of the native English peasants Nor could he be expected to study and revere the admirable literature that had been produced in the subject speech (p 96)

In fact, the nobility and gentry of England were for the most part bilingual in those days. Few of those who came over from France ever learned much English, but their children picked it up much as they picked up French (though from different people), that is a way children have Neither language was a subject of formal study, of course Nor did anybody dream of studying either English or French literature. Indeed, the upper classes did not pursue literary studies at all, except for those in holy orders and a handful of eccentrics. As late as 1685, if one goes by Macaulay's famous description (*Hist of England*, Chap. III), the squires of England were essentially a class of illiterates In 1185 their culture would hardly have been on a higher level Actually they were, at that time, illiterates in the strictest sense few of them could either read or write in any tongue King Alfred and his aristocracy are quite exceptional in the annals of medieval Europe The discussion on pp. 205 ff is equally misleading

Instead of the clumsy "portmanteau words" (p 103) the author should have used the term *blends*. Of the examples given, *socialite* and *renovated* are not blends but puns As French *aventure* became German *abenteuer* by phonetic processes, the author's clever explanation in terms of popular etymology (p. 104) is hardly right. On p. 111 delete the words between "*rump*" and *parliament*. The sketch of the history of *breeches, pant(aloon)s*, and *trousers* (p 118) is wrong The term *undertaker* (p. 118) arose as a pun, though it got into serious use as a euphemism The author is too optimistic when she says that English "would be easy in every way" if it had "a rational system of spelling" (p 137). The change from *Gemini* to *Jiminy* is hardly a case of assimilation (p. 174). The form

Geeminy (*Jeeminy*) shows that the oath got a "long *e*" by association with *Jesus* (the stronger oath for which it was euphemistically substituted) From *Geeminy* comes *Jiminy* by shortening of [ɪ] to [ɪ], a perfectly normal phonetic process in a trisyllabic word with stress on the antepenult The *re* of *irresistible* shows the same shortening (p 174), though here it is due to want of stress. The *b* of *timber* (p 175) is original The development of a stop between a nasal and a liquid is not properly classified under dissimilation (p 175). The *b* of *marble* (F *marbre* < L *marmor*) is a case of dissimilation *m m* > *m b* (p 175). The Russians did not invent the pronunciation of *au, eu* as *av, ev*, they got it from the Greeks (p 179) At no time were the particles *the* and *a* "pronounced with long vowels exclusively" (p 180) Instead of the clumsy *monophthongization* (p 181) why not say *smoothing* with Sweet? The modern pronunciation of *could* presumably goes back to ME *coude* [ku də], not to a diphthongal form (p 182) The *t* sometimes added to *once* is to be connected, not with *first* (p. 183), but with *whilst, against*, etc. The [y] of *car* [kya] does not lie "between a back consonant and a front vowel" (p 184), but between a palatal consonant and a velar vowel. Russian *chai* 'tea' is presumably from Mandarin Chinese *ch'a* or the like, not from Amoy dialectal *t'e* (p. 185) The phoneme [l] is never a vowel (p. 188), though often a sonant The classification of speech-sounds as consonants and sonants, on the basis of syllabicity, should always be kept distinct from their classification as vowels, stops, nasals, etc., on the basis of method of formation German *Schwundstufe* is properly put into English as 'nil grade' or 'zero grade,' not as "vanishing gradation" (p. 190). Of the OE noun declensions (p. 196), only three have many nouns in them, the others are mere relics of declensions important in Old Germanic or Indo-European times The author recognizes both close and open long *e* but only close long *o* in Middle English (p 207). Her use of *philologist* and *philology* (pp 226, 230) instead of *linguist* and *linguistics* is unhappy No cultivated southerner would say [po·k, mo·] for *pork, more*. This pronunciation is a prerogative of the uncultured; for the standard pronunciation see Kenyon-Knott. Some southerners of cultivation, however, pronounce words like *coat, moan* with a spurious *r*, saying [ko:ət, mo.ən] instead of the historical [ko.t, mo·n]. The spurious *r* was presumably inserted by hypercorrectness to begin with, by now such pronunciations have

become traditional Moreover, many southerners of cultivation use *don't* for *doesn't*. The author's discussion of these matters shows unawareness of the facts (p 272). I have noted misprints on pp 26, 52, 124, 176

Mr Bodmer's volume on linguistics[33] is like Miss Schlauch's in that the author tries to make his subject interesting to the general public But Mr Bodmer has other goals as well His book "is at the same time a history of language, a guide to foreign tongues and a method for learning them" (blurb) The work falls into four parts: "the natural history of language, our hybrid heritage, the world language problem, and language museum" The fourth part is made up of "basic vocabularies" for learning (1) Germanic languages, (2) Romance languages, and (3) "Greek roots in common use for technical words of international currency" The other three parts are done in narrative style, though sprinkled with tables, drawings, and pictures. A 30-page introductory chapter tells one how to use the book The editor in his two-page foreword points out that *The Loom* "is a successor to *Mathematics for the Million* and *Science for the Citizen*" and emphasizes the fact that "its motif is social and its bias is practical" He might have added that *The Loom* agrees with its predecessors in having an alliterative title This fondness for alliteration also crops up in the title of Part Two. This part has a sub-title, "A Cook's tour round the Teutonic and Romance groups," which illustrates the style of the book as a whole. The author does not always stick to linguistics, he puts in not a few jabs at religion, capitalism, and other things he dislikes. As a handbook for learning a foreign language, *The Loom* cannot be commended. Trying to learn several Germanic or Romance languages at once, as the author would have the student do, will bring confusion rather than mastery. New languages ought to be tackled one at a time. A layman who wants a "Cook's tour" of the linguistic world might find worse guides than Mr Bodmer, but he would have to be on his guard and take nothing on faith, since, together with a flood of good things, he would get false pieces of information like the following: Russian ч is pronounced [dʒ] (p. 46); the sound [ð] exists only in "Teutonic languages" (p. 66); "the Russian alphabet . . . has eight . . . vowel symbols"

[33] F Bodmer, *The Loom of Language* (Lancelot Hogben, ed), New York, Norton, 1944, pp x, 692, $3 75.

(p. 68), "voice flexion never existed" in English (p. 82), "at an early date the hard Germanic *g* of English softened to *y*" (p. 97), etc., etc

The well-known Anglicist, Professor J Hoops, has added two studies of linguistic interest to his long list of publications.[34] The paper on Shakespeare deals with the history and etymology of the name, it is a revision and expansion of Hoops' contribution to the *Studies for W A Read* (Baton Rouge, 1940). The paper on the history of the olive tree, though not primarily linguistic, deals at length with the names which this tree went by in various tongues old and new. In particular, there is a full discussion of the difficult Gothic *alew*, a problem which the learned author is forced to leave unsolved.

We turn now to three studies in the semantic field[35] Professor Stevenson has written a book of the first importance. It deals with ethics from the point of view of a professional philosopher who is concerned "to clarify the meaning of the ethical terms—such terms as *good, right, just, ought,*" etc —and "to characterize the general methods by which ethical judgments can be proved or supported" (p. 1). Both these aims involve linguistic study, of course, and by his title the author plays up the linguistic side of his investigations It must be added, however, that he gives us nothing new in this field as such. His contribution lies in extending to the methodology of "normative ethics" certain linguistic commonplaces hitherto neglected though not wholly ignored by the philosophical tribe. His book is richly freighted with other intellectual goods, too, but here we must limit ourselves to its semantic side. Now and then the author's terminology is bad (e g "philological change," p. 40), but his treatment of semantic problems is sane and informed. Thus, in distinguishing between the descriptive and the emotive meaning of *good* and the like he rightly lays emphasis (pp. 76 ff.) on the legitimacy and functional importance of the emotive meaning. For the professional linguist the most interesting chapter will be that on "persuasive definitions" (pp 207 ff.); here, oddly

[34] *Shakespeares Name und Herkunft*, Heidelberg, 1941, pp 56, *Geschichte des Ölbaums*, Heidelberg, 1944, pp 95

[35] C L Stevenson, *Ethics and Language*, New Haven, Yale Univ Press, 1944, pp. xii, 338, $4, S I Hayakawa, *Language in Action*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1941, pp x, 245, $2, F A. Philbrick, *Understanding English*, New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp xiv, 209, $1 50

enough, the author failed to mention etymology, though definitions based on etymology are the most persuasive of all and are often used in support of ethical judgments Few etymologists realize how practical their field is, how great a part it plays in everyday life! I have noted misprints on pp 83, 90, 92, 153, the misspelling *vigourously* on p 281 may or may not be a misprint

Mr Philbrick's book has the sub-title "An Introduction to Semantics," and the same sub-title might properly have been given to Mr Hayakawa's book Both these volumes are textbooks aimed at beginners, Mr Philbrick's is specifically designed for courses in freshman English It would be unreasonable to expect in either work any contributions to knowledge As introductions to semantics they are markedly different, though both, of course, deal with much the same matter Mr Hayakawa's is more readable, and less academic 'in effect Mr Philbrick's has a richer intellectual quality. Both books may safely be commended to anyone who wishes to make a start in semantic studies

We end this survey with brief mention of Professor G. T Flom's monograph on *The Morphology of the Dialect of Aurland*[36] The old master here adds another member to his series of studies on the dialect of this parish in Sogn, Norway Earlier studies are that on the placenames and that on the phonology, the latter had the honor of beginning the *Illinois Studies*, in 1915 The author has been working on the language of Aurland parish since 1912, it is good to have his collections on the inflectional system put in permanent form and made available to the scholarly world The study describes the modern dialect but has a special interest for the medievalist, since, as the author observes, this dialect "preserves to an unusual degree the characteristics of the declensions and conjugations of the old language" (p 5) It is to be hoped that the author will be spared to crown his work on this dialect by the dictionary to which he refers (*loc cit*) In any case, he has earned the gratitude and admiration of all workers in this and related fields.

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[36] Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XXIX, 4. Urbana, 1944, pp 142. $2 (paper), $2 50 (cloth)

REVIEWS

The Concept 'Sage' in Nibelungen Criticism. The History of the Conception of 'Sage' in the Nibelungen Criticism from Lachmann to Heusler By ELISABETH EDROP BOHNING. Dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1944. (Times Publishing Company, Bethlehem, Penna.) Pp. ix, 11-254

Whoever is interested in the history of the NL-studies will gladly reach for the above dissertation, which deals with that specific chapter in NL-research which one is tempted to call 'the Lachmann interlude.' For it is the 'Lachmann school' that is held responsible for the well-known 'Lieder- und Sagentheorie' which occupied the best minds of three generations in a heated fight of at best moderate usefulness. Without touching the question of manuscript criticism, treated recently by M. Thorpe in her *Study of the Nibelungenlied*, this book surveys, analyzes, and catalogues in eight hundred and forty-four chronologically arranged paragraphs (pp. 11-194) all those contributions to the NL-study which were made between the years 1816 (1753) and 1940. One cannot but admire the consistency, accuracy and skill with which the author disentangles that confusing labyrinth of hypotheses, negations, syntheses and surmises which resulted from the accumulated opinions of some five hundred and fifty scholars. The bibliography alone, culled from over a thousand books and periodicals, covers fifty pages and is arranged chronologically at the end of the book (pp. 195-246). We review early speculations as to the authorship of the NL (e.g. Konrad, Marner, Konrad v. W., Wolfram, Ofterdingen, Klingsor, Walther, Rudolf v. E., Kurenberger), we observe the impact made by the 'Liedertheorie' and the ensuing discussions of 'Lieder and Sagen' by the Lachmann school, we witness the gradual formation of speculations about historic origins (prototypes and parallels), we follow the theories or, rather, fancies concerning a mythical origin (Siegfried · Odin, Baldr, Freyr) and nature myth (seasonal, diurnal) in German and comparative mythology, we see the development of the 'Marchentheorie,' with the Siegfried-story reflected in fairy tale and folklore. A chapter on 'poetic invention,' finally, collects evidence from Goethe to Heusler to show the existence of an individual poet and his importance for the formation of the legend. It paves the way for the final chapter, a survey of Heusler's theories, which are presented in reverse order · poetic invention, 'Marchen,' myth, historic origin, tradition, and authorship.

Although the problems discussed by the author are avowedly treated in the light of Heusler's theories—it might be too strong to

call him the alpha and omega of this study—, this investigation is characterized by a remarkable impartiality in the presentation of the varying opinions, particularly when it echoes the bitterness (and unfairness) of personal feuds A minor point to which one may object, is an off-hand remark which calls Schrofl's interpretation of the *Not* 'fantastic' and 'not . . . taken seriously' (p. 76). No doubt, Schrofl has his adherents, and his opinions have been taken seriously, as the author herself bears out in various citations.

It is quite understandable that given one thousand titles of books and magazines a few typographical errors should have crept in, e. g read p. vii *alles Vorhandene*; p 17 *grundlicher*, p. 167 *Ansicht*, p. 190 *gefuhlmassig*, p. 195 *teutonicorum*, p. 203 *Poésie*, p. 208 *pugnam*, p. 124 *altera*; p. 221 *Littérature*; p. 222 *Nibelunghi*, p. 230 *Matthias*, p 237 *Sagas*, p. 243 *Dt. Vierteljahrschrift*. On p. 11 (*Klage* 4315) the period between *Getihtet man ez sît hat* and *Dicke in tiutscher zungen* is disturbing and should be placed up a line. An index of authors comprising some five hundred and fifty names enhances the value of this study, D. B. Schumway (*The NL.* 1909), L. Levillain ("Les Nib hist et leurs alliances de famille," *Ann. du Midi*, 1938), and H. Grégoire ("La patrie des Nib.," *Byzantion*, 1934) might have been included Many a student would have welcomed an *Index rerum* to facilitate the tracing of problems. The few missing books and periodicals, for which the author apologizes, are certainly of no consequence, as e. g. A. Martin's "Pilier . . . de Frisingue," called 'inaccessible' (p 207), which is available in the New York Public Library.

As one lays aside this important investigation modestly called by its author "a general survey to describe how these Romantic misconceptions originated, grew and spread," creating "a great web of error, speculations and fancy (p. vii, viii)," one is reminded of similar harm done by the same Lachmann school in the related field of OG text editions, and what Heusler accomplished in NL-criticism— "he disturbed the Romantic fiction (p vii)"—Paul-Wilhelm did in textual criticism Only in one point, which is a matter of opinion and but loosely related to the main problem, one may disagree with the author. she believes in the final solution of the NL-problems by Heusler's theories (p. 194). In view of the disappointing and costly Lachmann interlude, so ably presented in this work, Heusler signifies more the beginning of the 'Nibelungenliedforschung' than its end

CARL SELMER

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The Romance of Daude de Pradas called Dels Auzels Cassadors, edited with Introduction, Summary, Notes, and Glossary by ALEXANDER HERMAN SCHUTZ (Contributions in Languages and Literature, No. 11, Romance Language Series). Columbus. The Ohio State University Press, 1945. Pp xii + 225. $5.00.

This thirteenth-century treatise on falconry (the only one extant in Provençal) is here edited for the first time completely and critically The text is accompanied by an English version, part summary and part translation. In the Introduction, Professor Schutz discusses the MSS of the poem, previous (partial or uncritical) editions, the author, the versification, etc. The book also contains a few notes and a small glossary, both of these sections are concerned primarily with words or usages peculiar to falconry.

The poem enumerates and describes the various kinds of hunting hawks, tells how to catch and train them, and suggests remedies for their diseases and injuries Modern adepts of the sport may regret that the translation is incomplete. But Daude's poem will have for them less interest than the longer, more authoritative *Art of Falconry* of his contemporary Frederick II, recently published by Wood and Fyfe. Frederick's discussions are fuller, his scope more ample. It would seem, by the way, that the practice of hooding birds, which Frederick claims to have introduced from the East, had not reached Daude's ears; for he makes no mention of it. Perhaps the most valuable part of Daude's work is that on diseases of birds, with which Frederick does not deal. Unfortunately, along with perfectly sound methods of healing, there are presented a number of fantastic remedies, such as feeding the birds a hen fed on wheat boiled with snakes, or a bat stuffed with pepper. These have the virtue, as Professor Schutz says, of injecting unintended humor into the poem. Some may find humor in the recommendation that neither drunkards nor lovers own hawks, for the birds suffer from the offensive breath of the former and the neglect of the latter. It is also rather amusing to find Daude, the Christian churchman, telling his readers how to disguise another man's hawk so cleverly that they can keep it for themselves, a certain Persian treatise on hawking deplores the dishonesty of such practice Voltaire would have liked that.[1] The language of the poem is clear and natural, the versification (octosyllabic rimed couplets) smooth, but I think no one would call it great poetry Daude was no more a Vergil than he was a Frederick II.

There are three complete MSS. of the poem one in the Vatican, one at Vich, and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In addition, there is a fragmentary MS. (ll. 2751-2948) at Sutri. Professor Schutz bases his text on the Vatican MS., as being

[1] I am indebted for some of these suggestions to my colleague, Dr. Thomas H. Rawles, who has had considerable experience in falconry.

closest to Daude's own spelling and language, but he corrects faulty versification, etc., from the others. As one might expect from this editor, the text is scholarly and convincing, the other sections of the book competent and adequate Professor Schutz has evidently taken pains to familiarize himself with the technical details of the subject, and explains those passages which would cause trouble for one not so versed Even so, an occasional note or a question mark in the translation reminds us of the gaps in our knowledge of Provençal

There are a few misprints or oversights (1) p 30, last line, read "an old duck," not "and old duck", (2) p 38, LXVII, the word *auca*, which I know only as "goose," is translated "duck", (3) p 40, LXXXIII, first sentence, the word "not" is omitted (text *non es ges una res*), (4) l 890, is *sest* a misprint for *ses* (translation "without")?

My interpretation, in a couple of places, would differ from that of the editor (1) l 129, does not *lo ponh* refer rather to the hand of the falconer than to the toes of the bird? One moves the bird (seated on one's hand) sharply up and down, then turns the hand this way and that, to see if the bird balances itself properly (2) l 1063, would it not be better to read *c'om* for *com*, and translate "and does not wait (*agara*) until one has come up to it," rather than "does not even go for it until it comes right up to the falcon"? (3) l 3428, I am not quite sure what the editor means by "powdered azure" for *azurs qui l polveris*, since this treatment is alternative to powdered gold, I suspect that lapis lazuli, rather than a dye, is intended

I trust that these few comments will not put the reviewer outside the ranks of "the *gen corteza*, to whom, after the manner of his poet, the present editor commends himself."

FRANK MCMINN CHAMBERS

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The Letters of Mary W. Shelley. Edited by FREDERICK L. JONES. Norman, Oklahoma. University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. 2 Vols : XXXII + 379, XX + 390 pp. $12.00.

This is by far the most comprehensive collection of Mary Shelley's letters yet compiled. The editor remarks: "All the available correspondence of Mary Shelley is collected in these volumes. Approximately half of it has never been printed before. Many other letters are known to exist, and in some instances just what they are is known. Information about these unavailable letters will be found either in the text or in Appendix I. If every scrap of the correspondence still lurking in family archives and in private collections were accessible, it is extremely doubtful that publication of the whole would be practical. The most valuable letters, those written in Shelley's lifetime, are probably about as complete in number as they are likely ever to be."

The letters hitherto unpublished have mainly to do with the period subsequent to Shelley's death and are many of them to Claire Clairmont, Trelawny, Maria Gisborne, and others of the Shelley circle Chiefly they serve to define more clearly the character of Mary herself, for though they are of slight literary importance per se, they tell of Mary's industry as a literary hack, her struggle to support her son and to give him all advantages, and her ever-fresh interest in young men of literary talent—sometimes to her cost in money and reputation.

The widowed Mary Shelley was not a happy woman but she faced her life with courage. Some of her conduct as revealed in her letters was rather foolish but not base, and her devotion to her friends and to her son was unselfish Most of her friends and relations—her father, her step-mother, Claire, Jane Williams, and even Leigh Hunt and Trelawny—repaid her rather shabbily or at best coldly for her friendly approaches She had no genius for friendship and appeared cold when she was not so at heart. It is pleasant to know that both her son and her daughter-in-law saw beneath the surface, loved her devotedly, and were heart-broken at her death.

Mary Shelley was throughout her life devoted to her husband's memory. No one was ever comparable to him and she forever reproached herself for her partial failure in sympathy and understanding during the last two years of his life. She had not made him happy and too late she realized her failure. Yet in these letters the real reason is apparent. she had little real sympathy with liberal ideas and without being wholly mercenary or socially ambitious she was forever preoccupied with trivial material things. She spent much of her time and strength in writing fiction and compiling hack biographies, but seldom is there revealed in her later letters a gleam of intellectual curiosity. Only under Shelley's direct influence—and then not continuously—could she live above herself and prove an adequate intellectual companion to him.

The book is scrupulously and admirably edited. Everything is given that the most exacting scholarship could demand and the utmost pains and care have been lavished upon it. Also it is a beautiful piece of bookmaking of which the University of Oklahoma Press can be justly proud.

CARL GRABO

University of Chicago

BRIEF MENTION

The Voice of Norway. By HALVDAN KOHT and SIGMUND SKARD. New York Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. xii + 313. $3.50. This useful book falls into two parts: "Free men build their society," by Koht (pp. 1-116), and "Life unfolds in literature," by Skard (pp. 117-296). Part I is a political, Part II a literary history of Norway. The political part is good, so far as I can judge, but the readers of this journal, like the reviewer, will be chiefly interested in the literary part, a miracle of compression and interpretation which inspires me with enthusiastic admiration. Dr. Skard has written the best short history of Norwegian literature I have ever read He has a remarkable talent for saying much in little space.

K M.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, General Index of Vols LI-LX, 1936-1945, is now in press It will run to about 140 pages, with the material arranged as in the General Index of Vols I-L that appeared in 1935 Copies may be obtained from the Johns Hopkins Press

ERRATA, Vols LIII-LX LIII, 556, last line, *for* W P *read* W R, LV, 487, running-title, *read* COPYHOLD, LVI, 583, title, *for* APOCRYPHA *read* APOCALYPSE, LVII, 234, l 8, *read* GORDAN, 450, paragraph 2, l 2, *read* supradicto, 451, paragraph 3, l 1, *read* salutis, LVIII, 82, l 7 from bottom, *read* snugly, 210, l 5, *read* Spectacles, 241, l 19 *read* mopping, 424, l 4 from bottom, *for* heap *read* keep, LX, 192, l 10, *read* KELLEY

INDEX

SUBJECTS

Addison
A Note on the *Spectator 459* 274
Ælfric, see Bible
Aesthetics
The Enjoyment of the Arts 352, New Bearings in — and Art Criticism A Study in Semantics and Evaluation 349
American Language
A New Meteorological Theory of Stress 497
American Literature in 19th-Century England 69
American Periodicals, see Balzac and James, Henry
Anglo Latin *buzones* 285.
Anglo Saxon, Good 57
arabe
Stendhal, Joinville et un conte — 525
avant de 401.

Balzac
Notes sur deux noms propres de la *Comédie humaine* 50, Unnoticed Translations of — in American Periodicals 234
Barbara, Charles
Une Nouvelle française peu connue sur le machinisme menaçant 321
Baudelaire a Criticism 274
bederesc 475
Bellamy, E 420
Berry, Mary and Agnes
Horace Walpole's Correspondence with — and Barbara Cecilia Seton 133
Bible
A Note on Ælfric's Translation of Job I, 6 494; see *Psalms*.
Blair's Sermons, Dr Johnson and 268
Boston of Bury
Modern Textual Corruption in MS Cambridge Additional 3470 248
Boswell, Johnson and 343.
Boyle, The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert 192.
Browning
Sources of Mill's Criticism of "Pauline" 338
Burton, The Psychiatry of Robert 201
Butler, Samuel
'Hudibras' Butler Abroad 254
buzones 285

Carlyle Prophet of To-Day 281
Catullus
A Catullian Echo in George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* 29
Cazotte, Jacques (1719-1792) 276
Chamfort, *la Jeune Indienne*, comédie en un acte et en vers 426
Chapman, see Catullus
Charlemagne and Roland
The Source MS of — and the Auchinleck Bookshop 22.
Chaucer
— and *Partonope of Blois* 486; —'s "Castle in Spain" (*HF* 1117) 39, —'s "Glorious Legende" 377, —'s Hopeless Love 431; —'s Madame Eglantine 325; Four — Saints 480, *The Franklin's Tale*, Line 942 477; A Note on —'s Mother 382, Some — Allusions by Sir Edward Coke 483, Troilus and Pilgrims in Wartime 47
"chrestiens de la saincture" 206, 210, 211
Churchill, Charles
Possible Additions to the — Canon 453
Coke, see Chaucer
Coleridge, see Keats
Columbus, see Freneau
couleur locale
The First Use of — in French Literary Criticism[?] 98.
Cristóbal de Mesa and Tasso's *Rime* 469
Criticism
Writers and Their Critics 196; see *couleur locale* and English Criticism

Dante
An Inheritance of Magic? 324
Daude de Pradas
The Romance of — Called *Dels Auzels Cassadors* 571
Desmaretz's *Visionnaires*, The Château de Richelieu and 167
Diderot and Chief Logan's Speech (*Frontieres de Virginie*) 176
Donne, John
— and Valeriano 358, —, His Flight from Medievalism 131, —'s "Paradise and Calvarie 398, Two Annotations on —'s Verse 54
Dowson, Ernest 424
Du Bellay's *Olive* CXII and the *Rime diverse* 527

English
Anglo-French Etymologies 503, Good Anglo Saxon 57, Notes on British Solomon Islands Pidgin 315, Not in the Dictionaries 495, Some Linguistic Studies of 1941-1944 535, A Suggestion as to the Origin of *sundae* 534
English Criticism
Distinctions between Fancy and Imagination in 18th-Century — 8, English Literary Criticism The Medieval Phase 65, The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 345
English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 278
English History
Juridical Folklore in England 502, The *Manuel des Pechés* and an English Episcopal Decree 439
English Literature
The Crooked Rib 421, Essays and Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of California 67, The Kelmscott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan MS 99 16, Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution 135, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, An Elizabethan Translation 418, "Magnificat Nunc Dimittis" in *Misogonus* 45; The Source MS of *Charlemagne and Roland* and the Auchinleck Bookshop 22; see English Criticism
English Poetry
Endymion in England the Literary History of a Greek Myth 423; A Romantic View of Poetry 427
Errata 574
esverré 319

Faire Maide of Bristow, The (1605), Another Bad Quarto 302
Fatal Extravagance, The Authorship of *The* 328
Foigny
Bibliographical Observations on —, Lahontan and Tyssot de Patot 143
Ford, The Tragic Muse of John 411
Foster, Emily, see Irving
Foxe, see Rowley
French
Anglo- — Etymologies 503, *avant de* Plus the Infinitive 401, "chrestiens de la saincture" 206, 210, 211, — *mievre* 52, — Syntax List 354
French Learned Journals 283
French Literary Criticism, see *couleur locale*
French Poetry, see George
Freneau and the Bones of Columbus 121
Frisian
Kening Finn 353, *De Pearel* in Visioen ut it Middle-Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij Frysk 353

Gawain, Sir, and the Green Knight, *Lote, Lotez* in 492
George
Direct Echoes of French Poetry in Stefan —'s Works 461
Gérard de Nerval's *Octavie* 172
German Drama
The Passion Play of Lucerne 344
German Lexicography 157, 364
German Literature
Magic and Natural Science in Baroque — 58, Vom Adel des Geistes Gesammelte Reden 61
Geu des Trois Roys, La Nativité et *Le* 277
Gide, André
The French of Klaus Mann's — 99
Goethe, see Seidlin
Gothic Syntactical Notes 104
Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolt* 63
Greek
Endymion in England 423
Guerra Junqueiro
O Sôpro de Deus 472
Gumppenberg, Baron von, see Irving.

Hauptmann, Gerhart 429.

Hawthorne
— Critic of Society 138, —'s Note to "Dr Heidegger's Experiment" 408, — the Artist Fine-Art Devices in Fiction 71, The Literary Source of —'s *Fanshawe* 1
Hazlitt
— and Malthus 215, — in the Workshop The MS of "The Fight" 136, A Quotation by — from Rousseau 57
Henryson
Cresseid's Leprosy Again 487, A Note on — and Lydgate 101
Herbert of Cherbury
Lord —'s *De Religione Laici* 201
Heliun 178
Heusler, see *Nibelungenlied*
Hill, Aaron
The Authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance* 328
Hopkins, Gerard Manley, A Life 199
Horace, see Pope
Howard, Sir Robert, An Unpublished Letter of 119
Hrotsvitha Codex, On the Two Minor Poems in the 373

Irving, Washington
Baron von Gumppenberg, Emily Foster, and — 333

James, Henry
Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of — from 1866-1916 341, The Major Phase 341, A Misprint in *The Awkward Age* 497
Johnson
Dr — and Blair's Sermons 268, — and Boswell Three Essays 343
Joinville, see Stendhal
Jonson, Ben
A Note on —'s *The Staple of News* 117, Shakespeare & — 414
Joyce, James
A Skeleton Key to *Finnegans Wake* 137

Keats
— and Coleridge· "La Belle Dame sans Merci" 270, — and the Victorians A Study of His Influence and Rise to Fame, 1821-1895 350
Kleist, see Rilke.

Lachmann, see Nibelungenlied.
Lahontan, see Foigny.
Lawman's *Gernemuðe* 41
Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution 135
Logan, Chief, see Diderot
Longfellow of Harvard, Professor 203
Lope de Vega
A Classical Theme in — and G B Marino 287
lote, lotez 492
Ludus Coventriae
Some Notes on the "Prologue of Demon" of — 78
Lydgate, see Henryson
Lyly's *Midas* 326
Lyndsay, Sir David
The Christening in *The Three Estates* 42

Machiavelli's *The Prince*, an Elizabethan Translation 418
Malleus Maleficarum, see Milton
Malthus, see Hazlitt
Mann, Klaus, see Gide
Manuel des Péches, see William of Waddington
Marino, see Lope de Vega
Markoe, Peter, (1752?-1792) a Philadelphia Writer 425.
Marlowe, see Rowley
Maupassant Borrows from Himself 530
Melville
Herman — The Tragedy of Mind 339, —'s Religious Thought An Essay in Interpretation 339, A Note on —'s Lecture in New Haven 55
mièvre 52
Mill
Sources of —'s Criticism of "Pauline" 338
Milton
John —'s Complete Poetical Works 188, — and *Malleus Maleficarum* 118, — Quotes from Petrarch? 496, Spenser and — an Early Analogue 394
Misogonus
"Magnificat Nunc Dimittis" in — 45
Mitchell, Joseph
The Authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance* 328
Modern Language Notes, General Index, 1936-1945 574
Monthly Repository, The
The Dissidence of Dissent: —, 1806-1838 280.

Nativité, La, et *Le Geu des Trois Roys* 277
Nibelungenlied
The Concept 'Sage' in Nibelungen Criticism The History of the Conception from Lachmann to Heusler 569
Norway, The Voice of 574

Obituary B J Vos 430
Old English Literature
Kening Finn 353
Old French
— *esverré* 319, — *Herlum* 178, — *raqueer, recoier, recoi* 522
Owles Almanacke, The 206

Paine, Thomas Representative Selections 283
Partonope of Blois, Chaucer and 486
Passion Play of Lucerne, The 344
Pearl
De Pearel in Visioen ut it Middle-Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij Frysk 353, Some Debatable Words in — and Its Theme 241
Persian Poetry, see Tennyson
Petrarch
Milton Quotes from —' 496, — and the Renascence 356
Pidgin English, see English
Poe
An Incipient Libel Suit Involving — 308, The Sources of —'s "Eldorado" 312
Pope
Alexander — A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1944 501, *The Dunciad* 501, Early Criticism of —'s "Night-Piece" 265, A MS of —'s Imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace 185, The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander — 501
Provençal
Old — *bederesc* 475
Psalmi Penitentiales
The Kelmscott Edition of the — and Morgan MS 99 16

Quarles, Francis, and Henry D Thoreau 335.

Raimbaut d'Aurenga
Completion of a Text of — 404
Ralegh, An Epitaph Attributed to 111.
raqueer, recoi, recoier 522
Renaissance, see Petrarch
Richelieu, see Desmaretz
Rilke
Das Motiv des Fallens bei — 295, Rainer Maria — Poems 197, —'s Fourth Duino Elegy and Kleist's Essay *Über das Marionettentheater* 73
Rime diverse, see Du Bellay
Roland and Vernagu
The Auchinleck — and the *Short Chronicle* 94
Romance Philology
G Bonfante "The Romance Desiderative *se*" 211
Rousseau, J J, see Hazlitt
Rowley, Foxe, and the *Faustus* Additions 391

Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem,* The Preface to 447
Scandinavian for War and Peace 26, 356
Schiller
An Early — Letter 410
Seidlin
Zu Oskar —s "Das Etwas und das Nichts" 428
Seton, Barbara Cecilia, see Berry
Shakespeare
Falstaff and the Art of Dying 383, A French Pun in "Love's Labour's Lost" 124; "A Living Drollery" (*Tempest,* III, iii, 21) 387, Macbeth's *cyme* Once More 33, — & Jonson, Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared 414, — and the Actors. The Stage Business in His Plays (1660 1905) 127, —'s Comment on Mediaeval Romance in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* 85, —, Sonnet CXI 12 357, Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies 417; William —'s Small Latine and Lesse Greeke 125
Shelley, Mary W
The Letters of — 572, —, A Biography 66
Shelley, P. B
An Unpublished — Letter 330.
Short Chronicle, see *Roland*
Simms
A Comparison of —'s *Richard Hurdis* with Its Sources 406
Smollett, Tobias, Traveler-Novelist 499
Smythies, Mrs Gordon 359
Spectator 459, A Note on the 274.

Spenser
Evidences of Revision in *The Faerie Queene* III 1, II 114, — and Milton an Early Analogue 394, —'s Connections with Hampshire 180, The *Variorum* — 140
Steele, Richard, Tracts and Pamphlets by 204
Stendhal, Joinville et un conte arabe 525
Strachey's, Lytton, Revisions in *Books and Characters* 226
Stress, A New Meteorological Theory of 497
sundae 534
Swift and Sir William Temple, a Conjecture 259

Tasso
Cristóbal de Mesa and —'s *Rime* 469
Temple, Sir William, see Swift
Tennyson and Persian Poetry Once More 284
Thoreau, see Quarles
Traherne, Thomas 201
Tyssot de Patot, see Foigny

Valeriano
John Donne and — 358

Walpole, Horace
The Yale Edition of —'s Correspondence, Vols XI, XII 133
White, Henry Kirke
Was — a Victim of the Review Press? 337
William of Wadington
The *Manuel des Péchés* and an English Episcopal Decree 439
Wise, Thomas J
Letters of — to John Henry Wrenn 347
Wordsworth
The Poetical Works of William — 195, —'s Tour of the Wye 1798 291, —'s "Travelling Cripple" 272
Wrenn, see Wise
Wyatt as a Scottish Poet 106

Young, Edward, and the Wycombe Election 459

Authors of Articles and of Books Reviewed

Adams, H H, English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 278
Albrecht, W P, Hazlitt and Malthus 215
Allen, D C, John Donne's "Paradise and Calvarie" 398, A Note on Lyly's *Midas* 326; (ed.), *The Owles Almanacke* 206, Two Annotations on Donne's Verse 54
Ames, A C, Early Criticism of Pope's "Night Piece" 265
Atkins, J W H, English Literary Criticism The Medieval Phase 65
Austin, H D, An Inheritance of Magic? 324, A Suggestion as to the Origin of *sundae* 534

Baldensperger, F, Notes sur deux noms propres de la *Comédie humaine* 50, Une Nouvelle française peu connue sur le machinisme menaçant 321
Baldwin, T W., William Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke 125.
Bate, W J., see Bullitt
Baum, P F, Chaucer's "Glorious Legende" 377
Beach, J W, A Romantic View of Poetry 427
Beall, C B, Cristóbal de Mesa and Tasso's *Rime* 469
Beard, C A, see Wolfe, D M
Benkovitz, M J, Some Notes on the "Prologue of Demon" of *Ludus Coventriae* 78
Bennett, C H, see Lewis, W S
Bennett, J D, Baudelaire a Criticism 274
Bennett, J W, The *Variorum* Spenser 140
Bentley, G E, Shakespeare & Jonson 414
Bentley, N E, 'Hudibras' Butler Abroad 254
Berend, E, Gerhart Hauptmann 429
Bergel, K, Rilke's Fourth Duino Elegy and Kleist's Essay *Über das Marionettentheater* 73
Bethurum, D, Shakespeare's Comment on Mediaeval Romance in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* 85

Blanchard, R (ed), Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele 204
Blume, B, Das Motiv des Fallens bei Rilke 295
Bohnenblust, G, Vom Adel des Geistes Gesammelte Reden 61
Bohning, E E, The Concept 'Sage' in Nibelungen Criticism 569
Bowers, F, Evidences of Revision in *The Faerie Queene* III 1, II 114
Bradner, L, Spenser's Connections with Hampshire 180
Braswell, W, Melville's Religious Thought An Essay in Interpretation 339
Bressie, R, Modern Textual Corruption in MS Cambridge Additional 3470 248
Bronson, B H, Johnson and Boswell 343
Buhler, C F, The Kelmscott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan MS 99 16
Bullitt, J and Bate, W J, Distinctions between Fancy and Imagination in 18th Century English Criticism 8
Butt, J (ed), The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope 501

Campbell, J and Robinson, H M, A Skeleton Key to *Finnegans Wake* 137
Carpenter, N C, A Note on Chaucer's Mother 382
Carriere, J M, Unnoticed Translations of Balzac in American Periodicals 234
Case, A E, Swift and Sir William Temple, a Conjecture 259
Chambers, F M, Completion of a Text of Raimbaut d'Aurenga 404, Old Provençal *bedieresc* 475
Chinard, G (ed), Chamfort, *La Jeune Indienne* 426
Clark, D L, An Unpublished Shelley Letter 330
Clark, H H (ed), Thomas Paine Representative Selections 283
Clark, W D, A Quotation by Hazlitt from Rousseau 57
Cline, R H, Four Chaucer Saints 480
Closs, A (ed), Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolt* 63
Cohon, B J, A Catullian Echo in George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* 29
Craig, H (ed), Machiavelli's *The Prince*, an Elizabethan Translation 418
Crawford, C E, Edward Young and Wycombe Election 459
Czoniczer, E, Stendhal, Joinville et un conte arabe 525

Davis, C R, A Note on Ælfric's Translation of Job I, 6 494
Davis, K, A Note on the *Spectator* 459 274
Deen, F H, A Comparison of Simms's *Richard Hurdis* with Its Sources 406
Della Vida, G L, Reply (to Savage) 210
Diebels, Sister M C, Peter Markoe (1752?-1792) 425
Dunkin, P S, The Authorship of *The Fatal Extravagance* 328

Evans, Bergen, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton 201
Evans, Blakemore, The Passion Play of Lucerne 344

Feise, E, Zu Oskar Seidlins "Das Etwas und das Nichts" 428
Fess, G M, Maupassant Borrows from Himself 530
Fletcher, H F (ed), John Milton's Complete Poetical Works 188
Foley R N, Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 1916 341
Ford, G H, Keats and the Victorians 350
French, W H, *The Franklin's Tale*, Line 942 477
Fucilla, J G, A Classical Theme in Lope de Vega and G B Marino 287

Galway, M., Chaucer's Hopeless Love 431
Gibbens, V E, Hawthorne's Note to "Dr Heideggers's Experiment" 408
Gilbert, A H, Milton Quotes from Petrarch? 496
Gohdes, C, American Literature in 19th-Century England 69
Goldstein, J S, The Literary Source of Hawthorne's *Fanshawe* 1
Gordon, G, Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies 417.
Gravely, W. H, Jr, An Incipient Libel Suit Involving Poe 308

Hall, L S, Hawthorne Critic of Society 138
Hall, R. A, Jr, Notes on British Solomon Islands Pidgin 315
Hall, V, Ji, The Preface to Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* 447
Haugen, E, Scandinavian for War and Peace 26, see 356
Havens, R D, A Misprint in *The Awkward Age* 497
Heyl, B C, New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism 349
Hillmann, Sister M V, Some Debatable Words in *Pearl* and Its Theme 241
Hillway, T, A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven 55
Hornstein, L H, Some Chaucer Allusions by Sir Edward Coek 483
Hutcheson, H R (ed and tr), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Laici* 201

Johnson, C L, Professor Longfellow of Harvard 203
Jones, F L (ed), The Letters of Mary W Shelley 572

Kahrl, G M, Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist 499
Kalma, D (tr), Kening Finn 353, (tr) *De Pearel* in Visioen ut it Middle Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij-Frysk 353
Kenyon, J S, Shakespeare, Sonnet CXI 12 357
Kirschbaum, L, *The Faire Maide of Bristow* (1605), Another Bad Quarto 302
Koht, H, and Skard, S, The Voice of Norway 574.
Koller, K, Falstaff and the Art of Dying 383.
Krappe, A H, O Sôpro de Deus 472
Kuhl, E P, Chaucer's Madame Eglantine 325
Kurrelmeyer, W, An Early Schiller Letter 410, German Lexicography, Parts IX, X 157, 364, Obituary B J Vos 430

Lancaster, H. C, *avant de* Plus the Infinitive 401, The Château de Richelieu and Desmaretz's *Visionnaires* 167, French Learned Journals 283.
Lea, F. A., Carlyle Prophet of To-Day 281
Le Comte, E S, Endymion in England 423.
Leisy, E E, Francis Quarles and Henry D Thoreau 335
Lemont, J (tr), Rainer Maria Rilke Poems 197
Levi Della Vida, see Della Vida
Lewis, W S and Wallace, A D, with Bennett, C H and Martz, E M (eds), The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vols XI, XII 133
Livingston, C H, O F *esverré* 319, O F *Herlun* 178, O F *raqueer, recoier, recoi* 522
Longaker, M, Ernest Dowson 424
Loomis, L H, The Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* and the *Short Chronicle* 94

Mabbott, T O, John Donne and Valeriano 358, The Sources of Poe's "Eldorado" 312
Mack, M, A MS of Pope's Imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace 185
McNulty, J B, Wordsworth's Tour of the Wye 1798 291
Malakis, E, The First Use of *couleur locale* in French Literary Criticism[?] 98
Malone, K, Good Anglo Saxon 57, Some Linguistic Studies of 1941-1944 535
Marsh, P, Freneau and the Bones of Columbus 121
Martz, E M, see Lewis, W S
Matthiessen, F O, Henry James, The Major Phase 341
Merrill, R V, Du Bellay's *Olive* CXII and the *Rime diverse* 527
Miller, E S, The Christening in *The Three Estates* 42, "Magnificat Nunc Dimittis" in *Misogonus* 45
Mineka, F E, The Dissidence of Dissent *The Monthly Repository*, 1806-1838 280
Mohr, G J, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton 201
Moloney, M F, John Donne, His Flight from Medievalism 131
More, L T, The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle 192
Morgan, A E, Edward Bellamy 420.

Oliver, L M, Rowley, Foxe, and the *Faustus* Additions 391

Paden, W. D, Tennyson and Persian Poetry Once More 284
Parr, J, Chaucer and *Partonope of Blois* 486, Cresseid's Leprosy

Again 487, A Note on Jonson's *The Staple of News* 117
Pei, M A, Scandinavian for War and Peace 356, see 26
Peyre, H, Writers and Their Critics 196
Poston, L, Jr, French Syntax List 354
Prescott, J, Not in the Dictionaries 495
Pyles, T, A New Meteorological Theory of Stress 497

Ratchford, F. E. (ed), Letters of Thomas J Wise to John Henry Wrenn 347
Reichart, W A, Baron von Gumppenberg, Emily Foster, and Washington Irving 333
Rhodes, S A, Note on Gérard de Nerval's *Octavie* 172
Robertson, D W, The *Manuel des Péchés* and an English Episcopal Decree 439
Robinson, H M, see Campbell, J
Ruggles, E, Gerard Manley Hopkins, a Life 199

Salvan, A J, The French of Klaus Mann's *André Gide* 99
Sanders, C R, Lytton Strachey's Revisions in *Books and Characters* 226
Savage, H L, "Chrestiens de la saincture," A friendly rejoinder 206, 211, *Lote, lotes* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 492
Schmitz, R M, Dr Johnson and Blair's Sermons 268
Schoen, M (ed), The Enjoyment of the Arts 352
Schubert, L, Hawthorne the Artist 71
Schutz, A H (ed), The Romance of Daude de Pradas Called *Dels Auzels Cassadors* 571
Sedgwick, W E, Herman Melville The Tragedy of Mind 339
Seeber, E D, Diderot and Chief Logan's Speech (*Frontières de Virginie*) 176
Selincourt, E de (ed), The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth 195
Sensabaugh, G F, An Answer to Suckling's "Why so pale and wan, fond lover?" 410, The Tragic Muse of John Ford 411
Shaaber, M A, "A Living Drollery" (*Tempest*, III, iii, 21) 387
Shaw, E P, Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792) 276
Siler, H D, A French Pun in "Love's Labour's Lost" 124
Singleton, C S, Reply (to Whitfield) 356
Skard, see Koht
Smith, R M, Chaucer's "Castle in Spain" (*HF* 1117) 39, Lawman's *Gernemuðe* 41, Macbeth's *cyme* Once More 33, Spenser and Milton an Early Analogue 394
Spargo, J W, Juridical Folklore in England 502
Spitzer, L, Anglo-French Etymologies 503, Anglo-Latin *buzones* 285, Fr *mievre* 52, G Bonfante, "The Romance Desiderative *se*" 211.
Sprague, A C, Shakespeare and the Actors 127
Stearns, M W, A Note on Henryson and Lydgate 101
Storer, M E, Bibliographical Observations on Foigny, Lahontan and Tyssot de Patot 143
Strathmann, E A, An Epitaph Attributed to Ralegh 111
Sturtevant, A M, Gothic Syntactical Notes 104
Summers, M, Mrs Gordon Smythies 359
Sutherland, J (ed), *The Dunciad* 501
Svendsen, K, Milton and *Malleus Maleficarum* 118
Swedenberg, H T, Jr, The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 345

Thayer, M. R, Keats and Coleridge "La Belle Dame sans Merci" 270
Tobin, J E, Alexander Pope A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1944 501

Utley, F. L., The Crooked Rib 421, Wyatt as a Scottish Poet 106

Vordtriede, W, Direct Echoes of French Poetry in Stefan George's Works 461.

Wade, G. I, Thomas Traherne 201
Wagman, F H, Magic and Natural Science in German Baroque Literature 58
Wallace, A D, see Lewis, W S
Walpole, R N., The Source MS of

Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck Bookshop 22
Ward, C E, An Unpublished Letter of Sir Robert Howard 119
Ward, W S, Was Henry Kirke White a Victim of the Review Press? 337
Weatherly, E H, Possible Additions to the Churchill Canon 453
Wenger, C N, Sources of Mill's Criticism of "Pauline" 338
Whitfield, J H, Petrarch and the Renascence 356
Whiting, B J, Troilus and Pilgrims in Wartime 47
Whittredge R (ed), *La Nativité or Le Jeu des Trois Roys* 277
Wilcox, S C, Hazlitt in the Workshop The MS of "The Fight" 136
Wiley, A N, Wordsworth's "Travelling Cripple" 272
Wolfe, D M (ed), Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution (Foreword by C A Beard) 135.

Zeydel, E H, On the Two Minor Poems of the Hrotsvitha Codex 373

Reviewers

Abrams, M H J W Beach, A Romantic View of Poetry 427
Allen, D C B Evans, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton 201, H R Hutcheson (ed and tr), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Religione Laici* 201, G I Wade, Thomas Traherne 201

Berend, E. G Bohnenblust, Vom Adel des Geistes 61
Braddy, H F L Utley, The Crooked Rib 421
Bredvold, L I J Butt (ed), The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope 501, James Sutherland (ed), *The Dunciad* 501, J E Tobin, Alexander Pope A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1944 501
Brooke, T T W Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke 125

Campbell, O. J. G F Sensabaugh, The Tragic Muse of John Ford 411
Chambers, F M A H Schutz (ed), The Romance of Daude de Pradas called *Dels Auzels Cassadors* 571
Chase, S P S C Wilcox (ed), Hazlitt in the Workshop The MS of "The Fight" 136
Cuyler, C M. G. H Ford, Keats and the Victorians 350

Edelstein, L.: F H Wagman, Magic and Natural Science in German Baroque Literature 58

Farnham, W.: H. H Adams, English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575 to 1642 278
Feise, E J Lemont (tr), Rainer Maria Rilke Poems 197

Gerould, G H. J W H Atkins, English Literary Criticism The Medieval Phase 65
Gilbert, A H H Craig (ed.), Machiavelli's *The Prince*, an Elizabethan Translation 418
Gilbert, K M Schoen (ed), The Enjoyment of the Arts 352
Gilman, M J D Bennett, Baudelaire a Criticism 274
Grabo, C F L Jones (ed), The Letters of Mary W Shelley 572
Granville-Barker, H A C Sprague, Shakespeare and the Actors 127.
Greene, R L B H Bronson, Johnson and Boswell 343

Haller, W D M Wolfe (ed), Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution 135
Harbage, A G E Bentley, Shakespeare & Jonson 414
Harrold, C F. F A Lea, Carlyle. Prophet of To-day 281
Havens, G R E P Shaw, Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792) 276
Havens, R D E. de Selincourt (ed), The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth 195
Hillway, T: W Braswell, Melville's Religious Thought 339, W E. Sedgwick, Herman Melville 339.

Jones, H M. H H. Clark (ed), Thomas Paine. Representative Selections 283

Kelley, M: H F Fletcher (ed), John Milton's Complete Poetical Works 188
Kirschbaum, L E Ruggles, Gerard Manley Hopkins, a Life 199

Lancaster, H C G Chinard (ed), *La Jeune Indienne*, par Chamfort 426
Levy, R R Whittredge (ed), *La Nativite* et *Le Geu des Trois Roys* 277

McKillop, A D R Blanchard (ed), Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele 204
Magoun, F P, Jr D Kalma (tr), Kening Finn, *De Pearel* in Vision ut it Middle-Ingelsk oerbrocht yn it Nij Frisk 353
Malone, K H Koht and S Skard, The Voice of Norway 574, J W Spargo, Juridical Folklore in England 502
Martz, L L G M Kahrl, Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist 499
Miner, L M M C Diebels, Peter Markoe (1752?-1792) 425
Mizener, A M Longaker, Ernest Dowson 424

Prescott, J Joseph Campbell and H M Robinson, A Skeleton Key to *Finnegans Wake* 137.

Richards, I A. B C Heyl, New Bearings in Esthetics and Art Criticism 349
Root, R K W S Lewis (ed), The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vols XI, XII 133

Sehrt, E H B Evans, The Passion Play of Lucerne 344
Selmer, C E E Bohning, The Concept 'Sage' in Nibelungen Criticism 569, A Closs (ed), Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan und Isolt 63
Shaabei, M A G Gordon, Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies 417
Shafer, R Members of the Department of English, Univ of Calif, Essays and Studies 67, H T Swedenberg, Jr, The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800 345
Smith, H N C Gohdes, American Literature in 19th-Century England 69
Spencer, T M F Moloney, John Donne, His Flight from Medievalism 131
Spiller, R E R N Foley, Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866-1916 341, F O Matthiessen, Henry James 341
Starnes, D T E S Le Comte, Endymion in England 423
Stewart, R L S Hall, Hawthorne Critic of Society 138

Taylor, G C. D C Allen (ed), *The Owles Almanacke* 206
Taylor, W F A E Morgan, Edward Bellamy 420
Thompson, L C L Johnson, Professor Longfellow of Harvard 203
Thrall, M M H F E Mineka, The Dissidence of Dissent *The Monthly Repository*, 1806-1838 280

Weber, C. J F E Ratchford (ed), Letters of Thomas J Wise to John Henry Wrenn 347
Wellek, R H Peyre, Writers and Their Critics 196
Williams, S T L Schubert, Hawthorne the Artist Fine-Art Devices in Fiction 71
Witherspoon, A M L T More, The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle 192

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

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